

THE WEST AFRICAN RESPONSE to TRADE INTEGRATION:

1880-1940

A Dissertation

Submitted to the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS)

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Ph.D. in Advanced Policy Studies

by

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November 2018

Abstract

Few studies have explored the process of internal trade integration in Africa. In that light, this dissertation examines the extent of growth and patterns of internal trade from the period when West Africa was under high Western domination; 1880-1940. Using mainly British West African statistical and descriptive sources, it presents an analysis of both foreign and internal trade in chronologically and spatially comparable form. These findings are then used as lessons on the process of internal trade integration, to understand the dynamics of local and regional economies. It emerges that the scrutiny of recorded and uncaptured data affords a vastly improved historical understanding of local and regional economies. The analysis indicates that the actual volume of internal trade in West Africa must have been around 18%-20% of recorded foreign and internal trade, markedly higher than previously assumed. Institutional and infrastructural frameworks that bolstered internal trade include (1) innovations in the network of regional and local merchants, (2) the transportation system, (3) currency and financial services, and (4) fiscal policies. A key effect of the land-borne transportation and fiscal policies emergent during the period was the 'de-regionalization' and internalization of trade. This thesis suggests that continued adaptability of local and regional economic forces assisted the sustenance of trade responses in regional integration while emergent trade routes offered a degree of economic unity across political boundaries, partially integrating socio-ecological spheres. The dynamism of local and regional trade underscores the need for deeper appreciation and understanding the role of indigenous agencies in local and regional economic development as well as a re-consideration of the view that privileges external trade as the source of growth of global trade.

Acknowledgements

In pursuing this dissertation, I have felt a seamless fitting in of what seems to be a missing part of the jigsaw in my professional development and academic aspirations. That sense has been sustained and nourished by many persons whom space and time will not permit me to acknowledge individually. I should, however, express special appreciation to some notable persons not just out of the need to be courteous but rather out a profound feeling of gratitude. First and foremost, I would like to thank my principal supervisor, Professor Kaoru Sugihara. I feel exceptionally blessed to have been under his sustained intellectual grace, guidance and inspiration. He has been unusually kind in every aspect, and his thoughtful suggestions and insightful directions were invaluable in shaping this dissertation. For all his unparalleled brilliance and vast experience, his willingness to allow me room to express my thoughts, while making sure that the outcome remains on track is worth of special mention. Besides making me feel positively special, Professor Tetsushi Sonobe, my programme Director and sub-advisor, remained considerate and personally involved with my progress throughout the PhD studies. In terms of this work, his pointers on concepts, networking and data source management were not only unique but very productive. My sub-advisor, Professor Khoo Boo Teik, made germane and genuine critiques that prompted revisions and honed key aspects of this work.

I have also been extremely fortunate to encounter several well-meaning and excellent scholars in the course of the preparation of this thesis. Professor Gareth Austin of University of Cambridge, has been generous with his time and unrivalled expertise. Aside from the email exchanges, the guidance received from our meetings in Cambridge,

Tokyo and Kyoto, including the ‘stop-and-go’ discussions on the streets of Kyoto, could only have come from him. Professor Tirthankar Roy of LSE, also deserves mention for providing suggestions on comparative sources that enriched the content during our encounters. Other scholars kindly agreed to meetings, responded to email enquiries and even offered access to data. Professor Katsuhiko Kitagawa, Professor Ewout Frankema, Professor Jean Pascal Bassino, Professor Dennis Cogneau, Professor Masaki Toyomu, Dr. Ofosu Mensah and Dr. Kazuo Kobayashi were all gracious in this regard.

I have profited from the socio-academic companionship of my colleagues in the PhD programme at GRIPS. Ben Bansal and Tomonobu Sato have remained my main sparring partners. Shombe, Ayamga, Pauleen, Mita, Ben Makanga, Trity, Trin, Keiji, Aamer, Gamel, and Constance, were mostly the blackboard on which I experimented nebulous interpretations. If there be any merit in this dissertation, I am willing to have the credit appropriated to all the above, although not in equal measure. My Principal Advisor, the sub advisors and ‘shadow’ advisors deserve more. However, I accept that I am solely responsible for the remaining failings in this dissertation.

Participation in conferences at the University of Cambridge, UK in February 2017, the Emerging State Project International Conferences in Tokyo and Kyoto in March 2018 and the Annual Conference of the Social and Economic History Society of Japan in Osaka in May 2018 were crucial for feedback on initial formulations. The 4th World Social Science Forum in September 2018 and the First Conference of the Japan Society for Afro-Asia Studies in October 2018 gave me the opportunity to present this work and also network with other scholars. To the organizers and participants, I am grateful for the

privilege and inputs. Indeed, the generosity of GRIPS G-CUBE Fellowship, ESP Young Scholars Programme in funding my conference participation, archival work and entire PhD cannot go unacknowledged.

I have also relied on the uncommon willingness of many archivists and librarians to complete this work. My visits to the National Archives (Kew Gardens), UK, was met with great gentleness. In a similar vein, and quite refreshingly, the archivists I met in Ghana and Nigeria were enormously willing to support. Our social and formal media exchanges, in no less measure, provided the requisite raw materials for producing this 'commodity'. Not only did these officers erode the usual stereotypes about archival search in these countries, they displayed a sense of responsiveness to the information revolution much akin to those Africans whose story we were after. Librarians at LSE, SOAS of University of London, British National Library, and the University of Tokyo were equally forthcoming in searching for materials. Librarians at GRIPS were pivotal in receiving key literature at my doorstep.

While on this PhD study, I have had the rare privilege of serving as a collaborating researcher at the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature (RIHN) in Kyoto. The serenity of the atmosphere for intensive academic work is only surpassed by the gentle and accommodating nature of persons such as Yumiko Iwasaki and Aya Yamamoto who always provided administrative support. At GRIPS, administrative support staff was always re-assuring. Specifically, the compassion, understanding and encouragement provided by Megumi Maekawa, Satomi Mori, Masako Horikoshi, Hiroko Yanaka as well as Akiko Ishikawa were most timely and comforting.

The Ministry of Finance, Ghana, was generous in allowing me time to professionally develop through this programme. Chief Director Major Tara, Directors Mike Ayesu, Gladys Ghartey, Azu Aziakor, Dr. Alhassan Iddrisu and Kwasi Adu have been instrumental. My colleagues, especially H. Kyeremeh, Gifty S. Nkansah and S. Aggrey remained firm believers in this pursuit. To all the other friends and family, I am grateful for the support while I have been away. In this regards, Elder Afful and family, Joyce and Kwaku Koranteng as well as Dennis Apreku, your overwhelming kindness can only be rewarded from above. Ernestina Yaa-Yaa Amanie and Kwame Besse have proven the value of family over time, even in my absence. To the Amoa-Bosompems (especially Milly and Mickey), you have and will forever be my family.

Kwabena Asante, my dad, has been a constant driving force in my academic and professional pursuits that will endure forever. To my late mum, Sussie, who dared to dream and believe in me, it is to her credit that I learned to believe in reaching out to the fullness of potential. Ruth, my wife, continues to pleasantly surprise me and is turning out to be probably the best research I may ever do. Her forbearance and faith are sometimes frightening. To Nana Kwame, Awurabena and Naana, I may never be able to compensate you for the deprivation and absence. Together as the Osei-Asantes, I am consoled that you may grow to know you are mostly the inspiration behind my fondest wishes and that I owe much of the past, present and future to your love, sacrifices and endurance.

List of Abbreviations

ACR	Annual Colonial Report
BBWA	British Bank of West Africa
BWA	British West Africa
CA	Crown Agents
CIF	Cost Insurance and Freight
CO	Colonial Office
CS	Colonial Secretary
CSO	Colonial Secretary's Office
FO	Foreign Office
FOB	Freight on Board
FWA	French West Africa
GWA	German West Africa
LMC	London Metropolitan Archives
NA	National Archives (UK)
NAG	National Archives Ghana
PWA	Portuguese West Africa
PWA	Public Works Department
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRAAD	Public Record Archives and Administrative Department
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
UK	United Kingdom
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Literature Review	2
1.2 A Reciprocal Comparison Approach	15
1.3 Diversities: Politics and Ecology	16
1.4 Data: Source and Archival Work	23
1.5 Significance and Contribution of Study.....	27
1.6 Structure of Dissertation.....	30
CHAPTER TWO	34
A STATISTICAL EXAMINATION OF INTRA-BRITISH WEST AFRICAN TRADE	34
2.1 Statistical Approach and Concerns	34
2.1.1 Statistics: A Background	35
2.1.2 Statistical Data: An Interpretation	45
2.2 Statistical Evaluation and Data Classification.....	49
2.3 Foreign Trade Statistics.....	50
2.3.1. Commodity Composition	53
2.3.2 Geographical Composition: Intercontinental Trade.....	56
2.3.3 Geographical Composition: Inter-territorial Trade.....	58
2.3.4. Commodity Composition: Inter-territorial Trade	61
2.3.5 Estimates of Inter-Territorial Trade	63
2.4. Domestic Trade Statistics.....	68
2.5. Internal Trade of West Africa.....	72
2.5.1. Towards a Consolidated Estimate of Recorded Internal Trade in West Africa	74
2.5.1.a. Limited Capture of Land-borne Trade.....	74
2.5.1.b Unvalued but Significant Recorded Volumes of Domestic Trade.....	81
2.5.2 Consolidated Estimate of Internal Trade in West Africa: An Interpretation.....	86
2.5.3 Data Constraints and Estimated Trends in Internal Trade - An Illustration.....	88
2.6 Representativeness of Statistical Evaluation.....	89

2.7. Uncaptured Trade Statistics: Carrying Capacity for Internal Trade.....	93
2.8. Structure of Internal Trade.....	100
2.8.1. <i>Kola and Horizontal Integration</i>	100
2.8.2. <i>Livestock and Vertical Integration</i>	104
2.8.3. <i>2.8.3. Cocoa and Internal and External Integration</i>	106
CHAPTER THREE.....	108
DEVELOPMENT OF MERCHANT NETWORKS AND THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM.....	108
3.1 Merchant Networks and the Evolution of Internal Trade.....	108
3.1.1. Regional Networks of Merchants and Traders in Kola and Livestock-led Trade.....	111
3.1.2.a <i>Sea-borne Kola-led Trade</i>	113
3.1.2.a.i. <i>Gold Coast</i>	113
3.1.2.a.ii <i>Sierra Leone</i>	120
3.1.2.b <i>Land-borne Kola and Cattle-led Trade</i>	128
3.1.2.b.ii <i>Sierra Leone</i>	131
3.1.3 Nature of Cocoa Trade in the Gold Coast and Nigeria.....	132
3.1.3. a <i>Structure and Operations</i>	133
3.1.3.b <i>Spread and Numbers</i>	136
3.1.3.c <i>Trade Dependent on an Indigenous Network?</i>	136
3.1.4 Regional Networks: A Synthesis.....	139
3.1.5 Regional Networks and Internal Trade.....	142
3.2. The Transportation System and Evolution of Internal Trade.....	144
3.2.1 River and Inland Waterways Transport.....	146
3.2.1.a <i>Land-based Transportation</i>	152
3.2.2.a.i <i>Railway Development and Internal Trade</i>	154
3.2.2.a.ii <i>Railways and Inter-territorial Trade</i>	156
3.2.2.a. iii <i>Railways and Intra-Territorial Trade</i>	165
3.2.2.a.iv <i>Internal Trade & Railways Development: Towards a Synthesis</i>	170
3.2.3. Road Transport and Internal Trade.....	174
3.2.3.b Road-Rail Rivalry.....	178
3.2.3.c <i>Development of Road Networks</i>	185

3.2.3.d <i>Motor Vehicles</i>	188
3.2.4 <i>'Link Roads' of Long-Distance Trade</i>	191
3.2.5. Overview of Road Transport Development and Internal Trade.....	197
3.2.6. Summary of Transport and Internal Trade	201
3.3 The Significance of Land-borne Trade Networks.....	204
3.4 Merchant Networks, Transport and Internal Trade: A Summary.....	205
CHAPTER FOUR	208
EFFECTS OF CURRENCY, FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT	208
AND TARIFF POLICIES	208
4.1 Currency and Financial Development.....	209
4.1.2 Currencies and Internal Trade	219
4.1.3 Banking Services and Internal Trade	228
4.1.4 Currency, Financial Development and Internal Trade.....	236
4.2 TARIFFS AND TAXATION POLICIES	242
4.2.1 Tariffs and Inter-Territorial Trade.....	243
4.2.3 BWA Tariff Structure	250
4.2.4. Tariffs and Intra-BWA trade.....	253
4.2.5 Diverse Responses to Import Substitutions in Nigeria Markets.....	262
4.2.6. Empire Solidarity Questioned.....	271
4.2.7 Tariff-facilitating Import Substitution Policy and Statistical Estimation ...	274
4.2.9 Taxation and Internal Trade.....	277
4.2.10 <i>Transit Trade Taxes/Tolls</i>	279
4.2.11 <i>Participation Taxes and Potential Impact on Trade</i>	283
4.2.12 <i>Currency, Financial Development and Taxation: Links to Trade</i>	287
4.3 Politics and Ecology: A Note	288
4.4 CONCLUSION	292
5.0 APPENDIX: LIST OF TABLES	304
Appendix 1: Foreign Trade Statistics for British West Africa	307
Appendix 2: Domestic Trade Statistics	326
Appendix 3: French West Africa Trade Statistics.....	334
Appendix 4: Statement on Internal Trade Statistics	335

Appendix 5: Statistical Validation (Sample)	347
6.0. REFERENCE	349
7.0 SPECIFIC TABLES, FIGURES AND MAPS	372
Table 1: Socio-Political Diversities in West Africa	372
Table 2.1: Population Densities for 1921, 1931, 1948 and 1950 for Gold Coast and Nigeria	373
Table: 2.2 Population of Livestock in Nigeria and Sierra Leone in the Inter-War Period	373
Table 3.1 Inter-Territorial Trade of Kola: 1880-1913 (in £ Sterling)	374
Table 3.2 Principal Items of Goods Traffic on Nigeria Railways for 1916-1937 (in 1,000 tons)	374
Table 3.3. Principal Goods Traffic by Sierra Leone Railways for Selected Years (in tons)	375
Table 3.4a: Commodity Trade by Gold Coast Railways (excluding livestock), 1900-1940 (in 000 tons)	376
Table 3.4b: Receipts on Traffic of Goods Carried by Railways in Gold Coast, 1905-1939 (in tons)	377
Table 3.4c. Proportion of Volume of Commodities Transported by Railways in BWA, 1905-1940 (in 000 tonnes)	378
Table 3.4d. Commodity Traffic by Gold Coast Railways (excluding livestock), 1900-1940 (in 1,000 tons)	379
Table 3.5 Key Feeder Roads to Railways in Nigeria and Sierra Leone, 1905-1930	380
Table 3.6 Development of Roads in British West Africa for Selected years between 1903 and 1939 (in miles)	381
Table 3.7 Registration of Commercial Vehicles and License Issuance in British West Africa,	382
1909-1939	382
Table 3.8: Capital Invested in British West Africa from Abroad, 1870-1936 (in £)	383
Table 4.1: Dynamics of Specie, Bullion and Coins Situation in BWA, 1880-1930	384
Table 4.2 Currency in Circulation, BWA, 1931-1936	385
Table 4.3: Trends in Kola Trade in Nigeria, 1924-1937	386
Table 4.4: Export of Kola from Sierra Leone to Main Markets,.....	387
1919-1938	387
List of Figures	388

Fig 2.1 Patterns of Total Exports and Imports of BWA, 1880-1940	388
Fig 2.2: Proportion of Inter-Territorial Trade of West Africa to Total BWA Foreign Trade, 1880-1940	389
Fig 2.3: Comparison of Proportion of Export Based Intra-BWA Trade for Benchmarked Years	390
Fig 2.4: Comparison of Proportion of Export Based Intra-WA Trade for Selected Years	390
Fig 2.5: Proportion of Domestic Trade to Total BWA Trade,1880-1919	391
Fig 2.6: Proportion of Internal Trade to Total BWA Trade: 1880-1940	391
Fig.2.7 Land Borne Kola Exports from Mainly from Ashanti (in tons).....	392
Figure 2.8: Data Constraints and Estimated Trends in Internal Trade - An Illustration.....	392
Fig 2.9: Schematic Of Structure Of Trade Integration In West Africa	393
Fig 2.10: Total Exports of Kola Output by Traditional producers in BWA,.....	394
1880-1940 (In volumes)	394
Fig 3.1 A Schematic of Representation of a Network of Regional Merchants and Traders	395
Figure 3.2: Proportion of Domestic Intra-Territorial Goods on BWA Railways (in volume), 1905-1940	396
Fig. 3.3: Re-birth of Land-Borne Kola Trade: 1924-1939 (in tons).....	397
Fig 3.4 Comparison of Lorry and Head Loads on the Great Northern Road, 1926-1932.....	397
Fig.3.5 Motor Vehicles on Great Northern Road, 1926-1930.....	398
Fig 4.1 Total Currency in Circulation, BWA, 1931-1938	399
Fig.4.2: Proportions of Intra-BWA and Inter-FWA Trade, 1880-1940	399
Fig 4.3: Direction of Internal Trade Development: An Illustration.....	400
List of Maps	401
MAP 1: Administrative Map of BWA: 1874-1902.....	401
MAP 2: KOLA PRODUCING FRONTIERS UP TO 1900	402
MAP 3: KOLA PRODUCING FRONTIERS UP FROM 1900	402
MAP 4: RAIL TRANSPORT IN B.W.A UP TO 1900	402
MAP 5: RAILWAY, HARBOURS AND PORTS IN WEST AFRICA, 1913-1940.....	402

Declaration

I certify that this dissertation and all its content is, to the best of my knowledge, my own original work. No parts of it have been illegitimately copied and all sources, primary and secondary, are duly referenced. This work is the sole property of the author.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

This dissertation discusses the extent and pattern of growth of local and regional trade in West Africa during the period, 1880-1940. It offers a detailed examination of the process of internal trade integration, using British West African statistical and descriptive sources, towards an understanding of the dynamics of local and regional economies in an era of globalization.¹ It is argued here that, in addition to the intrinsic value of statistics, extraction of relevant data and evaluation of their utility and limitations could vastly improve historical understanding of local and regional economies. There are various ways of validating the study of local and regional economies, one of which is to understand the extent of their isolation, or put in other way, the degree to which they become interdependent with or integrated into other external economies. Such an appreciation offers an important clue to the character and nature of these economies. A more nuanced history of the isolation or of the process of integration directly informs the background of the development of economic policies relating to institutional arrangements, infrastructural delivery, market liberalization or price stabilization. Studies on the integration of economies have often discussed the movement of prices and their correlations within and across economies². Throughout this dissertation, the term internal trade integration refers to the presence of trade-driven interactions through connective institutional

¹ Collier and Dollar (2002) and well as Klasing and Milionis (2014) have argued that 1870 marked the beginning of the first wave of globalization.

² The extreme challenges in the collection of non-uniform and scattered price data of different degrees of reliability has meant that issues of market price integration or convergence has not been treated in this study.

and infrastructural frameworks amongst local and regional economies. This is encapsulated by the expansion and dynamism of commercial commodity exchanges between spatially separated producing and consuming locations in mostly different ecological zones within and across political territories of West Africa. The focus on local and regional trade proved helpful for an appreciation of the role that indigenous African agencies played in local and regional economic development, taking advantage of diverse socio-environmental conditions, even under the heavy influence of the foreign force of colonialism.

1.1 Literature Review

Quite naturally, this study, set against the enduring theme and theories of trade, focusses on the productive and distributive potential of nations and regions. This work is influenced by the seminal hypothesis³ of international trade: that countries can engage in commercial exchanges that are mutually beneficial. In fact, this perspective of trade springs from notions of specialization and comparative advantage formulated by Adam Smith (1776) and David Ricardo (1817). In this Smithian-Ricardian view, societies are differently endowed with resources while they share relative common basic needs. These needs are freely mediated through the helpful hand of traders who facilitate exchanges. To wholly accept this view is to echo the old aphorism that exchange is no robbery⁴. Thus, while this view retains

³ Whereas David Ricardo (1817) explained the expansion of aggregate consumption possibilities, Vilfredo Pareto (1896) responded to the distributive question relating to gains from trade. Modern Economists such as Jacob Viner (1937), Samuelson (1939 and 1962) as well as Kemp (1962) have expanded on these initial observations and provided favourable empirical insights on gains from trade.

⁴ A cursory review of the history of human endeavors suggests that a fair exchange is rather no robbery.

some validity, the full force of its explanatory power is constrained. A key limitation, in this context, arises from viewing the endowment-and-trade nexus as benevolently reinforcing, benignly self-organizing and unquestioningly beneficial for the development of all societies engaged in the trading relationship. Clearly, it would be extremely difficult, if not untenable, to suggest that the transatlantic and internal trade in captive slaves was a mutually beneficial exchange. These notwithstanding, and in an overwhelming manner, trade has been viewed as a major agent of social, cultural and economic change, (Posnansky, 1973) and thus acts as a stimulus to growth and integration. Indeed, several studies, including those of Frankel and Romer (1999), have confirmed the general links between trade and economic growth.⁵ Following the lead of earlier classical economists, Lewis (1970) illustrated the role of export trade as an engine of growth for economic development in tropical economies. In this connection, studies on developing regions such as West Africa have tended to focus on characterizing economies with the aim of assessing their export trade orientation. Hancock (1942) wrote of 'peasant economies' in British West Africa (BWA) claiming that indigenous peasants dominated production for export. Amin (1972) saw traditional West Africa as the "Africa of the colonial trade economy" or "*l'économie de traite*" (*Milk-cow economy*) and emphasized its colonial export orientation. In his seminal book on West Africa, *-An Economic History of West Africa-*, A. G. Hopkins (1973) applied Dudley Seer's (1954) term - open economies - to

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the trade-growth nexus and its associated mechanisms, kindly see Mazumdar, J. (1996). Do static gains from trade lead to medium-run growth?. *Journal of Political Economy*, 104(6), 1328-1337.

characterize the region; the export trade was the main engine of growth, accompanied by institutions and policies that promoted intercontinental trade.

Unsurprisingly, the origin, nature and consequence of this export trade orientation of West African economies have also received considerable attention, although not without usual and expected contestations. In terms of results and consequences, there is a rare sense of unanimity in the literature that the changes that occurred in West Africa from the late 19th century to the Second World War was both distinctive and fundamental (Austin, 2014a; McPhee, 1971). The only remaining contention in this respect is whether the change was significantly positive or negative for the colonized. This is what leaves the debate on colonialism unsettled, as an epoch but episodic⁶ moment in global history. Remarkably, and amidst the disagreements, the view that colonialism constituted an integrative force remains a widely shared characterization. In this understanding, the global integration of West African economies appears to have been a key element of European impact. Specifically, colonialism is thought to have invigorated inter-continental 'legitimate commerce' (a moral-based distinction between agricultural and mineral exports and the exports of labour in the form of slavery) with supporting economic innovations epitomized by transformation in transportation and communication infrastructure and currency and banking services.

⁶ Ajayi (1969) argues that colonialism was an episode in African history.

In the literature, there are some influential observations with respect to the mechanisms and nature of this economic expansion. Generally, it is suggested that export growth originated from the 'vent-for-surplus'⁷ and staple⁸ character of large parts of the region, where foreign trade offered a stimulus to exploit surplus productive resources. Hopkins (1973) and Hogendorn (1978), both expressing reservations on the lack of emphasis on indigenous agencies implicit in the theory, suggest that surplus land and labour conditioned the vent-for-surplus theory of export growth in the region. In this open economy experience in West Africa, the perspectives of Lewis (1954), and Myint (1958), both stressing the availability of factor endowments and the potentiality for extensive growth in developing regions, had shone through. In itself not an economically or ecologically costless endeavor, the exports of staples to intercontinental markets, marked by the cash crop revolution⁹, was the mainstay of West African economies throughout the colonial period and even beyond. The cash crop revolution has been seen as a disruptive force that exemplified the willingness of Africans to adopt exotic crops on relatively abundant but delicate lands while using land-extensive agronomic practices, on condition that the foundation of local food security was not endangered¹⁰ (Austin, 2008). A crucial aspect of the discussion of this cash crop revolution has centred on

⁷ Vent-for-surplus was originally conceived by Adam Smith, and labeled by John Stuart Mills in the 19th century. In the 20th century, Myint (1958) applied the concept to developing economies.

⁸ For a discussion of the Staple theory and how it fits the West African Context, see Watkins (1963). See also Hopkins (1973), p.125.

⁹ For a discussion of the cash crop revolution see Tosh (1980).

¹⁰ In this article, Austin calls for caution on the predominant notion of abundant land in SSA. He introduces useful qualifications on the accessibility and utility of land. He argues that abundant land does not naturally translate into quality useful lands, as the nature of the soil in parts of SSA is such that cultivable lands, once cleared, are easily eroded by tropical rainfalls and exposure to sunshine.

the applicability, or the lack thereof, of the vent-for-surplus model as an explanatory variable. Tosh (1980) offered an ecology-based applicability by suggesting that the model may best fit the forest zones of West Africa rather than the savanna areas. In the most recent work on this long-running assessment, Austin (2014a) questions the notion of a vent-for-surplus character of cash crop export expansion even for the forest zones on the basis of an empirical evaluation¹¹. Instead, he argues that, at least for the cocoa sector in Ghana in the take off period of 1890-1936, the expansion reflected a productivity breakthrough denoting a re-allocation of resources from existing market activities towards a more rewarding production function. A general review of the ethos of vent-for-surplus and the discussions thereof reveals that the primary motivation behind the rapid increases in export production came from the fact that it was possible without the cost of enormous migration while at the same time maintaining existing economic activities. Seen from here, the literature on the model has tended to confine itself to sectors, ecological zone and political territorial boundaries. It will be argued in this dissertation that the extension and elevation of the basic parameters of vent-for-surplus model to the regional level alters the prevailing sense of the applicability of model. For West Africa as a region, the validity of the model may hold for certain commodities. As will be discussed later in chapter two, kola production and trade expanded, at least between the period of 1880-1928,

¹¹ Prior to Austin, Ingham (1979) had raised concerns over potential validity of vent-for-surplus for the take-off of cocoa sector in Ghana.

with little technical breakthrough and external migration but under the great impetus of improvements in sea, rail and road transportation.

As may be expected, the corresponding specific histories of staple agricultural and mineral commodities such as cocoa (see Austin, 2005; Hill, 1997), groundnuts (see Hogendorn, 1978), palm oil (refer to Lynn, 2002; Martin, 1988), rubber (Harms, 1975), cotton (Bassett, 2006) and gold (Dumett, 1998; Macdonald, 1902), have also been offered to stress their distinctiveness and contributions to the economic development of the region. In all of these accounts, the continuities and discontinuities in means and modes of production, market fluctuations, and socio-economic effects have been evaluated and explained to partially suggest the responsiveness of West African producers. In a related manner, the exploits of European merchants and the performance of their businesses in the then rapidly evolving markets of West Africa has also been studied to some appreciable level (see Bauer, 1954; Newbury, 1978). Conversely, the role of African merchants and traders, mostly engaged in intercontinental trade, have been examined. Dummet (1972), having compiled a useful list of African merchants in the late 19th century, also discussed the dynamism of indigenous entrepreneurship to suggest that the constrains of the African 'merchant princes' resulted from inherent weaknesses and asymmetries in both the international and domestic economic systems (Dumett, 1983). Similarly, and still concerned about the trading class, Olukoju (2014) thought that cultural and structural impediments in the context of colonialism and global economic dynamics conspired to frustrate the ambitions of indigenous merchants and traders engaged in

intercontinental trade. The emerging impression is that non-indigenous trading enterprises, predominantly Europeans, but with some Levantines, played crucial roles in the export orientation of the region's economies (Hailey, 1957).

The connecting thread through all of these strands of literature is its seeming pre-occupation with the intercontinental export trading relations of the region. As a consequence, intercontinental integration literature predominates the historiography of West African economies. This may not be unexpected given that, as Hill (1963) puts it, economists have traditionally been exclusively interested in 'the colonial situation', - the economic relations between Africa and the West and with its related large-scale imports and exports. The results of this strong preference may have partially stimulated the extensive and informative review of what shapes Africa's place in the world economy undertaken by Cooper (1981). In some sense, the focus on and dominance of this genre of literature centering on intercontinental long-distance trade may be an outcome of the combined effects of the successes of the cash crop revolution as well as an ideological environment embedded within dependency thinking amidst colonialism and decolonization fervor. The potential consequence of this situation is that, there is a real tendency for a reader to be left with the sneaking suspicion that all West Africans did under the external influence of colonialism was to vent surplus production into intercontinental, mainly Western, markets. However, that impression would be erroneous because it is only a partial image of what West Africans did, and in fact what happened, under colonialism. Indeed, there is reason to speculate that more did happen than previous studies

have bothered about. In addition to the potential impact of expanding intercontinental trade on local and regional trade, the economics of colonial development relating to West Africa as well as its ecological features provide powerful conditions for expectations of growth in local and regional trade. Admittedly, this dissertation is energized by these observations.

In respect of the dynamics between intercontinental and local/regional trade, the natural question that emerges relates to what happened to local and regional trade, how and why, even as intercontinental long-distance trade expanded. This question is particularly pertinent considering the potential differences in impacts of these types of trade on economic development under certain circumstances. In fact, for the Asian context, the centrality of regional trade to long-term economic development has been highlighted as a force behind the accelerated economic transformation (Latham, 1994). It has been argued that the regionally synchronous growth, with its flying geese pattern, as seen in the phenomenal post-war economic development in Asia was made possible by the division of labour and specialization within the region as well as with the outside world (Sugihara, 2011). In this perspective, categorizing and understanding long-distance and local/regional trade as well as their interconnectedness appears crucial. Key amongst the manifold reasons for this course of action includes the increased potential in understanding the nature of commercial organization, levels of specialization, geographic and commodity compositions as well as the scale and scope of demand and supply markets. In properly drawing these out, markets could be seen as heterogeneous, rather than

homogenous, and thus permit differentiated responses to growth constraints and opportunities.

To a larger extent, the desire to address constraints and optimize opportunities in local/regional and international contexts remains the major driving force of most development policy and research efforts. There is also no shortage of professionals and researchers from all fields of persuasion engaged in answering the intractable question of why SSA continues to lag behind even in the most basic of indices of material progress over the long term. However, not only do well-intentioned efforts not always deliver results, they sometimes lead to unintended evils. In “The Will to Improve”, Li (2007) discusses some of the short-comings of the techniques of development practitioners. Easterly (2001) has also chronicled, what in his view were, the adventures and misadventures of economists in the tropics to suggest the need for understanding context. Historians were rightly accused of abolishing poverty and economic development related research by the simply taking them off the agenda at some point (Hopkins, 2009). In recent years, nonetheless, several works including those of Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2001, 2002) and (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2010), have signaled and illustrated the value of taking the historical long-term view in understanding the development paralysis seen in Africa. Austin (2008) challenges the resultant analysis, as a compression of long term histories to find causal relationships within an institutionalist framework of private property and rent extraction, but together with Hopkins (2009) they applaud these long-term orientations of economic development analysis, especially for Africa. In

regard of these academic evolutions, and in connection with the Asian economic development experience vis-à-vis the espoused inherent value of differentiated trade studies, it seems reasonable to question what happened to the dynamics of local and regional trade histories of the SSA. This question is apposite because in many respects, an appropriate and timely response could provide invaluable insights into the development trajectory of the region from a long term perspective.

Yet, and sadly too, the focus on intra-regional trade during the colonial era has not seen much progress since a prominent economic historian rightly observed the absence of studies on the internal trade of West Africa some forty five years ago¹². This observation is also in the scenario in which studies on pre-colonial West Africa postulate the existence of a structure of regional interactions moderated by long-distance trade. In fact, a reading of the literature not only provides a fascinating account of the patterns of such exchanges but also reveals the accompanying dynamism. In a seminal work, Lovejoy (1973) discusses the origins, evolution and commercial organization of regional kola trade prior to colonialism and highlights the key role of regional merchant networks. In what may be read as a natural extension of his work on kola, Lovejoy (1975) reconstructs the pre-colonial salt industry in central Sudan¹³ to suggest how regionalized and specialized the economy was. In yet another influential study, Curtin (1975), demonstrated the dynamism of the

¹² Hopkins (1973) used the term “domestic trade of West Africa”. p. 244.

¹³ A geographical area roughly comprising much of what became known as Northern Nigeria and Niger.

Senegambia¹⁴ regional economy of West Africa from 1450-1850 and consequently discredited the view that pre-colonial Africa was composed of isolated, primitive and subsistent economies. As further evidence, Lovejoy and Baier (1975) discussed how closely integrated different parts of the areas immediately southern of the Sahara had become on the eve of colonialism by revealing the localized specialization that sustained dependency on production for market between regional boundaries. In fact, and by extension, the sense of devitalization and discontinuity to the then flourishing regional economy in these desert surroundings may serve as a classic example of the changes that were to follow with the advent of formal colonialism. Further, and still in the pre-colonial era, Eltis and Jennings (1988) argued that the rich diversity of cultivated and manufactured products in the internal trade amongst Western African economies signifies the level of sophistication of the regional economy. Robert (1980), being more interested in the drivers of such internal exchanges in the precolonial era, questioned Hopkin's (1973) market-driven analysis of the domestic economy of West Africa. In the end, not only does he argue for an enhanced view of ecological diversities and complementarity but also for the recognition of the influences of the state and political economy in such commercial exchanges. Taking a long-term pre-colonial view like Curtin (1975), Inikori (2013) concedes that intra-regional trade persisted throughout in the precolonial period and/but contends that the burgeoning inter-regional commodity exchanges, mostly

¹⁴ Senegambia region was composed of autonomous and semi-autonomous kingdoms that seem to typify a regional group. It included Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea Bissau and parts of Mali, Mauritania, and Guinea.

along the Niger Bend¹⁵ area of West Africa from 1450-1650, must have been negatively affected by the violence that accompanied the slave trade in the two hundred years prior to 1850. A defining characteristic of most of these studies is the absence of statistics and comparable measures indicating the relative magnitude of internal and external exchanges. Nonetheless, what seems patent from these insights is the sustenance of internal trade in the pre-colonial era driven largely by the industry of indigenous market forces and ecological complementarity. With this understanding, it is important to recall that in all forms of great changes and raptures, such as those wrought by colonialism in the later part of the 19th century, some element of continuity is carried forward. Moreover, when the changes actually do little to impede the main drivers of a phenomena, a higher degree of continuity is assured. In the particular case of colonialism, internal trade was energized by the improvements in transport infrastructure and the improvements in security amongst others. Ultimately, these pre-colonial accounts provide insights into long-term initial conditions for expecting the further expansion of internal trade under colonialism and beyond.

In spite of Hopkin's (1973) prompting, the precolonial context and the exigencies of studying differentiated types of trade, subsequent researchers have given hardly any consideration to local and regional trade in West Africa. Some of those who did consider this aspect of trade, for example Hodder (1965), actually doubted whether

¹⁵ An area watered by the inland delta of the River Niger from the Mali to where it enters modern Nigeria.

local trade and local markets (in his view community-level trade) evolved organically in West Africa considering the propinquity and similarity in production of African communities. In the end, he suggested that local trade and markets in West Africa must have been stimulated only by long-distance trading contacts.

In retrospect, the efforts of earlier researchers on intra-regional trade in West Africa can broadly be grouped into studies on domestic (intra-colony) and inter-colony trade. The work of Hodder and Ukwu, (1969) discussing trade within the larger Yorubaland in Nigeria is an example. The internal exchanges of staple food within the Gold Coast was the subject of investigation by White (1956). Whereas this work was a refreshing departure from the intercontinental focus of research, and aside from being in the twilight of colonialism, it was more territorial-bound and focused on the geography of the distribution rather than the general incentives underlining production and distribution. The study by Hay and Smith (1962) on the inter-regional trade in Nigeria is also territory-bound, though it offers insights into interregional payments for the trading and transport services involved in a post-war era. In Dahomey (present day Benin), Tardits (1962) suggested, with limited statistical force, that agricultural production undertaken in the south was traded throughout the colony due mainly to ecological and demographic differences. In terms of inter-territorial trading relations in the region, although it does not seem entirely clear which specific period was referred to, Hodder (1967) has indicated that the extent of inter-state trade was 1%, 4% and 3% of the total trade of Nigeria, Gold Coast (what became post-colonial Ghana) and Sierra Leone respectively. In a slight departure, a recent study by

Nugent (2002), was helpful in understanding the intricacies of trading relations, including smuggling, along and across the Gold Coast and Togoland borders.

From these studies, the emerging impression is that those who ventured to study local and regional trade have rarely offered any form of comprehensive and regionalized understanding of the dynamics of internal trade in West Africa. It is therefore understandable that a revealing feature of two of the most extensive reviews of writings on Africa and West Africa economic historiography respectively undertaken by Austin and Broadberry (2014) and J.D. Fage (1971) contained a deafening silence on any form of internal trade relations within the region. It is in response to this observed gap that this dissertation attempts to contribute a comprehensive, long-term evaluation of the extent of internal trade, comprising of both inter- and intra-territorial trade during the high age of Western dominance in the region.

1.2 A Reciprocal Comparison Approach

It has been suggested here that the literature contains no comprehensive and systematic study of internal trade in West Africa at the time when the region was under the sustained influence of the global integrative force of colonialism. At the same time, and contrary to its expressed nature, globalization with its discontents continues to demand an improved understanding of the complex dynamics of regional and local economic and trade histories. Even more urgent for studies of this type of trade is the methodological revolution that has occurred in the study of economic history. Following periods of conceptual debate, 'reciprocal comparison'

appears to be the best of both worlds between the Eurocentric and Africanist orientations that have hitherto dominated historical studies. According to Pomeranz (2008:8), “reciprocal comparison involves viewing both sides of the comparison as a deviation when seen through the expectations of the other, rather than always considering one as the norm.” The emergence of reciprocal comparison, and its popularization within the African context by Austin (2007) and Broadberry and Gardiner (2014), stipulates attention to the agency of Africans in response to foreign impulses. Thus, this study which attempts to reflect the responses of local and regional economic forces under external impact is consistent with these methodological changes.

1.3 Diversities: Politics and Ecology

The selection of West Africa is stimulated by several factors including its unique trading history¹⁶ as well as the complex and interdependent socio-ecological diversities that are similar to most parts of SSA. In this view, the findings from this study are likely to be context-driven while possessing a higher degree of generalizability to other parts of SSA and beyond. For all of its distinctiveness, West Africa is replete with both natural and man-made diversities that created regions within the region. Some of the diversities that heralded its progress during Western domination include, ecological, demographic, socio-cultural as well as political features. Ecologically¹⁷, a forest belt, run horizontally to the north of a thin coastal

¹⁶ West Africa is traditionally thought to have a comparatively long history in intense markets involvement than the rest of SSA. According to Austin, (2014:894) this comparison is probably due to the region's active participation in transatlantic trade which has the propensity to improve access to written records of trade.

¹⁷ Aside from the section on political diversities, much of what follows is culled from Prothero (1969).

zone, covers about a third of the regional territory from the Gulf of Guinea coastline. Northward from the forest zone, also in horizontal fashion, lie the savanna and sahelian ecological zones of what may pass as the northern hemisphere of the region. Whereas the sharp distinctions of forest, savanna and sahel zones may have become less apparent and obvious, at least from the mid-20th century, these differentiations were unmistakable even in the late 19th century (Morgan and Moss, 1965). Socio-cultural diversities can be explained along the 'north' and 'south' divide. The 'north', comprising major tribes such as the Hausa, Mossi, Fulani, with prolonged trans-Saharan Arabic influences in earlier centuries tended to be Islamic in faith. Tribes such as the Akan, Mande, Ibo, and Yoruba, with sustained trans-Atlantic European contacts due to their southward location, professed the Christian creed. Interspersed amongst the mainly Islamic north and Christian south are smaller proportions of pagans.

Long before the late 19th century, these ecological, demographic and socio-cultural diversities fused to somewhat determine the nature of economies within and across the region. The economy of the 'north' was largely founded on cash crops such as groundnuts and cotton. Its local and internal sustenance was fueled by staple food crops like millet, sorghum and vegetables. Unsurprisingly, livestock was a major component of the economy of the wider north, not least because of the propitious near-absence of the predatory trypanosomiasis which was mainly prevalent in the forested south. Conversely, the southern economies were usually sustained by staple roots and tuber crops such as cocoyam, plantain, and yam, as well as cassava,

rice, and maize. Exempting mostly groundnuts and cotton, it is mostly in the southern belt that the historicized expansion of intercontinental staple export agriculture from West Africa in the colonial period and even into the 21st century, was and is mostly found. Oil palm, cocoa, and coffee were cultivated in this zone in Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone. A major intra-West African traded commodity from the pre-colonial to colonial era, kola nut, also originated from this forest belt.

The general strand of the literature and official correspondence reveals not only the victory of political economy considerations of the colonizers but also, indirectly, the colonizers' limited focus on the environment, society and their potentialities for local and regional development. In his commentary on partitioning, the then British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury famously admitted that "we have been engaged in drawing lines upon maps where no white man's feet have ever trod; we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were." (cited in Herbst 1989:674). For Asiwaju (1985) the study of European archives supports accidental rather than conspiratorial marking of African boundaries. That the colonial state appeared to have been organized at the solicitation of European mercantilist may in itself reveal the extent of understanding of the colonized areas by the eventual governments. In support of this view, Hopkins (1973) argues that colonial rule was imposed in response to crises in 'legitimate' commerce.

As hinted earlier, a rather curious aspect of the approach to partitioning on the West Coast¹⁸ was the role assigned to ecological and environmental factors and their potential effect on regional commercial exchanges. For instance, the endemic and mostly fatal presence of, with an accompanying almost fatalistic attitude to, malaria, was publicized until the eventual breakthrough by Ronald Ross around 1897. Many studies, including those from Herbst (1989) as well as Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2011), have commented on the arbitrariness of partitioning in Africa. However, a review of the specific context of the final settlement between the French and the British concerning the British coastal possessions and upper Niger areas of West Africa, seems to indicate a potent mixture of motives and different forms of power. The West African Frontier Force was employed to defend the river Niger area from further French expansion. This resulted in Britain possessing larger tracks of land in both northern Nigeria and the hinterlands of the Gold Coast. The outcome of the settlement was probably interpreted by Lord Salisbury as both the triumph of military power and power of ecological knowledge of the area when he asserted that the French had been left with the 'light' soils of the savanna (Fieldhouse, 1967:223). These sentiments seem consistent with Sir C.P Lucas' remarks that Britain had "picked out the eyes" of West Africa (cited in McPhee, 1971:12). To a considerable extent, it can be argued, with the benefit of hindsight, that these ecological and environmental considerations were focused on the potential of these conditions to propel production for intercontinental markets. Even more importantly, it seems that

¹⁸ The term is adopted from colonial records and will be used interchangeably with West Africa.

the value of the knowledge and perceptions of the indigenous actors on their environment and ecology was of little, if any, consequence to the colonizers. However, with a history of trans-saharan and regional trade in precolonial era, mostly induced by ecological differences and dexterity of regional actors, the tendency for existing indigenous trading forces to exploit their comparative advantage in knowledge of local and regional markets as well as ecology may not be underestimated. In fact, the unification of the coastal regions with part of the savanna areas meant that the dense forest areas which had for decades somewhat impeded trade and socio-economic progress amongst most of inhabitants of the region would slowly but surely be eased with the passage of time. Thus, environmental and ecological commonalities and diversities, mostly based on the perceptiveness of local and regional actors, provided a powerful condition for the growth in local and regional trade. Indeed, Hailey (1957) was right when he suggested that the relative importance of internal and local trade in West Africa may have resulted from the great variety of environments and resources and from the stimulus provided by the export crops economy.

Another important source of diversity in West Africa sprang from its political settlement. Similar to most parts of Asia, West Africa was composed of politically dependent territories. It is this form of man-made diversity that created what may be considered the most visible heritage and legacy of European domination in the region. In the study period of 1880-1940, almost all swaths of West Africa were exposed and influenced to different degrees by policies and actions of separate

western colonizing powers. With the exception of Liberia, all other parts of the region formed part of wider European empires created by Britain, France, German, and Portugal. The escape of Liberia from direct European domination is, in part, explainable by its ethnic and historical connections with the United States of America. In modern African history, political economy has emerged as central to the understanding of the economics of colonial development relating to Africa. Here, the metropolitan interest is reflected in territorial division, tariff and taxation policy. The origins of territorial division in Africa have previously been debated to suggest that the ratification of the Brazza-Makoko Treaty¹⁹ and a host of other French Naval actions ignited the 'scramble for Africa'(Robinson and Gallagher, 1966). As a consequence, the policies of the French have also been interpreted to argue that, rather than the scramble being a response to British occupation of Egypt in 1882, the actions of the French were the principal cause of the scramble which led to the partitioning (Newbury and Kanya-Forstner, 1969). The occasionally conquest-driven determination of political territories inevitably resulted in boundaries and frontiers. [Table 1](#) in addition to other information, (attached in page 372) provides an account of the European-centred political settlement in West Africa. There were further gradations in status within these political territories. Three forms of European-dominated dependencies were generally distinguishable: *colonies*, *colonial protectorates*, and *mandates*. These types of protectorates are somewhat distinct

¹⁹ For the implications of the Brazza-Makoko Treaty, see Dominique OBA
[http://www.ajer.org/papers/v6\(05\)/C06051418.pdf](http://www.ajer.org/papers/v6(05)/C06051418.pdf)

from 'real' protectorates²⁰ in the sense that native chiefs headed tribes and communities, rather than recognizable states (Wieschhoff, 1944). Wieschhoff makes an interesting point that in the post-1880 era when the scramble for Africa was in full force, the citizens of European nations, in this case Britain, begun to question the moral locus of such forceful subjugation. As an appeasement, the term *protectorate* or *colonial protectorate* came into vogue, connoting a sense of reformation as well as the civilized nature of these new acquisitions. In this interpretation, it seems that the term *colonial protectorate* was in part adopted as a decoy for appeasing moralists at home while acting a ruse for excluding other colonizers from seeking to enter the said 'protected' and earmarked areas of interest. The notion of mandates emerged in the post-WWI era when territories which were previously under German domination in West Africa were re-aligned to British and French territories under Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant. These mandated territories, Togo and parts of Cameroon, were administered as integral parts of British and French territories. These political demarcations tended to have massive implications that ranged from trading relationships to economic development prospects and socio-cultural progress. In recent times, a number of historians including Austin (2010), Frankema (2012) and Tadie (2013) have sought to suggest a correlation between the level of territorial material progress and the identity of the European colonizer, even though there are no established patterns in this continuing debate.

²⁰ There were no real protectorates in West Africa. Morocco, Tunisia and Zanzibar were the only Protectorates recognized under international law in Africa. These states had recognized rulers and yet placed their territories under the protection of European powers.

A major reason for reviewing this side of the political history of partitioning is the expectation that this clarification is not only crucial to understanding notional and legal values but also the resultant administrative architecture that emerged and persisted throughout the colonial period. Indeed, it brings additional clarity, and as will be argued throughout this dissertation, especially in Chapter II, the character and timing of the institution of administrative control tended to condition the capture of internal trade statistics. The full implication of these sub-regional diversities and the pursuit of a regionalized study is that the applicable analytical framework would be anchored on a combination of both the politically-determined differentiations and socio-ecological distinctions. Altogether, the connections between the economics of colonial development, political settlements and ecological considerations signal the need to examine the roles of indigenous efforts in mediating and optimizing such opportunities and constraints as prevailed in West Africa during the period.

1.4 Data: Source and Archival Work

As noted previously, the emergent political settlement translated into the recording of trade statistics and socio-economic information along the lines of colonizing European nation-states. Consequently, the recognizable colonial records are, namely, British West Africa (BWA), French West Africa (FWA), German West Africa (GWA), Portuguese West Africa (PWA) and Independent West Africa (Liberia). It may be the case that the dearth of statistical records, especially on land-borne trade, may have discouraged extensive inquiries into internal trade. In this context, the challenges and inspiration involved in addressing this gap seem almost equal in

appeal. Fortunately, not only have the issues become more pressing, but the range of possible source materials has seen marked improvements. Importantly, the means for accessing these materials have equally witnessed remarkable positive changes. Today, researchers are positioned to exploit information technologies to access materials without making physical appearances. In respect of the study and subject area, historical records are now open for reference even into the post-colonial period in various non West Africa-based archive institutions. The refreshing sense of organization occurring in the management of administrative records on regional and local issues held in various national and local-level archive departments within West Africa is also helpful to the current pursuit.

For this study, the writer has had the good fortune to visit archives as well as electronically access records held on West Africa²¹. An important outcome of these visits has been the accumulation of a wealth of historical records, sometimes from the provincial levels, that allows the writer to construct a much larger range of statistical and descriptive evidence. The library and archival work, coupled with the exploitation of the information 'revolution' has led to a relatively wider set of statistics and related information which afford the writer an improved opportunity to make a guided assessment of the statistics available. This had enabled the writer to question

²¹ Visits were made to National Archives Office in Kew Gardens, United Kingdom. While in the United Kingdom, visits were also made to libraries and archival offices that specialize in West Africa. The libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, London School of Economics, as well as the British National Library were consulted. The London Metropolitan Archives which holds records of Europeans with business interests in West Africa as well as the British Bank for West Africa was also visited. Similarly, key national and local archive departments, mostly in Ghana and Nigeria (British West Africa) were visited. There was also a less successful visit to Dakar, Senegal in the hope of assembling trade statistics on FWA.

the revealed level of internal trade and also support an estimation of the extent of internal trade integration in the period. It is hoped that the emergent framework and approach as well as the resultant estimates will spur on further studies that draws us closer to the real extent of trade in other regions.

Broadly, and as will be seen in the bibliography, the data used for this study is from both published and unpublished sources. These groups are further divided into statistical and non-statistical sources (mainly descriptive sources). The statistical data employed are solely commercial trade²² records contained in published sources. Commercial trade statistics were mostly culled and collated from the published *Blue Books of Statistics* on the British colonies in the region. The general trends of exports, imports and re-exports as well as the accompanying commodity compositions were easy to comprehend and interpret. Crucially, trade data were collected by the customs outfits and officials and thus included key information on import and export trade and shipping of each of the four territories with all countries as well as some trade within and across the areas of the British sphere of influence on the West Coast. Viewed from the prospects for West African economic historiography, the *British Customs Ledger* is less helpful when compared with the colonial *Blue Books*. The trade data contained in the latter seem more comprehensive and informative while the former outlines only the trade and shipping of each colony with the United Kingdom. Similarly, the *Statistical Abstracts of the British Overseas Dominions and*

²² Procurement and trade by government (commodities) were mostly limited and were not subject to usual commercial taxation considerations and intended for official purposes. Mostly, *Blue Books* differentiated and highlighted them.

Protectorates is less comprehensive in comparison with the Blue Books. As with all colonies of the British Empire, the Annual Colonial Reports which accompanied the Blue Books in this region, published mainly from around the beginning of 1890s, were equally instrumental. They spell out, amongst others, details relating to socio-economic, political as well as ecological conditions crucial for contextualizing the data contained in the Blue Books. They also provide useful amendments to the data reported in the Blue Books. Additionally, they discuss the plans and efforts of the colonial administration in each of the four dependent territories, thus supporting analyses of indigenous responses to the role of government. Further, the official publication of specific Trade Reports highlighting the trade fortunes of each British territory, mostly the post-WWI era were equally insightful. In some stances, unpublished enclosures in official correspondence, containing statistical insights, were adopted to buttress or negate an impression.

Additionally, the publication of key Sessional Papers, subject-matter driven commission and committee reports, administrative correspondence, departmental and provincial reports on trade, agriculture and transportation (whenever possible) have been instrumental in undertaking this study. In the course of this paper, as will be seen later, clarifications in the form of footnotes are provided for any combination of data in compiling relevant statistical tables. Comments and observations concerning the use of information in these sources have been made, when deemed useful, to improve understanding. Admittedly, these records have some utility

defects²³ given that they were authored by colonial officials with varying degrees of commitment to subject details. In spite of this, they provide insights into understanding the dynamics of local and regional economies. As a counter measure, and in conformity with preceding studies, newspapers have been cited to validate and or counteract official positions in this paper, whenever applicable. To support the interpretation of the statistical findings, especially in respect of trade-facilitating innovations, published academic literature and innovation specific books as well as official reports have been variously consulted. It will be noted that the content is both detailed and specific but at the same time general. This reflects an attempt to capture a regional perspective without losing the important specific details.

1.5 Significance and Contribution of Study

In the expectation that a regionalized study, and in particular of trade integration in an age of globalization, may hold sway as an approach to the study of economic history, this study examines the extent of growth of local and regional trade when West Africa was under strong Western domination during the period.

It is primarily a statistical study reinforced with interpretation by the use of descriptive sources. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first attempt at both revealing and estimating local and regional trade for West Africa following a comprehensive examination of internal trade statistics for much of the colonial period. Our statistical framework for obtaining a more accurate extent of internal trade is also novel and

²³ A broader discussion of the statistical approach and records adopted for this study is offered at the beginning of Chapter Two.

fairly adoptable to other regions with similar challenges in the recording of land-borne trade. In fact, the characterization of the data following scrutiny as ‘hard’, ‘soft’ and ‘uncaptured’ is also unique. Evidently, there is value in statistically assessing the extent of trade as it provides insights into the trading positions (deficit or surplus) of nations and regions. With autarky almost utopian in a globalized setting, trade remains a key driver of economic growth and development. It has been used to illustrate the health, wealth and weakness of economies. Therefore, an improved understanding of the real extent of trade, whether intercontinental or regional, has strong implications. In this context, the resultant statistical estimate that sheds light on the level of economic activities during colonialism greatly affects prevailing understanding of the strength of the local and regional economies. Not only does it imply that national and regional development policy actions may have missed their actual targets, it also suggests that the potential for growth may have been squandered. In some broad sense, the resultant estimates is part of the key issues to understanding initial conditions for regional economic development.

The dissertation’s focus on internal trade is meant to highlight how the agency of indigenous people, largely without direct colonial support, integrated the regional economy. From here, two imperatives relating to economic dynamism and regionalization are seen. These responses to colonial economic innovations and institutions underscores the relevance of contemporary assertions relating to the need to develop an enabling environment for economic growth in the form of trade-facilitating policies and infrastructure. In other words, it may illustrate and reinforce

the 'nudge principle' as persuasively argued by Leonardo, Thaler and Sunstien (2008). Conversely, the importance of seriously considering the regional context is demonstrated by this study as the history of a single country narrative, would most likely underestimate ecological, cultural and religious commonalities in economic development. In its simplest form, regional studies of this nature hold a huge potential in illuminating how indigenous African agencies in local and regional economic development take advantage of diverse socio-environmental conditions.

With respect to literature on colonialism and globalization, this dissertation provides a new perspective. By interpreting indigenous actions towards intercontinental trade as responsive and dynamic, the literature tends to reinforce notions of draining and 'milk cow economy' syndrome, aided by willing indigenous partners. This thesis provides another but fresher image of indigenous responses to colonial institutions not directed towards the 'colonial situation'. At this point, it is stressed that this study is not cast in the mold of "The case for colonialism" as argued by Gilley (2017)²⁴. Rather, its motivation in this context has been to attempt to offer a more nuanced and unified image of actual occurrences in West Africa during the period. In this way, it is hoped, the tipping of the scales towards a dispassionate and less prejudiced assessment of the events of that period will have been offered a major boost.

²⁴ The controversy that ensued following the publication forced a withdrawal of the article by the editor.

1.6 Structure of Dissertation

The dissertation is structured into four chapters. This chapter, Chapter One, reviewed the relevant literature on the history of economic globalization and the role played in it by colonialism. The data used for this study is also highlighted to distinguish between statistical and descriptive sources. The adoption of 'reciprocal comparisons' as an approach of enquiry, has been suggested to reflect the methodological evolution occurring in the study of economic history. This approach supports the various fact findings and interpretations made in the dissertation, as the agency of indigenous people in response to foreign impulses is taken as autonomous forces of change. This approach is employed to situate the significance of this thesis in both regional and global economic history studies. The chapters that follow have been organized around key questions that provoke this study.

The function of Chapter Two, is to respond to the question relating to the extent of trade and the dynamics of its evolution in relation to total and intercontinental trade. A natural inference is the need to establish a quantified and evaluated situation of trade. Thus, relying primarily on published trade statistics, Chapter Two presents the outcome of a statistical examination of internal trade. With a strong conceptual interest in establishing the real extent of trade, sub-question arises of whether the revealed extent of trade is closer to what actually occurred. However, and because we have accumulated and synthesized ample statistical and descriptive sources, the revealed extent of trade from the recorded data is re-examined and conditioned through an emergent statistical framework. This framework enables us to establish

that a certain amount of internal trade data is uncaptured and thus unreported. The framework, which partly addresses the issue of why these data did not feature in BWA trade statistics, is employed to provide a more accurate account of to the actual amount of internal trade for the period. There is ample discussion on the dynamics of internal trade in terms of its geographical and commodity composition in this chapter as well. Attempts have been made to pictorialize the emerging impression from the estimation by suggesting the territorializing influence of land-based transportation system and tariff policy. Based on the analytical framework and the results of the statistical examination, the structure of internal trade integration is also discussed here. To address potential issues on the robustness of the statistical data, an initial discussion of the statistical framework is offered to contextualize the presentation of the statistical analysis. An effort has also been made to discuss the generalizability of the findings for the wider West African region, considering that our data are solely taken from the trade statistics of BWA. Comments have been made on issue of land quality and carrying capacity of the interior region to support our understanding of the nature of economies and estimation of internal trade. As may be suspected, and in the nature of such statistical study, several statistical charts and tables have been developed to aid comprehension.

Based on the outcome of the preceding chapters, Chapter Three and Four is focused on the institutional and infrastructural frameworks and is designed to falsify or validate the findings from the statistical examination. These chapters are premised on explaining what is known, as established by the recorded statistics, as well as

what is unrecorded but we know existed. To do this, in Chapter Three, emphasis is placed on substantiating the above two issues by analyzing the role of both networks of regional merchants and the transportation system. The approach in this chapter in respect of merchant networks is to discuss how what we know about merchant networks informs us of both what we know from the recorded and unrecorded trade statistics. A similar approach is taken with regards to the transportation system to suggest what understanding the emergent transport system offers in terms of the outcome of the statistical evaluation of both the revealed and estimated extent of internal trade. Of particular interest in this chapter is also the attempt to connect and combine the resultant understanding of the role of merchant networks and the transportation system to explain what is revealed and estimated from the statistical evaluation. For the sake of clarity, merchant networks and the transport system are initially discussed separately prior to a combined synthesis of their related effect on internal trade.

With respect to Chapter Four, the principal motivation is to assess what is known of the effect of currency and financial development on the West Coast in the context of what is established as both the recorded and unrecorded extent of internal trade. In this regard, the insights obtained from the statistical examination as well as currency and financial developments are paired and related. An interpretation of the circulation of currency and emergent financial development is inferred in relation to the extent of internal trade. To understand what is revealed and estimated in terms of internal trade, the prevailing understanding of the effects of tariff policies are also

invoked as part of Chapter Four. The interplay between tariffs and taxation as well as unrecorded internal trade is reviewed to reveal the potential effect of local import substitutions. Here, the nature of indigenous responses to government policy on tariffs and currency changes are illustrated. Additionally, the capacity of ecological diversity to mediate political economy issues of tariffs and transport infrastructure while sustaining internal trade is highlighted through a schematic illustration. Chapter Four concludes this study. The conclusion summarizes the thesis, offers interpretations on the findings and places them in the context of the observed extent of trade integration, economic development and the study of economic history.

CHAPTER TWO

A STATISTICAL EXAMINATION OF INTRA-BRITISH WEST AFRICAN TRADE

The primary purpose of this chapter is to present a statistical evaluation of internal trade in the region. This objective is sustained by the desire to respond to questions concerning the extent and dynamics of internal trade. Our main interest is to understand the actual extent of internal trade and is therefore pre-disposed to questioning anything short of what may be considered closer to reality of internal trade as pertained in the period. This evaluation is based on trade statistics obtained from the four territories under the influence of the British Empire, commonly referred to as British West Africa (BWA). In this context, it is emphasized that this evaluation and the resultant outcome is only a reflection of the extent of internal trade integration from the perspective of British trade statistics.

2.1 Statistical Approach and Concerns

Given that this is primarily a statistical study, the character and reliability of the adopted statistics is discussed prior to eventual presentation of the statistical evaluation undertaken in this chapter. This is expected to help frame the examination of the assembled statistical records, uphold the resultant evaluation and provide insight into the adopted approach and related concerns. In response to the emergent issues, a discussion of the remedial actions and ensuing characterization of the data is also provided.

2.1.1 Statistics: A Background

Clearly, the study is stimulated by Robson's (1972) observation that the most important methodological development since the 20th century²⁵ has been the introduction of measurements in varying degrees in virtually every one of the social sciences. The adoption of the statistical approach allowed the use of quantitative data, with period-specific scrutiny, that offered insight into the evolution of the internal economies of West Africa with emphasis on patterns of continuity and change as well as invigorating and enervating forces at play. It is hoped the output will represent another demonstration that West African economic historiography is equally responsive to extensive data analysis, often seen in the study of the economic history of other regions.

The inclination to adopt a statistical approach has been framed by two principal developments in the study of economics and history. The first relates to the value of statistical insights in economic development decisions. Rarely do statistics achieve much on their own. More often than not, the results of statistical evaluations transition into socio-economic policy decision making processes. The notion of evidenced-based-policy making has remained central in economic development policy circles (Madison, 2007). Every so often, and much more recently, this notion seems to literally denote a pre-requisite use of statistics. It appears that in an ideologically-conscious and politically-charged global and local settings, statistics have achieved

²⁵ Maddison (2007), p. 294, also clarifies that although Macro-Measurements started in the 17th Century, it emerged as a basic analytical tool for economic historians around the 1940s. See also "macromasurement" – http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/articles/colin_clark.pdf#search=MacroMeasurements+started+in+the+17th+century.

in themselves something of 'depoliticization power'. There seem to be an intrinsic power in statistics that fosters decision making in circumstances often fraught with partisan political coloration and contestation. Although numbers do not have any innate ability to speak for themselves per se, this property of statistics has tended to lead to the general refrain of "numbers and statistics speak for themselves". The combination of geopolitical contexts and the innate character of statistics have served a propitious cannon fodder for the increased necessity and use of statistics. Closely related to this 'policy-decision effect', and as a second factor, is the emerging understanding that long-term history matters for economic development. In this pursuit, historical statistics have become, as probably never before, critical raw material for understanding the economic development histories of regions and countries. The propensity of prevailing statistical insights in setting nations and regions on certain development paths remains apparent and retains potency. Thus, the value of this historical statistical evaluation in shedding light on trajectories and improving understanding of initial prospects as well as choices for economic development in West African colonies cannot be overemphasized.

Notwithstanding the intimated significance, any attempt to present this statistical evaluation without the usual 'handle with care' caution will signal a new level of appalling naivety and intolerable arrogance. Morgenstern (1965), even when writing on advanced economies, rightly appealed for greater alertness and sentience when reporting economic statistics. Mindful of this, important region-specific and generic qualifications of the records used for this study may be crucial in appreciating the

outcome that is presented shortly in this chapter. In terms of the region, the historicized notoriety of '*Poor Numbers*' in Africa as highlighted by (Jerven, 2013) cannot be ignored. To the question of whether Sub-Saharan trade statistics mean anything, Yates (1990), considering data between 1980 and 1990, argued in the negative and showed that the region's trade data was generally defective and seriously challenged. It is only with hope, rather than reason, that it could be argued that the general state of data and statistics of the region in a century prior to Yates' (1990) work would have been ideal or markedly superior. In fact, it seems the poor statistical capability of the region has roots in long-term pre-colonial history. The nature and extent of state formation in the region can be cited as a plausible reason (Herbst, 2000) for the state of statistical records in Africa. Relative factor endowment of the region has been suggested to have played a role. Austin (2008) explains that African polities tended to be typically land-abundant and labour-scarce. This unique combination of factor markets meant that population was both very mobile and likely to be dispersed, implying a higher opportunity cost of administration and governance with a possible result of limited comprehensive data on socio-economic life. By extension, even as taxation was a major medium for state records and statistics, African states and colonial governments were less able to effectively tax the use of the most abundant resource - land. Wages and labour statistics were equally impacted due mostly to the persistent limited formality of free labour markets (Jerven, 2013). In this light, statistical capability and the resultant 'poor numbers' within West Africa can be seen as a function of the spread of the state as well as its ability to

function effectively within the constraining conditions of resource endowments. The question arising from these observations requires a discussion of the nature and character of the state and how that may have affected the extent and reliability of the statistics produced and employed for this study.

In retrospect, it now appears fairly acceptable to argue that the intents and aspirations of colonial administration in British West Africa were almost always held in check and moderated by local conditions. These conditions, in turn, tended to occasion and influence the operationalization of the so-called indirect rule or autocratic paternalism²⁶ in BWA (Hetherington, 1978). In this framework, BWA colonial governments limited the exercises of direct government as far as they possibly could. Their main pre-occupation centred on repelling competing European colonizers from their territories of influence, ingeniously mobilizing adequate revenue and facilitating conducive environment for trade, philanthropy and proselytization purposes. Based on this, a focus on trade prosperity occasioned the need and efforts towards recording and analyzing trade statistics and information. The outcomes of such endeavors, though not without weaknesses, remain the primary raw material inputs for this study. As may be recalled, the nature of the sources of data has been presented in the previous chapter. Notwithstanding the narrated instrumentality of these records, observable challenges persist. The challenges, being of peculiar prominence in these records, when left unelaborated, increase the tendency to place

²⁶ McPhee (1971) used this terminology.

their utility and output on a slope that is slippery almost to the point of incredulity. An attempt is therefore made to discuss these challenges. The hope remains that these efforts will enable the numbers and resultant evaluation to achieve more precision and subtlety.

The first challenge concerns the lack of continued uniformity in entries, although the templates used for recording trade data in BWA seemed strikingly similar and at times were the same. In some instances, the entries were not in the precise desired form. Sometimes and in some territories, recorded trade values included bullions and species while others did not. These inconsistent entries were not readily amenable to the consolidation and comparison requisite in such a regionalized study. The absence of the desired uniformity required that appropriate emphasis be provided to avoid simplistic interpretations. As will be noted, wherever and whenever such situations prevail, footnotes are used to indicate these issues.

Another important limitation of the historical statistics used for this study is the possible variability as well as the presumption of the unknown competencies of collectors and compilers of these statistics. As explained, the trade-related information contained in the Blue Books was recorded by customs outfits and officials at the various ports and frontier posts within territories. The Blue Books and Annual Colonial Reports were prepared under the signature of the leader of government (Governor or Governor General) of the territory. The Trade Reports were usually authored under the authority of the Comptroller of Customs. In every

sense, the foregoing is only suggestive of the level of personnel and institutions that produced the primary documents adopted for this study. It does not do much by way of clarifying the qualifications and competencies of persons that manned these positions of trust during the episode of colonialism in the region.

In response to these concerns, a discussion of staffing strengths of the British administrations could be important. Contrary to hitherto impressions of an iron-tight grip of the ubiquitous presence of colonizers in territories, Kirk-Greene (1980) has demonstrated that the manpower presence of British administrators on the West African Coast during the time as very scant and thus subsequently typified its size as a 'thin white line'. In terms of the composition of the 'thin white line', Robert Heussler's (1963) work is quite informative. In his account, the entire British Colonial Service, based on focus and personnel, was primarily an African Service and secondarily a Southeast Asian Service. Within Africa, West African territories took a greater share of Colonial Office recruits thus further corroborating the pre-eminence of the region in African colonial history. Additional insight into the personal recruitment procedures may be re-assuring of the quality and potential uniformity of the colonial officers in the region. On the process of recruitments, Heussler (1968) suggests that the pre-1895 period was characterized by a somewhat unstructured and 'patronage-based' system bearing semblances of the practices of the early Victorian age²⁷. Along with the period of scrambling for Africa there emerged some

²⁷ Much of the following discussions on personnel and structure is based on understandings from Heussler's work.

informal and small scale liaison between the Colonial Office and major universities for the recruitment of officers. A fully-restructured recruitment mechanism would not emerge until 1895. The restructuring centred on attracting qualified and competent officers, based on a relatively objective set of conditions, for the Service with equal emphasis on in-service training. Instructively, there were continuities from the previous mechanism especially with the targeting of university graduates (mainly from Cambridge and Oxford Universities). Following these reforms, the number of administrative officers on duty in West Africa increased remarkably. Specifically, and between 1909 and 1939, officials in Nigeria and Gold Coast, two most dominant territories in terms of trade, rose from 261 to 411 and 47 to 114 respectively (Haussler, 1963). Admittedly, these increased numbers are bereft of specificity for custom officials as well as trade-facilitating and recording professionals. However, given the 'Traders Empire'²⁸ orientation of British colonial rule, it may be reasonable to argue that trade-related professionals may have formed a commensurate portion of these increased administrators. Viewed from the standpoint of a symbiotic existence of the historicized intercontinental export expansion and the relative prevalence of peaceful conditions in the region, this suggestion of increases in trade officials may be even more plausible. Potentially, the re-structuring of the recruitment process that focused on attracting more qualified persons mainly from reputable universities might have impacted the general quality of administrators. Admittedly, the 'Oxbridge' products may not have been field officers and rather higher (next)

²⁸ Knowles (2005) used this phrase. p. 261.

level administrators. However, the potential effect of their assumed quality on the work of the entire system may have invariably affected the nature of resultant trade statistics recorded. Furthermore, the increases in the numbers over the period may be suggestive of the improvements in the coverage in terms of scope and scale of trade statistics.

Improved qualifications and numbers of trade administrators were in themselves important. However, they do not automatically equate to actual and manifest competent performance. They also reveal very little, if any, about the moral credibility of these officers to do what might be considered right in the mosquito-infested and disease-endemic coast of tropical West Africa. In an 'age of empire', the tendencies to prop-up and pad-up data to showcase empire superiority over rivals may not be simply glossed over and dismissed under the simple pretext of qualification. In this context, it may be agreeable that many facts can co-exist concurrently while remaining contradictory of themselves. Thus, it can be true that the numbers and qualifications of trade professionals improved, and it can equally be true that the output of these officers by way of recording trade were not close to the realm of professionalism. Mitchel (2005) pointed out that demographic and socio-economic data have often been doctored to deceive potential enemies, or for prestige, or to amplify the power of the governing elites. It is also known that states did not collect statistics just because they were curious, at least not early part of the 20th century. The statistics they collected reflected their interests (Jerven, 2014). Clearly, at the heart of this suspicion is the issue of questioning the purpose for which these trade

statistics were recorded by officials of the colonial administration in BWA. A more rigorous verification of the reliability of these recorded trade statistics is needed to offer extra layers of comfort to their utility and resultant evaluation.

A useful means for verifying the reliability of these recorded statistics is by employing a 'double entry principle' of international trade. It is conventional to record goods that are traded across political borders as imports and exports at the point of entry and exit respectively. With potential lingering doubts on the professionalism of trade recording officials in the 'age of empire', an assessment of the trade entries in a non-British territories may serve a good data triangulation exercise. The choice of non-British spheres of influence, either on the West Coast or any other part of the world, is to eliminate the possibility of intra-empire collusion and bring some confidence to the statistics adopted for this study. This is one of the few moments where the fabled competitiveness and sometimes hostile international relationships in Africa markets become an asset. It is open knowledge that the encounters of the French and the English, especially at the high point of western domination on the West Coast of Africa, were anything but mutually romantic. They were riddled with open contestations and mutual suspicions. In this circumstance, the possibility of colluded entries in trade statistics is almost completely eliminated, if not out-rightly preposterous to even consider. To do this, the trading records for Dahomey, as contained in *Journal Officiel du Dahomey* for 1902 have been accessed. This journal (copy attached and highlighted in [Appendix 5](#) on page 348) reports on the imports and exports Dahomey commodities using its ports of trade. In 1902, there is a record

of export of kola 48.480fr to Lagos from Port Novo in Dahomey. In the same year, the *Blue Books* (copy attached and highlighted in [Appendix 5](#) on page 347) of Lagos record £3 worth of kola imports from Port Novo, a prominent shipping port in Dahomey at the time. Using a general exchange rate of £1 to 25fr works to reflect the value of traded kola between Lagos and Port Novo as approximately £2. Admittedly, the expectation was to arrive at an exact figure of £3. However, some important clarification offered by Manning (1982)²⁹ seems insightful in this instance. In describing the foreign trade of Dahomey, Manning comments on incomplete records on minor exports, and describes a practice where French officials arbitrarily rounded-off the values of many commodities based on the *mercuriales*³⁰ system.

Even as these observations on Dahomean trade statistics remain substantive, an important point worthy of note is that the recorded trade data for kola for the year 1902 between the two politically distinct spheres are not substantially at variance, at least economically. Accounting for the possibility of price and methodological differentials, it may be reasonable to speculate that the captured trade at both ports of trade are a fair reflection of the extent of trade. Accepting this view of reliability of the records holds broad implications for the entire statistical evaluation presented in this chapter. At a simplified level, the implication is that every recorded entry used for this study is devoid of manipulation and thus reliable. The foregoing rendition on

²⁹ See Manning (1982) for an extensive discussion of the challenges of Dahomey trade statistics, p. 344-346.

³⁰ According to Manning (1982), traders and merchants established this system for exports where exports were based on prices at the coast. These prices tended to be set in at the beginning of the year and remained unchanged for rather long periods. For instance the mercurial for sheep was 15fr a head from 1901-1914.

the nature and character of the statistical capability of the region in terms of manpower and expertise, in addition to the suggested reliability should lead to efforts towards the quality of the evaluation in this chapter. In support of improved understanding of the nature of the data used, an interpretation has been proposed.

2.1.2 Statistical Data: An Interpretation

The potential outcome of conceiving recorded trade data/statistics as a product of a pre-defined interest is that it becomes open to interpretation. Based on this, and further to detailed review, three (3) possible interpretations of the dataset available for this study are suggested. The first inference is labelled 'hard' statistics. For 'hard' statistics, the assertion here is that almost all, if not all, trade records and statistics that the colonial states desired to capture have been assembled. The nature of government and the attendant institutions that prevailed corroborates the view that the main interest of administrators in respect of trade statistics was overwhelmingly on intercontinental trade statistics, highlighting both commercial and governmental import and export exchanges between the two spheres over the Atlantic and sea-borne trade across the region. The natural barrier offered by the Atlantic, coupled with the institution of customs and ports measures across the seaboard of West African colonies, signals the effective elimination of the possibility of smuggling with regards to intercontinental trade. The dominance of sea-borne trade, away from the pre-colonial northbound land-borne trans-saharan trade, is indicative of the fact that almost all intercontinental trade, at least from 1911, from BWA was across the

Atlantic.³¹ Furthermore, trade recorders employed concepts³² of 'country of consignment' and 'country of origin' to distinguish commodities believed to be of intercontinental nature that were traded across political spheres of the region by land route³³ and re-exported across the Atlantic. Even more salient is the realization that in all cases, colonial governments relied heavily on intercontinental trade taxes as a major source of revenue. Furthermore, in capturing inter-continental trade, some level of domestic and inter-territorial trade internal trade of long-distance a nature were also captured. The incentive to record these forms of statistics tended to increase with the institutions of commodity trade-related taxes such as the caravan and cattle trade taxes within the large framework of improving the fiscal strengths of state. Furthermore, improvements in land-borne transportation such as motorized roads and railways occasioned some improvements in the recording of such local and regional trade. At times, the general extension of administrative spheres into the interior also demanded an extended focus on the nature and extent of trading within districts and provinces across ecological zones. Potentially, this incentivized regimes to vigorously pursue the accurate capture of volumes and values of intercontinental and regional trade statistics. The emerging impression from existing taxation and revenue incentives, coupled with effective elimination of smuggling through

³¹ C.A. to C.O. 29th July, 1901, and enc., C.O. 147/158. In these correspondence from Crown Agent to Colonial Office, there is information to the effect that some trade from Northern Nigeria were still taking the sahara route. It seems that the commencement and completion of the railway from Lagos to Kano successfully re-oriented that trade southward to the sea.

³² Exports were credited to countries of consignment, which is the final destination known to the exporter. For examples see *Trade Report*, 1932, Gold Coast, p.16; See also *Trade Report*, 1935, Gold Coast, p.16.

³³ Cited in the above *Trade Reports* of Gold Coast and Togo border on cocoa

geographical constraints and purposeful classification of trade is that recorded intercontinental trade statistics generally reflects the trading situation of the period. In this framework, and due to the above narrative, recorded intercontinental trade statistics for BWA are denoted as 'hard statistics'. They are considered 'hard' mostly because they are generally viewed as comprehensive, detailed and less susceptible to errors of omission and commission.

Conversely and still taking the conception of captured data as representing the interest of colonial regimes led to viewing some parts of the assembled dataset as 'soft'. The use of 'soft' in this context has no embedded and comparative notion of desirability. Rather, it is to signal the somewhat incomplete nature of these types of statistics. Their softness springs from the fact that the strength of their utility is largely constrained by the absence of some crucial recordings. In this study, a significant proportion of the internal trade statistics qualify to be labelled as 'soft'. These types of data include the records of sizeable volumes of trade, mainly on land-borne routes, that are unvalued. The emergence of railway transport facilitated the capture of some long-distance trade within territories. In other instances, the institution of tolls and taxes on designated roads required the capture of the volumes of trade crossing and entering territories as well as within territories. Additionally, local administrators, mostly along territorial borders, prepared reports on the level of trade exchanges in volumes. As pointed out, the chief characteristic of this category of trade data is that they are only in volumes and quantities. At the same time, there are no readily available and corresponding prices to convert these recorded volumes/quantities of

commodities trade for use in this value based analysis. The main point is that 'soft data' in many respects represent a situation where the potential for utilizing recorded trade statistics is constrained by the absence of insight into prevailing prices.

On the other hand, and closely related to 'soft' data is 'uncaptured' data. This third typology is noted with the understanding that whatever trade that was not the focus of trade recorders may not have been captured. It has been previously suggested that the trade orientation of colonial administrators tended to focus on intercontinental trade. Colonial officials readily admit limited capture of mostly land-borne trade within and between colonies. A look at the tariff ordinances and official reports reveal that most seaborne trade, especially between British territories of West Africa, were initially tariff-free and thus may have provided lesser incentive for actual recording. Manning (1982) also confirms a similar situation for French Dahomey statistics. He suggests that by 1893, officials recorded virtually all trans-Atlantic trade, but recorded only obvious aspects of the lagoon trade to Nigeria and Togo until 1897. Furthermore, he observes that the foreign trade of northern Dahomey did not significantly enter into the trade statistics. In this understanding, the accuracies of recorded volumes of trade at certain periods can be questioned and argued to be somewhat of an underestimation of the real levels of trade exchanges within the region. It has equally been pointed out that the inward penetration and institution of colonial administration in the interior of most colonies were delayed, gradual and uneven. The geography and demography of the region supports the view that more long-distance land-borne domestic trade occurred.

Lastly, the continued expansion of intercontinental trade serves as a good insight into the potential for increased land-born internal trade over time. The combined impact of these important contexts is that many forms of exchanges were unrecorded and remain uncaptured. In simple terms, there is potentially a gulf, probably a huge one, between what people did by way of internal trade and what people captured as being what people did by way of internal trade of the region. The term 'uncaptured' is adopted to depict the trade that must have fallen on the blind slide of data recorders as well those that were never part of the interest of those recorders.

Within this data interpretation framework of 'hard', 'soft' and 'uncaptured' data, it is obvious that this statistical evaluation is being contextualized. It is clarified that these discussions have not been intended as a destructive critique of the utility of the resultant examination to be presented shortly. Rather, they have been highlighted to indicate the extent to which these limitations can be and have been addressed. Further, this has been done in the expectation that the tendency for their casual use will be deflated and deflected to achieve precision, subtlety and contextualization. In effect, this review has admitted the main limitation of the evaluation being presented below while highlighting the utility of the outcome.

2.2 Statistical Evaluation and Data Classification

The trade statistics obtained from BWA have been re-classified into the two broad categories of *foreign* and *domestic* trade statistics. The former, foreign trade statistics, is relatively well-known and comparatively easy to access. Special

attention is paid in this dissertation to the fact that these statistics include not only inter-continental trade, but also a small amount of regional trade within West Africa (generally) and BWA. The latter, domestic trade statistics, is much less well-known, though it has been suggestively used by some scholars such as Hopkins (1973:241). It is noted that most of the statistics concern inter-regional trade (sub-regions within the region), not local trade, and the nature of the trade is similar to the regional component of foreign trade. Thus, we propose to use the term '*internal trade*', in this dissertation, as the sum of inter-territorial foreign trade and intra-territorial domestic 'long distance' trade within and between colonies in the region. Following from this clarification, the outcome of the statistical examination on the revealed (based on recorded hard statistics) extent of internal trade is presented. However, informed by some other observations, an attempt has been made to re-examine the revealed outcome resulting in an estimation of internal trade of the region. The estimation exercise is conducted in the hope of drawing closer to what may be considered as the 'real' extent of internal trade in West Africa for the period. From here, and relying on the statistical examination, the observed pattern of integration is discussed. Relevant tables, which are intermittently referred to, are grouped and labelled under Appendices 1-4.

2.3 Foreign Trade Statistics

Foreign trade refers to all inter-territorial trade of BWA colonies. This view of inter-territorial trade comprises both intercontinental and regional trade. Regional inter-territorial trade reflects all forms of trade that crosses colonial territories within the

region. This includes trade amongst the four BWA colonies, BWA trade³⁴ with non-BWA territories of West Africa as well as BWA trade with other parts of Africa.

The existing trade statistics detailing the foreign trading relations of the colonies have been collated and used in the construction of Tables 1A-1C³⁵ in Appendix 1 as a summary of the foreign trade situation for 1880-1940. Based on these tables, [Figure 2.1](#) (page 388) has been drawn to present the general pattern of foreign trade of these four colonies. As can be observed from [Figure 2.1](#) there is sustained growth of foreign trade of BWA in the two decades from 1880. Up to the Second World War, 1919-1920 remained the year of the highest recorded foreign trade in the entire history of the BWA region. During the following year, trade returned to previous and 'normal' trends of growth until the advent of the Great Depression in 1929-1930. The observed effect of the Great Depression is mostly due to the extensive inter-continental trade orientation of the region's trade. The growth of foreign trade rebounded briefly around 1936 and 1937, only to be checked once more on the eve of the Second World War, most probably by the cocoa boycotts³⁶ in the Gold Coast and Nigeria. It is curious to observe that prior to the Great Depression there were concerted efforts to market West African products on the international market. The chief exports of the BWA colonies of BWA were paraded before manufacturers in

³⁴ We find the term 'BWA trade' less fluent and thus indicate our continuing search for an alternative.

³⁵ These are unprocessed recorded data collated from the *Blue Books*. The data reflect colonies' trade with their foreign partners (both intercontinental and other regional) as well as trade amongst BWA colonies.

³⁶ Around November, 1937, as a result of Buyer Agreements entered into in respect of Gold Coast and Nigerian cocoa by almost all key European firms, a general hold-up of cocoa, accompanied by a boycott of certain European goods, was initiated by Gold Coast and Ashanti farmers. The effect of this hold-up and boycott resulted in drastic reduction of trade with Gold Coast. Very small quantities of cocoa were exported while imported goods remained unsold, affecting both foreign and domestic trade.

the Canada National Exhibition in 1928 (Nigeria, *Report of Agricultural Department*, 1929).

The sudden surge in 1919-1920 deserves further clarity. The previous year, 1918, marked the end of WWI resulting in increased fleets for improved shipping services. The resumption to a fuller scale of shipping services translated into increased imports of textiles and spirits. Similarly, enhanced shipping services partly facilitated the export of accumulated primary commodities such as cocoa and groundnuts from West Africa which had fluctuated during the war. For instance, exports of cocoa from the Gold Coast increased by approximately 360% from £1,796,985 in 1918 to £8,278,554 in 1919 (Gold Coast, *ACR*, 1929:24). This increase in cocoa exports was a result of the removal of the embargo placed on the export of cocoa – an injunction instituted under the persuasion that cocoa was not directly serviceable for British success in the war in Europe (ibid: 8). This lifting of the embargo swiftly affected the price of cocoa as merchants and traders began to out-compete themselves for the procurement and export of the product. Between 1918 and 1919, the price per ton of cocoa increased from almost £27 to £47 (ibid: 25). In effect, a rise in prices and increased shipment of accumulated volumes of commodities explain the historic level of commodity export of the region. Thus, in summary, the resumption of widespread shipping services due to the end of the war, the removal of some export restrictions, due partly to shortage of shipping lines and the pursuit of war objectives, occasioned price rises and freed accumulated quantities of primary commodities to

brink about an unprecedented spike in the value of trade to and from BWA territories in 1919-1920.

Another important insight from [Figure 2.1](#) is that the balance of trade was remarkably even throughout the long term. It is seen that up to almost 1900, both imports and exports were closely balanced. A slight divergence of imports from exports emerges from 1900 to 1912 only to be reversed during the WWI. In the inter war period, the growth of exports outpaced imports. The broader implication of this balance of trade situation is a reflection of the relatively limited extent of capital investments in the BWA colonies. Generally, the importation of capital-intensive investment materials would dwarf the export of primary agricultural and mineral commodities. Instructively, the period of some appreciable capital investments in the form of railway development which was generally intensified from 1896 to 1913 is the period where imports slightly out-performed exports. As will be seen in the commodity composition tables in subsequent sections, the importation of capital intensive machinery and equipment was comparably small and infrequent.

2.3.1. Commodity Composition

Foreign trade was replete with a certain level of variety in commodities, though dominated by a few. Tables 3.1A-3.3C have been prepared and attached in [Appendix 1](#). These tables have been designed to highlight the top-ten traded commodities in terms of exports, re-exports and imports for both intercontinental and regional trade. From 1880 -1900, the palm kernel and palm oil commodities that had dominated West African economies (since the concerted suppression of slavery and

promotion of 'legitimate' commerce from the beginning of the 19th century) remained the main drivers of intercontinental trade. Nigeria dominated this palm kernel export by exporting 62% of total palm kernel trade of the region. Palm kernel exports from Sierra Leone accounted for 23% of palm kernel shipped across the Atlantic in the last two decades of the 19th Century. The Gambia exported about 94% of groundnuts from BWA mainly to European markets from 1880-1900. Of the approximately £8,069,531 worth of palm oil exports from the region in this period, the Gold Coast supplied almost 50% with Nigeria exporting 46%.

However, in the first two decades of the 20th century, the prolonged joint dominance of both palm products (oil and kernel) in the regional export basket was broken. In spite of the substantial increases in the volumes and values of exports of these products, other commodities performed better. The cocoa 'revolution' which began in early the 1890s in the region, was beginning to have impacts. While palm kernel remained the leading exports commodity from the region, cocoa, which had not featured in the top ten commodity basket in the previous two decades, suddenly sprang into significance in place second. The Gold Coast exported 89% of this cocoa with Nigeria exporting the remainder. In terms of palm kernel exports, Nigeria increased its dominance to 72% and Sierra Leone barely maintained its export ratio at 22%. During this period, Nigeria successfully outpaced Gambia in the export of groundnuts from the region. Mainly produced in the Northern region, Nigeria exported 67% of groundnuts as compared to 33% from Gambia. Tin ore from the Nigeria, accompanied by gold, mainly from the Gold Coast, were the two prominent

minerals exported from the region in this period. Palm oil managed to be only the 5th most exported commodity from the region with Nigeria contributing 89% in this era.

In the last twenty years from 1920 to 1940, a boom in cocoa production propelled an astounding trading performance. Not only did cocoa become the leading exported commodity from the region, its performance surpassed its own trading history; the export value had at least quadrupled in comparison with the previous two decades. Such was cocoa's stellar performance that; the value of cocoa exports was almost equal to the combined export of palm oil and palm kernel; the two next most exported commodities. It is worth noting that the Gold Coast was responsible for 82% of this phenomenal cocoa export from the region. The remainder of cocoa exports originated from Nigeria. Instructively, Gambia continued to lag behind Nigeria in the export of groundnuts with 39% as compared to 60% from Nigeria. By this time, diamonds and manganese had joined gold and tin ore as the main exported minerals. Diamonds were mainly exported from Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. Exports of rubber, which had ranked in the top ten from 1880-1920, did not feature in the post-1920 era. A key implication of the dominance of colonies in the export of these commodities was that market downturns were differently felt, both over space and across time, in the region. Further, seeing the differences in the fortunes of the four BWA colonies at this time, it may be argued that the comparatively robust economic performance of both Nigeria and the Gold Coast (which later became Ghana) in the post-colonial era (generally) and the 21st century (lately) has a long historical legacy. Save the emergence of fossil fuels in these economies, the nature of this legacy is

notably revealed through the continued dominance of these same primary agricultural commodities in the basket of exported goods.

2.3.2 Geographical Composition: Intercontinental Trade

The general trend of sustained growth as seen and discussed above does little to reveal the complex dynamics relating to the direction of the foreign trade of BWA. In Tables 2.1A-2.3A in [Appendix 1](#), an attempt is made to demonstrate the direction of foreign trade of the region. The outcome clearly shows the overwhelming share of intercontinental trade and the importance of the United Kingdom (UK) in BWA trade. Given that BWA territories was under the British sphere of influence, it can be said that trade largely followed the 'Union Jack' during the sixty years prior to 1941. Generally, continental Europe remained the chief source and destination for BWA trade. When the United Kingdom is exempted, a comparison of the intercontinental dimension of foreign trade is even more insightful. The results suggest that the proportion of BWA trade with other continental regions outside Europe rose substantially from 1910. This rising trade received added impetus from 1914-1915 until the early 1920s, when the previous paradigm maintained by other European countries was restored. The rise was most likely under the influence of WWI in Europe as access to German markets and shipping services, which previously competed with the UK for palm products, were negatively affected. The United States of America remained the main driver of this trade with other continents for a larger part of the period. With the passage of time, and especially in the period following the Great Depression, there was a spirited increase in the participation of

the Asian countries in BWA trade. The two main leaders of this Asiatic integration into West African markets were India and Japan³⁷. A combination of challenging economic environments in Britain in particular³⁸, and in industrialized economies generally, coupled with the unanticipated penetration of colonial trade by countries outside the British Empire culminated in the Ottawa Agreement³⁹ in 1932 and the announcement of 'imperial preference'. This preferential framework was characterized by tariff modifications and quota impositions,⁴⁰ on imports. The full enforcement of 'imperial preference' can be expected to have affected internal West African trade integration. In simple terms, it implied that it was suddenly a matter of preference and somehow easier for Gambia to trade with Australia rather than neighboring French Senegal or Portuguese Guinea. This was in spite of the fact that trade of the region seemed to have had an in-built bias towards the fortunes of the British economy (in particular) and the empire (in general) in the preceding decades.

³⁷ Kitagawa (2015) offers a detailed account, based on *Japanese Consular Reports*, on the efforts and performance of private Japanese firms to penetrate West African markets. The discussion, based on the Japanese perspective, on the actions of Japanese merchants in the establishment of shipping lines to West Africa, and their reactions to the complaints of British Merchants in the region to the British Colonial Office is insightful and a unique counter-balance to the usual focus on the actions of European merchants in the region in this period.

³⁸ In its circular to officers in 1931, the Colonial Office was forthright to the British challenge when it stated that "the interests of the United Kingdom and those of the Colonies and Dependencies are inseparably bound up with one another, that the perils which face the United Kingdom are perils which menace the whole Empire and that any general collapse of British credit and decline in the exchange value of sterling must spell ruin for the Colonies no less than for the United Kingdom" *West African Mail and Trade Gazette (WAMTG)*, 14th May 1932. p.8.

³⁹ This was the British Empire Economic Conference that imposed limited tariffs within the British Empire, and raised high tariffs with the rest of the world. It has been called the "Empire Free-Trade" for its pursuit of "home producers first, empire producers second, and foreign producers last".

⁴⁰ Within this period, a quota system was imposed on textiles from Japan entering British West Africa while higher import duties were imposed on other finished goods from Japan, such as galvanized iron sheets, cement and paints.

2.3.3 Geographical Composition: Inter-territorial Trade

In terms of inter-territorial trade in West Africa, the available BWA data recognizes trading relations with two distinct territories. The data highlights trade between the four BWA colonies of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. It also records BWA trade with non-BWA territories such as French West Africa (FWA), German West Africa (GWA), Portuguese West Africa (GWA) and the independent territory of Liberia. The fact that this data is devoid of inter and intra-territorial trading relations within and amongst these non-BWA regions of West Africa is reiterated. Based on the available recorded trade statistics, a detailed account of this West African regional inter-territorial trade has been presented in Tables 2.1A-2.3C in [Appendix 1. Figure 2.2](#) (page 389) has been designed from these tables to highlight the pattern and trend of inter-territorial trade within West Africa by BWA colonies.

The recorded statistics reveal a sustained long-term decline in the proportion of general inter-territorial trade with West Africa relative to its total foreign trade. Specifically, it suggests that the combination of BWA trade with non-BWA territories as well as between BWA colonies declined relative to the entire foreign trade of BWA. The dramatic decline of this type of trade from 1880-1895 seems unmistakable. From around 1880 to just about when Joseph Chamberlain became colonial secretary in 1895, much of British West African regional trade was with French West Africa. While a much more detailed account of the effect of tariffs on the internal trade of West Africa will be offered in Chapter Four, it seems important to indicate that the events that ensued between the British and French, which manifested

themselves in partitioning and institution of tariffs, must have shepherded the sharp decline in this era. In some instances, there were direct efforts and countermeasures to divert trade between territories by European administrators (Kenney-Herbert, *Report to C.O*, 1890). As a response to German trade diversionary tactics, the authorities in the Gold Coast undertook a raft of measures, including the passage of an order-in-council, almost outlawing the export of goods into German Togoland in 1899. The order required traders to terminate trade at Awurakai, where the administrators had imposed what was viewed as prohibitive tariffs on goods destined to cross the River Volta into German Territories (Hodgson, letter to Chamberlain, 1899). The decline in trade between BWA and other territories, mostly FWA, in the first two decades (1880-1900) and the subsequent rise in BWA trade must have been the combined outcome of signaling and the real effect of higher tariffs as well as the further penetration into the interior of BWA which extended the market sizes within BWA territories.

It is equally helpful to note that health and epidemiological factors prevailed in this period. French Guinea and Gambia as well as some ports in Senegal were designated as unsafe for trade and shipping in strict adherence to the shipping quarantine of 1893-1894 (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1893:8). This was in recognition of the then raging cholera⁴¹ outbreak originating from Hamburg, Germany in 1892 (Hays, 2005). The effect of these measures must have been uneven for individual colonies

⁴¹ According to Hays, (2005) the fifth cholera pandemic (1881-1896) in the 19th century begun in India. It spread throughout Asia and Africa, and reached parts of France, Germany, Russia, and South America. It is understood that the 1892 outbreak in Hamburg, Germany was the only major European outbreak.

of BWA, although on the regional scale the effect must have been quite moderate. With its westward trade orientation to both Gambia and FWA, it was natural that Sierra Leone would be negatively impacted.

Similarly, the outbreak of plague in Accra (Gold Coast) in 1908 was believed to have forced the authorities in French Senegal to place restrictions on the landing of cargo from vessels which had touched any port of trade in the Gold Coast. As a result, trade from Sierra Leone, especially kola, could only be made by those steamers that had not called at any port in the Gold Coast. The real challenge was that the passage of such steamers was very infrequent and thus impacted the extent of inter-territorial trade for that year (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1908:25).

A detailed and isolated assessment of the trends in inter-territorial trade between BWA colonies, intra-BWA trade, on the other hand, demonstrates a different outcome. In terms of colonies, the trends in trading performance of the four colonies were dissimilar as well. Tables 4.1A-4.3C (in page 319) break down the BWA trade (exports, re-exports and imports) of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. On review, Nigeria and Gold Coast were the two major regional traders. However, Gold Coast exports increased prior to Nigeria in spite of the latter's relatively larger bigger population and geographic size. In terms of per capita regional exports, Gold Coast out-performed any of its contemporaries on the West Coast. In respect of the general proportion of intra-BWA trade, the pattern and trends are intriguing, as shown in [Figure 2.2](#) (page 389). The obtainable impression is one of a sustained but

fluctuating surge until 1915, followed by a 'long depression' up to the Second World War; a finding consistent with the observation of Martin (1989) of the BWA economy in the inter-war period. The observed surge in trade is viewed as a response by BWA trading forces to the high point of colonialism and the then nascent revolution in trade-facilitating infrastructure amidst the growth of intercontinental trade. The post-1915 era decline must have been a reflection of the possibility of regional commodity-based import substitution⁴², as well as the weakened impact of West African commodity exports owing to the turbulence in the metropolis. Ultimately, and as has been previously elaborated, this dissertation intends to argue that BWA regional trade was more important than previously and generally imagined. However, we note here that the obtainable impression on the direction of BWA from [Figure 2.2](#) (page 389) holds some power in explaining why the existing literature has tended to focus on the inter-continental component of the foreign trade of the region. It is clear that previous studies have taken the view that intercontinental trade constitutes the lion's share of the region's trade, and as a consequence, focused less attention on the internal trade of BWA.

2.3.4. Commodity Composition: Inter-territorial Trade

The keystone of the commercial structure of trade in the region between 1880 and 1900 was the export of kola. At the beginning of the 20th century, £987,225 had been recorded as trade from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. Contrary to general

⁴² In Chapter Three and Four, clarification will be brought to bear on effects of transportation and currency development, as well as tariff-facilitating regional import substitutions policies across the region to argue that the decline is closer to illusory than real. It seems that the absence of data occasions this drastic fall in internal trade.

suppositions⁴³, Gambia was the biggest market for kola in the two decades prior to the 20th Century. The value of kola imported by Gambia from Sierra Leone was £446,503, while Gold Coast exports to Nigeria were £280,241, representing almost 63% of value of the imports into the Gambia. The export of kola from Sierra Leone to FWA was £241,071 in this period. In comparison to subsequent eras, it can be argued that kola which was the main driver of horizontal integration across the forest belt, was at a nascent stage of recorded trade. Kola was followed at a distance by the export of African manufactures (hats, soaps, mats, and jewelry) valued at £ 295,447. Country and native clothes were valued at £63,558 and originated mainly from the Yoruba areas of the Lagos Colony. From 1880 to 1893, trade between Lagos and the two other major BWA colonies of Gold Coast and Sierra Leone was valued at approximately £10,000 to £15,000 per annum. Shea butter from Gold Coast and Nigeria, followed with a recorded value of £28,008 as the third most commonly exported commodity in the region. In the succeeding two decades from 1900-1920, kola maintained its lead and even revolutionized its dominance to reach £3,181,592. The only new occurrence was the sudden appearance of livestock trade, mostly through land-borne means. The recorded value of cattle, sheep and goats traded largely on hoof from the savanna regions was £677,894. In this period,

⁴³ Earlier researchers may missed this values of export, most probably, because the recording of data in the *Blue Books* of Sierra Leone seems misleading. For some inexplicable reason, kola exports from Sierra Leone from 1880-1901 were recorded as “British Foreign and other colonial produce and Manufactures”. A reading of the reporting template suggests that it should have been recorded as “produce and manufactures of colony”. Anything less than a careful review of the records might lead the reader not to consider such entries since in most circumstances, the records would normally suggest re-exports. The impression of re-exports of Kola is quite erroneous because it is historically noted that Sierra Leone has been a key producer of kola all through the earlier centuries. This is the context that most studies have been interested in assessing the productive capacities of colonies. The tendency to overlook the re-export statistics is quite high.

country clothes, cotton clothes & goods declined to £134,457, probably due to the effects of the increased importation of relatively cheaper European cotton and textile goods. In the interwar period, whereas kola and livestock held onto their positions, trade in food stuff (fish rice, palm oil, spices and ginger) between territories emerged with a recorded value of £418,865. African manufactures and clothes, put together, were barely traded with a recorded value of £158,565. The sustained trade in kola over the period will be further treated in the latter part of this chapter. However, the fortunes of African manufactures and clothes is revealing of the potential effects of global integration in the industrial sector. That these products even survive in trade may partly be explained by the strong attachment to the cultural mores of African lifestyle and ceremonies.

2.3.5 Estimates of Inter-Territorial Trade

From [Figure 2.2](#) (page 389), the derived impression of the extent and patterns of inter-territorial trade in West Africa and BWA has been presented and discussed. However, this study is conceptually interested in investigating and establishing the actual amount of internal trade in West Africa during the period 1880-1940. Therefore, we are inclined to make the best possible use of all recorded trade statistics. Furthermore, we are mindful of potential reality of the double counting of trade statistics in achieving these results. The double counting occurs, for instance, when the import of native clothes into Gambia from Sierra Leone, which is also recorded as an export of native clothes from Sierra Leone to Gambia, are added up in the respective trade positions of both colonies in arriving at the proportion of inter-

territorial trade of the region. The inherent danger in this double counting phenomenon is the tendency to conceal the real amount and extent of intra-BWA trade, which is the main interest of this dissertation. Therefore, to draw closer to the real situation of intra-BWA trade, an examination both export and import statistics is undertaken. The examination resulted in an attempt to both eliminate double counting and make best use of available recorded statistics by comparing recorded export and import values for benchmarked years⁴⁴ between 1880 and 1913 as seen in Tables 5.1-14.3 (pages 320-323 of [Appendix 1](#)). A demonstration in this instance, adopting Table 12, is offered to foster clarity⁴⁵. Table 12.1 (page 322) is a matrix of unprocessed intra-BWA export values in freight on board (hereinafter FOB) terms for 1909. On the other hand, Table 12.2 (page 322) is also a matrix of unprocessed intra-BWA import values in cost, insurance and freight (CIF) terms for 1909. To eliminate the double counting of trade between Nigeria and Gold Coast for example, we compare recorded Nigerian exports to Gold Coast (which in this case is £11,097) and Gold Coast imports from Nigeria (which is £45,048). The obvious mismatch in the entries of exports and imports for the same year between the two colonies is in itself revealing. Our general principle in this comparison is to adopt the larger⁴⁶

⁴⁴ The selection of these years was largely arbitrary except for the quinquennial pattern from 1880-1910. 1913 was included as it was the year prior to the amalgamation of Nigeria which borders on the availability and discussions of domestic trade data. Further, 1908 and 1909 were included to help reflect the potential effect of domestic trade data in the eventual discussion of internal trade in subsequent sections of this chapter.

⁴⁵ The succeeding narrative and procedure are repeated for all the benchmarked years as seen in Tables 5.1-14.3 in Appendix 1.

⁴⁶ Part of the motivation for the adoption of larger recorded trade statistics for treatment in all instances is inspired by the general understanding of the under-recorded nature of trade variously alluded to by colonial officials.

recorded value cited for imports and exports⁴⁷, thus making the best possible use of the statistics. A key observation from this value comparison is that recorded import values often give greater figures. This phenomenon is consistent with the view that import statistics tend to receive better coverage, partly due to their inherent fiscal importance to the recording territories. Based on this understanding, we adopt the import value in replacement of the recorded export value for 1909. However, to make better use of this, we process this import value into export-base by applying the CIF rate of 7%. The result of the CIF conversion - £41,894.64 - is shown in Table 12.3 (page 322) as the value of export-base statistics between Nigeria and the Gold Coast. It is clarified that whenever there are export values without corresponding import records for the two colonies, the export value is transferred into Table 12.3 (page 322). Additionally, wherever there are no corresponding export values for recorded imports values, the CIF rate is applied to convert them to export based statistics and shown in Table 12.3. Thus, Table 12.3 constitutes both processed and unprocessed statistics contained in Tables 12.1 and 12.2. The summation of the resultant values

⁴⁷ *Annual Colonial Report*, 1907, Sierra Leone, p.16. There were cases of weight measurement changes that might have potentially affected recorded volumes of export trade as we know it. A case in point is where the recorded export of kola, a chief driver of internal trade, in Sierra Leone in 1907 reflects changes in the means of obtaining weight measures. A change in 1906, meant that the weights taken for statistical purposes became those ascertained by the shipping agents prior to shipment, rather than on export entries passed by the traders as pertained in the pre-1906 years. This measurement change suddenly and considerably increased the recorded weights. We believe that the relationship between recorded weights of commodities and assessed values are obvious as well. There is sufficient reason to view the new method as more accurate. The pervasive nature of such measurement changes or continuity on trader assessment is difficult and almost impossible to ascertain. However, this occurrence hold grave implication for this study and the general understanding of internal trade in the region. First, it reinforces our point that export statistics tended to receive less coverage in comparison to imports statistics. Second, and if it turns out that this was a region-wide practice given the somewhat 'networked' nature of British Administration on the West Coast of Africa, it confirms the limited interest of colonial administrators in recording inter-territorial foreign trade in West Africa, at least in the earlier periods. The broader impact of this will be support for our view that the extent of trade as revealed by recorded trade statistics is but a partial reflection of the real extent of internal trade.

in Table 12.3 represents the total intra-BWA exports for 1909. From here, this value is relativized with the recorded total BWA export trade to bring us closer to the real extent of intra-BWA trade for 1909 which is 6%. [Figure 2.3](#) (page 390) is an attempt to compare the outcome of the estimation with the revealed original intra-BWA trade for the selected years.

The key point of note is that, on average, the estimated intra-BWA trade which makes better use of the records achieves a 6% rate while the original averaged 5% of BWA trade (see Table 14.4 in page 323 of Appendix 1). Further, it seems that the estimations achieve a relative 'smoother' trend, at least from 1885, possibly suggesting what might be thought of as a 'normal' pattern.

It is emphasized that the above estimation only captures the extent of intra-BWA trade and does not represent intra-West African trade. A further attempt is thus made to integrate intra-BWA trade in export statistics with the region's trade with other territories of West Africa, resulting in intra West African Trade as shown in Tables 15.1-15.10 (pages 324-325). Here, and in similar fashion, we adopt BWA export and import trade statistics with the four territories by the same procedure for FOB and CIF conversion as previously outlined. Table 15.8 (page 324) is therefore a combination of converted import statistics and recorded export statistics of BWA trade with other territorial spheres on the West Coast for 1909. The sum of the obtainable figures represents the estimated inter-territorial export trade in West Africa. As a proportion of the total BWA export trade, intra-West Africa export trade

export for 1909 suggest a rate of 11%. It is, of course, not possible to obtain trade statistics of the other regions, leading to the situation of a 'missing rectangle'. In the stead of these missing figures, question marks (?) have been adopted to populate the 'missing' rectangular portion of the matrix. To blindly argue that the estimated 11% covers the entire West African region would seem disingenuous. That notwithstanding, the estimated extent of intra-WA trade covers a substantial amount of the trade in the region. This understanding is informed by the perspective that the BWA region was by far the most pre-eminent and dominant trading sub-region of West Africa in the period. Hopkins (1973) has suggested that BWA accounted for 70-72% of West African trade. Accepting that proposition would indicate that, as a proportion of total trade of the region, the estimated rate of internal trade will not be markedly different even with the inclusion of the missing regional trade. In [Figure 2.4](#) (page 390) we proceed to highlight the variations, in proportionate terms, between the original and estimated intra-WA trade.

On average, the proportion of original intra-West African trade for the selected years declined from 9% to 8% after the estimation. However, the observed rise in estimated trends from 1895 is insightful. While the change is partly a function of marked improvements in actual trade in this period, the effect of improved capture of trade statistics cannot be ruled out. The post 1895 era marked the institution and extension of formal administration in most of the interior of West Africa which occasioned the urgent need for increased revenue for administration. The effect of such a desire

would result in potential improvements in the recording of trade (mostly imports) based on prevailing tariff regimes.

2.4. Domestic Trade Statistics

Having elaborated the use of foreign trade in the previous section, focus is now directed towards discussing our view of domestic trade. Consistent with initial indications, domestic trade as conceived in this paper relates to intra-territorial trade. Specifically, it refers to local 'long-distance' trade that occurs within territories. The suggested inclusion of domestic 'long-distance' trade requires further qualification.

In respect of the notion of 'long distance' trade, the possible contestation of this view may only be surpassed by the very absence of an ideal and agreeable definition of long-distance trade even after such extensive use in trade literature. The absence of such a 'universalist' interpretation of 'long distance' trade has meant that researchers define and defend how much distance constitutes 'long-distance'. In the same tradition, we proceed to offer our formulation of 'long-distance' in this dissertation. It is acknowledged that to view long-distance trade through the actual distances covered or the type and nature of traded commodities alone is insufficient. It does seem that the addition of other equally important and relative benchmarks ought to be carefully considered. These conditions include differentiated geographical and ecological spheres, which may imply that these forms of exchanges are only undertaken in the absence of the commodities traded, and thus avoiding keen competition with local production and exchange. The use of domestic 'long-distance' in this paper is distinct and separate from the forms and kinds of trade

which occur within communities and local economies of similar production and distribution endowments. It connotes trade that occurs between distinct territorial spheres within colonies and sometimes between colonies on land frontiers. Unlike local and community level trade, such long-distance traders would be unable to make a day-return journey to the household. In respect of the territories of West Africa, the need to consider local trade of a 'long-distance' nature seems unavoidable and long overdue⁴⁸. The overall sizes of most colonies, the differences in ecological endowments within colonies as well as the historicized transportation constraints suggest that a substantial proportion of domestic trade within the colonies of West African was long-distance in nature. These characterizations imply the requirement of different and extensive networks of merchants, expanded circulation of the means of exchange (currency and financial services), different mechanisms for the transfer of knowledge in addition to the different levels of capital, credit as well as labour needed for undertaking this trade. The combined effect of these elevated requirements for 'long-distance' trade is its differentiated prospects for economic development and integration of regions and countries. In [MAP 1](#) (page 401) an effort is made to present domestic territorial distinctions within colonies of

⁴⁸ Limited seaboard and historical transportation challenges conspire to make long-distance land-borne trade a norm within West African territories. The almost vertical demarcation of boundaries, with many oblong-shaped colonies, may suggest more domestic trade and 'vertical' integration within the colonies of West Africa. Furthermore, a casual comparison of physical distance within and between colonies may support the need to embrace this view of domestic trade within colonies. For instance, while Sierra Leone's trading port is physically separated from Gambia and Liberia by 659km and 360km respectively, the internal distance between Lagos (Southern Nigeria) and Kano (Northern Nigeria) is 1,132km. The coastal ports of the Gold Coast are also separated from its Northern Territory headquarters (Tamale) by some 629km. The point inherent here is to suggest that if a distance of 659km from the port of Sierra Leone to Gambia is considered to be sufficiently long-distance, then the trade from Lagos (in southern Nigeria) to Kano (in Northern Nigeria), a distance of 1,132km may deserve similar treatment.

BWA. It is also meant to be suggestive of the physical separations between major trading centers within the colonies and highlight the intra-territorial shifts during the last quarter of the 19th century, providing further insights into the evolution of domestic trade in West Africa.

For the present study, domestic trade statistics within both the Gold Coast and Nigeria have been accessed⁴⁹. Tables 1A and 2C of [Appendix 2](#) (pages 326-330) present information on domestic trade in the Gold Coast and Nigeria for years with available statistics⁵⁰. Specifically, Gold Coast domestic trade comprises of trade between the Gold Coast Colony, the Ashanti⁵¹ Protectorate and the Northern Territories (See [MAP 1](#) on page 401). Domestic trade statistics from Nigeria comprise trade amongst the Lagos Colony as well as Southern and Northern Nigeria Protectorates (See [MAP 1](#)). The domestic trade within Nigeria, owing to unification of the three entities under the leadership of Governor Lugard in January 1914, is only observable for the period of 1880-1913. Unlike Nigeria and the other colonies of BWA, there is some level of disaggregated data on the level of domestic trade between the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti and Northern Territories for a considerable period of time. The only qualification is that records begun to emerge only post-1900,

⁴⁹ Disaggregated domestic trade data for Sierra Leone and Gambia are not readily available for inclusion. However, with the understanding of the trading performances of both the Gold Coast and Nigeria, we remain positive that the inclusion of domestic trade from Sierra Leone and Gambia will only further improve the extent of internal trade.

⁵⁰ The data used is composed of those captured by the *Blue Books* as trade between colonies and Protectorate. The *Annual Colonial Reports* on these separate spheres which tended to provide much insight was consulted and used.

⁵¹ We recognize that other literature tends to use 'Asante' in apparent reference to local/native pronunciation of the territory. In this dissertation, we are inclined to use 'Ashanti' which seems to be the anglicized pronunciation recorded in the primary source documents adopted for this study.

after the institution of British administration following the British victory in the Anglo-Ashanti War of 1896 and successful suppression of the Ashanti revolt in 1901.

Tables 1C - 1D and 2.1A -2.1C (on pages 328-331) provide insights into the commodities traded across territories within both Nigeria and the Gold Coast respectively. Importantly, we have also considered some information on land-borne trade that was earmarked for intercontinental trade. For example, if a commodity produced in Kano in Northern Nigeria went to Lagos in the coastal zone of Nigeria to be exported abroad, these transactions will be recorded in both internal and foreign trade statistics. At the same time, the domestic part of the trade may have been handled by local and indigenous merchants. As a result, we will interpret commodity trade (for example cocoa) from Ashanti to the Gold Coast Colony as domestic trade because it includes an appreciable degree of the initiative of indigenous merchants as well as foreign merchants. The effect of such indigenous involvement is felt through the transfer of information on prices and quantities between local/regional and coastal based merchants, effective transportation to export ports and the deepening of the economic relations between the producers and traders. These relationships are also catalyzed by accompanying credit arrangements. Ultimately, the trade in such land-borne intercontinental bound commodities effectively sustained the exchanges of other domestic commodities that crossed different ecological spaces in the West African region. As previously suggested and typified in the map above, the physical separation and the ecological differences, coupled with the types of commodity exchanges between these

administrative spheres largely reinforce the notion of domestic long distance trade within these colonies. Informed by the Table 1A-2B, [Figure 2.5](#) (page 391) has been drawn to show the trends in domestic trade relative to total BWA trade. Although the chronological coverage is limited in comparison with foreign trade statistics, it offers important insights into the patterns of the entire internal trade of West Africa.

2.5. Internal Trade of West Africa

We have previously suggested that our view of the internal trade of West Africa becomes manifest when inter-territorial (foreign) and intra-territorial (domestic) trade within the region are summed up together. In the preceding sections, we separately discussed the trends and proportions of both foreign and domestic trade within West Africa from BWA statistics. An analysis of the commercial trade statistics, in some precision, provides insight into the pattern, size and nature of internal trade in West Africa. In absolute terms, trade within the region increased by some 383% using the base year 1880 and the end year 1940. That these absolute increases concurred with expanding intercontinental trade, marked improvement in peaceful and security conditions (where they did not previously exist), as well as transportation, communication and financial as well monetary situation and under the overall influence of western impact makes it more admissible. On average, the amount of recorded trade within West Africa was £1,723,345 per annum, comprising £816,967 net imports and £910,149 net exports. The average annual export situation was composed of both export of domestic produce valued at £602,942 and re-exports of goods of non-domestic origin valued at £307,185.

Clearly, these absolute increases are suggestive of the state of internal trading in the region during the time. However, they reveal much less of the intricate and complex dynamics of internal trade. It is also not the case that these numbers do not possess truth value. Their entire value is not apparent unless relativized in a particular context. Relativizing these numbers to the total recorded trade of the region presents a different impression that draws out the inherent intricacies. As seen in [Figure 2.6](#) (page 391), outlining the proportion of internal trade relative to total BWA trade. As seen from Figure 2.6 (page 391), the statistical examination reveals a situation of long-term fluctuating decline with episodic growth of internal trade in the region. Broadly, whereas the period 1880-1900 represents a stage of fluctuating decline, a period of fluctuating growth is observed from 1900-1919. This period is followed by a decline up to 1940. Commencing at approximately 10% of total recorded trade in 1880, it rose to a pinnacle of 18% during WWI (1915) before reaching 12% in 1919. The fluctuating decline in internal West Africa trade in the first two decades (1880-1900) is mostly attributable to a decline in trade between BWA and FWA during this period. The observed fluctuating growth from 1900-1919 is a function of the surge in domestic trade. The sharp decline from 1920-1940 is open to speculative interpretations. Part of this decline may be illusory, as it may well derive from the absence of records in this period, but it must also have been the consequence of tariff policy (which we will discuss in Chapter Four), the import substitution policy and weakening the metropole economies.

2.5.1. Towards a Consolidated Estimate of Recorded Internal Trade in West Africa

From the previous section, we suggested that the revealed extent of internal integration, as constructed from the official records, requires closer scrutiny. It is stressed that that evaluation was undertaken based on the available recorded trade statistics. The process naturally evokes the question of whether all trading activities in the region were meticulously recorded. Without an affirmative answer, any notion that this revealed extent of internal trade represents the reality of the trade situation in the region may have to be discarded. In an era and context as initially intimated, it may be apparent that what trade recorders captured as internal trade will not and does not equate with what traders within the region actually did. Therefore, there is a gap between what was captured and what was traded. It is the nature and extent of the gap that attention is turned to. In the next sub-sections, information on the extent of 'soft' and 'uncaptured' trade within the region is presented. This is framed around the limited capture of land-borne domestic long distance trade and the situation regarding recorded significant volumes but unvalued trade statistics as well as insights into smuggling. This is done in preparation toward a consolidated estimate that draws us somewhat closer to what may be considered the actual situation of internal trade.

2.5.1.a. Limited Capture of Land-borne Trade

A reading and synthesis of the official account of trade development outlined in the *Blue Books*, *Annual Colonial Reports* and *Trade Reports* offer fundamental insights into the extent of capture of trade statistics in BWA colonies. The emerging

impression is one of under-recorded land-borne trade, both across and within the territories of West Africa. The impression is actually authenticated by the open admission of colonial administrators. We initially discuss the situation for long-distance trade within the colonies. Part of this issue relates to the delayed and late extension of administrative control over much of the interior⁵² of the region. However, even when administrative controls were established, the capacity in terms of requisite and qualified staff were sometimes in question⁵³, especially from 1895 to around 1906. As a stop-gap measure, in non-coastal areas of the interior without the usual and natural requirement for custom departments, and amidst staffing limitations, colonial governments relied on statistics supplied⁵⁴ by leading British merchants. Such was the arrangements of the Northern Nigerian colonial government where merchants such as the Royal Niger Company and Messrs John Holts and Company supplied trade statistics. The effect of this development meant that the land-borne trade through the vast expanse from Lagos, through Southern to Northern Nigeria would go either unrecorded or greatly under-recorded. In the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, the Chief Commissioner in 1906, without providing any form of statistics, suggests increased trade when he noted that “there are signs all over the country of increasing trade, more caravans are coming from

⁵² See Map 2.1 It is apparent that much of early colonial control on the West Coast was along the coastal belt with less interior penetration. For example, between 1901 and 1903, the *Blue Book* of Northern Nigeria laments that “the value of goods sent across the French and German frontiers in West Africa cannot be estimated as the great trade centers in the Northern Provinces are not yet under the control of the Administration”.

⁵³ See previous discussions on data limitations.

⁵⁴ This pertained from 1900 to about 1905 when the administration begun to combine trade records from the small customs office established in 1903 between Southern and Northern Nigeria.

the North (from Upper Volta, Niger and Mali in FWA), and traders from the south (Ashanti and Gold Coast) are buying local cattle in greatly increasing numbers” (Northern Territories, *ACR*, 1906:7). Whereas the lack of relevant statistics on this “greatly increasing numbers” in domestic long distance trade do not auger well for this statistical examination, it is revealing of the real extent of trade within colonies. Therefore it may be obvious that the real amount of intra-territorial trade must have been large enough to have warranted such positive review and overviews.

In these instances of absence of reliable statistics, administrators, probably enamored and overwhelmed by the observed traffic in trade within territories, could not resist the temptation to hazard an estimate⁵⁵. A case in point relates to Governor Alfred Moloney’s narration in correspondence to the Colonial Office in 1888. In his letter to Knutsford, Moloney suggested that trade from the Niger area to Lagos of Nigeria was estimated to value approximately £60,000 per annum. We highlight the fact that recorded intra-BWA trade for the same year was only 13.5% of this estimated domestic long-distance trade (Maloney, Letter to Knutsford, 1882). The Lagos Times (27th December, 1882) confirms that there were indigenous merchants, including J.S. Leigh, who traded between the Niger areas and Lagos, although the types of commodities are unclear from these sources. We have reason to suspect that the volume and value of domestic trade would only grow, and in leaps and bounds, with the passage of time due to the emergence of facilitating institutions and

⁵⁵ While estimates are strictly not admissible in a statistical evaluation of this nature, and has thus have not been included, they serve a useful emphasis to the argument on the extent of under-recorded domestic trade.

relative prevalence of peace in the post-1890 era. As domestic trade in Nigeria continued on a phenomenal trajectory, so was the urge to continuously gauge its development even when the actual collection of trade statistics was not maintained. Estimated trade between Lagos and Northern Nigeria by caravans was revised upwards to exceed £100,000 per annum by Governor Egerton. It is instructive to note that this estimated trade is almost equal to the recorded intra-BWA trade for the same year (Egerton, Letter to Lyttleton, 1905). The balance of trade between these spheres, as well as the type and nature of commodities traded are all not specified in these narrations. However, relying on population dynamics and geographic endowments, we are minded to suggest that Northern Nigeria may have been slightly on the 'demand side' of this trading relationship. Similar estimates were regularly provided on the domestic trade between the Ashanti Protectorate and adjoining territories of the Gold Coast and Northern Territories. In the Northern Territory of the Gold Coast around 1912, the Governor suggested the recorded volume of trade could be increased by almost 33% (Northern Territories, *ACR*, 1912:8)⁵⁶.

On other occasions, fiscal exemptions on certain classes and sources of goods also resulted in reduced capture of domestic long-distance trade. For example, trade statistics initially captured at the main entry point on the River Niger (Illiron Province of Northern Nigeria) did not reflect English clothes that passed northwards. This was

⁵⁶ "If the large number of caravans that passed up and down the country during the year-travelling in most cases by night-had been registered, the number of loads recorded this year would have been increased by one-third".

the natural outcome of the revenue-induced⁵⁷ statistics collection framework operational at the time. The prevailing tax policy ensured that statistics were maintained on commodities which were predominately taxed, most of which were native produce and other imported items such as salt. Thus, Birmingham and Manchester clothes passed untaxed⁵⁸ and as a consequence were unrecorded. More importantly, prevailing observational commentaries note the voluminous nature of English clothes which were not recorded. The view of the Resident at Illorin Province indicated that for 1905 alone, an estimated £80,000 worth of English clothes passed into other areas of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate, mostly carried by local and regional traders. A key feature of this inter-territorial and domestic long distance trade was that these were largely undertaken by native and indigenous traders. As evidence of extensive involvement in cross-border trade, the Chief Commissioner in (1906) noted the “apathy shown by European traders on the Coast to avail themselves” to the flourishing trade across from Ashanti and the Gold Coast Colony to the Northern Territories.

Granted that these accounts of spectacular trading activities within and across colonial territories from spectators who were closer to the trading field of play at the time are to be believed, the implication is that the unrecorded but estimated amount

⁵⁷ The collection of statistics, foreign or domestic, for their instrumental value seem not to have been an entrenched practice in the period.

⁵⁸ Differentiated taxation was imposed as an outcome of previous and several complaints by English merchants. They argued that English clothes were already taxed at the port of entry in Lagos whereas locally produced goods were not subject to such taxes. The reported repercussion of this differentiated taxation was that when English cotton goods were allowed to pass toll free, traders abandoned travelling with native cotton goods which were taxed at 15%, and traded in imported clothes.

of land-borne trade was enormous, at times almost equal to or even larger than recorded inter-BWA trade.

To some appreciable extent, even trade between West African territories across the land frontiers (the second form of unrecorded land-borne trade) was not spared this pervasive under-recording and/or sometimes blatant non-recording. Admirably, colonial officials noted these cross-territorial flows of trade, but variously and continuously bemoaned the absence of reliable statistics to back such flows. In all four colonies of BWA, officials observed the occurrence but unrecorded nature of the trading activities across the borders. To buttress our point concerning the extent of unrecorded land-born trade, a compendium of eye-witness statements by colonial administrators has been compiled and attached⁵⁹ as Appendix 4. In this regard, particular attention is drawn to the frequent and consistent use of quantifying words such as “considerable” and “decided increase”.

It is possible that administrative strength and capacity may have been the binding constraints for this situation of non-rigorous maintenance of trade statistics. It is equally possible that the limited capacity of the colonial administration forced a disproportionate focus on sea-borne and inter-continental trade statistics. However, the extension of administration and border creation exercised infused with imposition of tariffs and increased tolling might also have occasioned and spurred acts of

⁵⁹ They have been grouped under domestic ‘long-distance’ (intra-territorial) and inter-territorial trade.

smuggling by natives trading across the borders⁶⁰. Tariffs and tolls might have been employed to divert trade and raise revenue, yet their signaling effect is equally perceptible. In such an instance of creating artificial barriers, one can anticipate that the indigenous responses will be varied⁶¹ and will naturally include smuggling. The successful occurrence of smuggling implies the very absence of these activities from official records, especially in circumstances where the capacity and willingness to record such trade prevailed. However, there are some, and most likely rare, instances where smugglers were apprehended and punished, providing evidence of their existence. In spite of the somewhat stringent preventive and punitive measures at in-land frontiers, cross-border smuggling persisted⁶². In Lagos and Southern Nigeria, there were reports of increased smuggling⁶³ across the land frontiers to Porto Novo in French West Africa. Even more revealing is the account of the smuggling of kola in sizeable quantities between the Gold Coast and Upper Volta through the British Mandated Togoland⁶⁴. Furthermore, as the growth of the Nigeria

⁶⁰ The perviousness of African borders, even in the 21st century, is legendary. While there were known boundaries between states in the pre-colonial era, the creation and enforcement of new borders in the post-1885 period was new and held diverse implications for trade. Detailed discussion of this dimension will be offered in Chapter Four.

⁶¹ Natives employed innovative means to smuggle goods, even under the watch of customs officials. Nugent (2002), p.25, recounts an occasion in 1905 when suspicions were raised about the number of coffins being transported across the border between the Gold Coast and German Togoland on the River Volta for burial services. It turns out that, in addition to gun powder and other merchandise, the coffin contained decomposing carcasses. The use of the carcasses was meant to ward off the legitimate prying eyes and hands of customs officials at the frontier.

⁶² Nugent (2002), p.248 confirmed that smuggling persisted into the post-colonial period with an estimation of smuggled cocoa from the Gold Coast to Togoland. Taken from this perspective, the socio-economic effect of smuggling, which continues to engage policy attention in the discourses on West African economic development, even today, has and remains an historical heritage.

⁶³ On 7th June, 1904, a letter from the Lagos Stores Limited to the collector of customs relayed information on the smuggling of French Powder into Nigeria.

⁶⁴ See Gold Coast Colony. *Report of the Department of Agriculture for the year 1930-1931*, p.12.

kola trade progressed, so did the commentaries of the prevalence of smuggling across the borders with the Cameroon territories.

Undoubtedly, the real extent of smuggling and its success rates are impossible to obtain or even suggest. Yet, the reality is that for every successfully smuggled commodity across the frontier, the revealed and estimated extent of internal trade based on official recorded trade statistics of officials may be suspected of under-representing reality.

From the above, an attempt has been made to demonstrate the extent of unrecorded land-borne trade statistics as manifested in inter-territorial and intra-territorial domestic long distance trade as well as the possible effect of smuggling. Importantly these insights were based on records and comments of colonial officers who were witnesses and found the occurrences sufficiently important to warrant official reportage. These types of trade statistics are what has previously be characterized as 'uncaptured' data in this dissertation.

2.5.1.b Unvalued but Significant Recorded Volumes of Domestic Trade

Another important limitation of the revealed extent of internal trade as constructed from the colonial administration's recorded sources is highlighted here. It relates partly to the comprehensiveness of record keeping, which borders on the utility of the records. In this case, records were kept of the volume but not the value of trade. This situation prevails not only in domestic long-distance trade but also cross territorial land-borne trade. The limited interest in ascertaining the value of trade entering or existing in distinct territorial spheres within recognizable territories is

partly explained by the absence of an expressed fiscal need to do so (as would have been done by the customs department at the ports) since these territories were viewed as a constituent part of the entire colony proper. Yet, these territories had semi-autonomous nature, road and trade tolls being occasionally operationalized by these semi-autonomous governments for internal revenue purposes. Furthermore, there were extant pressures (especially from/for European merchants) to increase and improve trade, which precipitated continued reporting and discussion of the evolution of trade in their respective protectorates. At times, the abolition of trade-related taxes, as was implemented in the case of caravan taxes⁶⁵ in Northern Nigeria and Northern Territories of the Gold Coast in 1906-1907, put an effective end to the collection of trade statistics. It tended to be the case that trade and road tolls were taken as a function of the volume of the commodity and distance travelled, thus limiting the desire to focus on the value of a commodity. Emerging out of this context is the half-recorded nature of domestic trade in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria, where only volumes of trade were noted. The lack of recorded values, compounded by the absence of prices at various periods and locations, has resulted in the inability to include such data in the statistical evaluation shown in Figures 2.2, 2.5, and 2.6 (pages 389 and 391 respectively). Accordingly, we have compiled trade statistics

⁶⁵ Taxes on caravans passing through Northern Nigeria were instituted in 1902. The institution of caravan tolls enabled the Northern Nigeria administration to collect detailed information regarding the nature and quantity of the articles carried by traders and their value at each toll-station throughout the Protectorate. The tolls consisted of a levy on goods of 5%, in each Province travelled through by a caravan, up to a maximum of 15 per cent, on its southward journey, and a similar levy on its northward journey. This was in return for the safety and improvement of the roads, and in lieu of what was judged by administrators to be the exorbitant levy previously paid to native Chiefs.

that provide only insight into the volume of trade. We take the view that presenting this unprocessed data will further extend our understanding of the real extent of internal trade in West Africa. As a consequence, Table 3.1A-3.1D of [Appendix 2](#) has been provided. It is clarified that this table presents information on recorded volumes⁶⁶ of trade for only the Northern Territories⁶⁷ of the Gold Coast. A look at Table 3.1A-3.1B will suggest the direction⁶⁸ (northbound and southbound) of commodity trade in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. The increasing volumes of northbound trade in kola and salt, two key intra-regional trade commodities, is clear. Additionally, the exponential upward changes in recorded volumes of livestock (cattle, sheep, goats and fowl) trade toward the southern territories such as Ashanti and the Gold Coast Colony in the period is also hard to miss. There were also substantial trade records of voluminous trade in a similar direction for goods like shea-butter, dawa-dawa, dried fish, yams and groundnuts. The combined volume of all the other commodities in Table 3.1A-3.1D of [Appendix 2](#) might not be entirely negligible as they appear on their own. In addition to these records, we have recorded volumes of kola, mainly from Ashanti between 1924 and 1940 to the Northern Territories and beyond. These are presented in [Figure 2.7](#) (page 392).

⁶⁶ It is clarified that the unit of the volumes in the original sources are in “head loads” and “lorry loads”.

⁶⁷ Whereas there are several commentaries on recorded volumes of trade in Northern Nigeria and Ashanti, the case of Northern Territories of Gold Coast is systemized and presented as indicative evidence of such records.

⁶⁸ The use of northbound and southbound are the actual terminology in the original source. Based on geography, northbound is interpreted as trade towards FWA territories such as Upper Volta, Niger and Mali. Southbound is viewed as trade towards Ashanti and the Gold Coast Colony.

An important point worthy of note from [Figure 2.7](#) is that in comparison with sea-borne trade that was captured and valued for the same period by the *Blue Books*, these land-borne trade statistics were not valued and not captured in the same source. It is further noted that, while in 1906, 7,000 - 8,000 cattle, sheep and goats were recorded⁶⁹ to be leaving and heading southwards to Lagos and the hinterlands of Ashanti from Northern Nigeria (especially Sokoto and from French Asben) on an annual basis, the figure had reached 233,639 by 1938 (Northern Nigeria, *ACR*, 1906:78;1938:46). This account is insightful of the extent and direction of the massive livestock trade that might have happened over the period. It seems reasonable to expect increases in cattle trade especially as land-borne trade in kola was intrinsically linked with livestock trade. Given that we observe increases in the land-borne trade in kola, our expectation of an increased cattle trade over the period may not be entirely out of range. We, generally, are persuaded to imagine that there will be increased southward trade of livestock considering the potential impact of the 'democratization' of incomes due to the cocoa and palm produce boom in the forest belts of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Highway robbery became more and more uncommon, and the redress of the law courts gave greater security (Lugard, *Taxation of Natives*, 1907:20).

Amidst continued peace and improvements in transportation infrastructure that bode well for the security of herds of cattle, the increased incomes will naturally occasion

⁶⁹ This figure for 1938 does not include those cattle that were not immunized while passing to the south as since this figure reflects immunization.

effective demand for meat as a basic need as well as status symbol after the fashion of conspicuous consumption theorized by Veblen (1899). Furthermore, [Table 3.2 \(page 374\)](#) to [Table 3.4d \(page 379\)](#) of the volumes of the traffic in goods on the railways in West Africa. While this has been compiled to aid the discussion of the observed role of railways in internal trade, its presence is a reminder of the extent of trade that was recorded but limited in use for the effective statistical evaluation intended in this study.

It may now be plain that there was some considerable level of unvalued but recorded domestic and inter-territorial trade statistics in West Africa. There is reason to suspect that these trends in terms of volumes continued and most probably in an increasing manner. The improvements in transportation infrastructure, increases in population and urbanization as well as the absence of any major debilitating natural, ecological and health catastrophe partly condition this guarded optimism. In this dissertation, the data described in under this sub-section has been typified as 'soft' statistics.

In summary, the possible insight achieved by the presentation of under-recorded and unrecorded trade statistics within and across West Africa is revealing of the extent of regional trade. Relying on these historical narrations and estimates as suggestive evidence could be indicative of the notion that enormous amounts of regional trade were either under-recorded or not recorded at all. In some instances, the insights from official estimation suggest that recorded regional trade was less than one-fifth

of possible unrecorded data. In other periods, official estimates of unrecorded land-borne trade were almost equal to the recorded trade. Accounting for the possible effect of smuggling will only increase the impact of unrecorded data. The addition of some available voluminous but unvalued trade statistics will serve to extend the importance of such data limitations in uncovering the real extent of trade in the region for the period. What is clear from the combination of this narrative on the limitations of revealed and estimated extent of internal trade based on recorded trade statistics is that the value of unrecorded or under-recorded regional trade was far from insignificant.

2.5.2 Consolidated Estimate of Internal Trade in West Africa: An Interpretation

In the preceding sections regarding inter-territorial trade in West Africa, it was estimated that as a proportion of the total BWA export trade, intra-West Africa trade export for 1909 was 11%, with the average for the benchmarked years being 9%. We have also discussed the dimension of intra-territorial domestic trade, suggesting an increasing and substantial amount, especially from 1908-1919. The summation of both dimensions of trade will result in what is described as the West African internal trade in. In this respect, an attempt is made to reconstruct the extent of internal trade within the region. In its current form, the internal trade in West Africa is the sum of the estimated inter-territorial trade of 11% and 1% intra-territorial trade resulting in 12% for 1909. Importantly, the average for domestic trade in the period 1900-1913 is 4%. Thus, even in average terms, the sum of the average proportion of the estimated inter-territorial trade rate of 9% and intra-territorial trade rate of 4%

is equivalent to 13%. A further interpretation would mean that from 1800-1913, the estimated extent of internal trade in West Africa was approximately 12% to 13%. Instructively, the discussion of the limits and value of recorded regional trade statistics will have to be considered. Our understanding is that recorders of these statistics, usually foreign, frequently commented on the incompleteness of the recorded statistics. Sometimes, recorded data were a reproduction of what they received from trading merchants and concerned only selected commodities. These were most likely to capture only selected trading routes, railways or roads. Furthermore, our examination of the unrecorded and under-recorded inter-territorial and domestic long-distance trade statistics suggests that they were not negligible. If we are to quantify and add the unrecorded trade to the amount of estimated trade, the percentage of consolidated BWA trade in total trade would rise further. Simply put, we argue that a combination of 'hard', 'soft' and 'uncaptured' statistics will reveal to a more accurate extent of internal trade. However, based on [Figure 2.5](#) (page 391), it seems that the proportion of domestic trade from 1900-1919 increased with accompanying improvements in the capture of domestic trade statistics. In this interpretation, the proportion of domestic trade for this period was much closer to the real extent of internal trade. Accordingly, we argue that the proportion of internal trade from 1900-1919 in [Figure 2.6 \(page 391\)](#) is much closer to the real extent of internal trade. Thus, our estimation of internal trade is very likely to be in the region of 18%-20% of the total trade for the period. We are persuaded that if the highest point of captured data is 18%, then the full extent of real trade could be very close

to 20%. This speculative estimate moves our understanding of the extent of regional trade within West Africa further away from what was previously imagined. The intention thereof is to falsify or validate these estimates in Chapters Three and Four as well as further explore their implication on the study of West African economic historiography.

2.5.3 Data Constraints and Estimated Trends in Internal Trade - An Illustration

[Figure 2.8](#) (page 392) has been designed to illustrate the emergent impression of the trends of internal trade during chosen the period of study. It attempts to demonstrate the effect of the absence of statistics on the available statistics under identifiable impressions. The Impression A shows the situation of internal trend based on the 'hard' recorded trade statistics. This statistics, as noted earlier, is hugely influenced by the inter-territorial trade within the region.

In impression B (Figure 2.8, page 392), the effect of the absence of the trade statistics is inferred through the addition of the soft and hard statistics. The voluminous but unvalued 'soft' statistics largely obtained from land borne and rail-borne trade is seen to improve the trend. It is seen that this impression also declines. This decline is to typify the eventual triumph of road and motor transport in from around 1924. However, under Impression C, the complete image of the emergent trends of internal trade is depicted. The continuity in the upward trend is informed by the emergence and eventual dominance of road transports from the post-war period. An additional source of the uncaptured statistics is the potential increase in intra-

territorial trade resulting from the import substitution policies facilitated by the tariffs. The imposition of excise duties and tolls could further prompt route changes that only serves to exacerbate smuggling. We indicate that the combined effect of both land-borne trade and tariffs have also been discussed in Chapter Four and pictorialize in [Figure 4.3](#) (page 400).

2.6 Representativeness of Statistical Evaluation

The reliance on recorded trade statistics and descriptive information from the perspective of BWA sub-region deserves some clarification. The need for further commentary is premised on the generalizability of the findings on internal trade to the entire area of West Africa, especially considering the existence of other sub-regional territories. In spite of the existence of four other territorial spheres, the inclination is to discuss this issue referencing only FWA, given the relative importance and potential for affecting the resultant evaluation. To accomplish this task, key parameters including ecological factors, socio-economic information as well as prevalence of trade-facilitating innovations are adopted. To begin with, and as can be seen from [Table 1](#) (page 372) the general impression obtainable from available evidence on all political spheres suggests that French West Africa (FWA) is by far the larger and more extensive. Whereas, French West Africa occupied almost 76% (1,844,166 square miles) of regional land area, BWA, whose data was primarily adopted for this study, is only about a third (28.7%) of this size. In terms of the entire area of West Africa, BWA colonies occupy about 22% of regional land

territory. However, land mass alone is not a good predictor of productive and distributive capacity. There is therefore the need to invoke other crucial parameters. A crucial criteria adopted is the complementarity of ecological diversities. Previous studies, even for the pre-colonial era, have noted how internal trade is connected to ecology. As will be revealed later in [Figure 2.9](#) (page 393) in this chapter, the structure of internal trade is also conditioned by mainly three ecological zones. In respect of the territorial differences, it is crucial to highlight the fact that these ecological features are commonly shared across West Africa⁷⁰. The implication is that, even for trade within non-BWA regions, and especially FWA, the structure of trade could be expected to be similar.

Another such parameter which denotes production and distributive capacity is the general performance of external trade. Specifically, the use of the intercontinental trade performance of these politically determined territorial distinctions are helpful in addressing the representativeness of the findings of this dissertation. The use of this parameter is informed by prevailing insights provided by Sugihara (2015) relating the effects of long-distance trade on regional trade. In terms of performances, Hopkins (1973:178) confirms that about 72% of the value of exports from West Africa emanated from BWA, with FWA contributing 25%. The remaining Portuguese, German territories combined with Independent Liberia accounted for only 3%. When reflected as a proportion of the total external export trade of West Africa, Nigeria and

⁷⁰ Kindly see Prothero (1969) for a full discussion of the geography and ecology of West Africa.

the Gold Coast contributed 37% and 29% respectively. The contribution of Nigeria was larger than the entire FWA while that of the Gold Coast was slightly larger than FWA. To some extent and aside ecological advantages, the dominance of BWA in intercontinental trade seem to be partly a function of the differences in population size and distribution (See [Table 1](#) on page 372). Demographically, FWA, which commanded 76% of regional territory housed about 34% of the population in the region. On the other hand, BWA was home to almost twice the population of FWA with about 60% of the indigenous West African population. This population distribution translated into differing densities for separate spheres. With a regional population density of 19 persons per square mile around 1922, FWA was less than half of the regional average with 8.5 person per square mile, while BWA was approximate three times the regional average, 51.87 persons per square mile. The broader implication of these varying population sizes and densities for growth in trading activities cannot be overlooked or overemphasized. Aside from their inherent ability to engender domestic market growth, the possible effect of lesser population densities for agricultural industrial and commercial production could be enormous. Furthermore, this comes in the context where labour and by definition population, be it exploitation for direct agricultural production or the head portorage transportation of goods, as occurred mostly up to the mid-1920s in 20th century, has variously been cited as the binding constraint in the socio-economic transformation of West Africa. Closely related to population density, productive capacity and trends in intercontinental trade is the issue of credit and trade-facilitating infrastructure.

Austin's (1993) study of indigenous credit institutions in West Africa, circa 1750-1960, characterized West Africa as region whose credit market was dominated by outside suppliers. These tended to be largely European sources of credit engaged in intercontinental trade. From this account, it appears that trade was an attraction for easing notable and pervasive credit constraints. Yet, whereas the direction of causality remains unclear, it seems fair to state that, BWA tended to be a region willing and able to produce for trade and thus may have the higher tendency to attract more credit, which in itself would further bolster the evolution of trade.

With respect to trade-facilitating transport infrastructure, some dynamics are clear. At the time of Second World War, over 5,200 miles of railways lines existed in West Africa generally almost equally shared by both French and British territories(Hopkins, 1973). However, the time-scale dimension was hugely uneven. In contrast to about 1,614miles of railways in FWA by 1936, BWA could boast of 1,679 miles of railways lines by 1927. The implication here is that the timing of the completion of these projects was uneven and could have potentially affected the evolution of trade especially in the pre-war and pre-depression booms. In respect of motorized transport, which had a propensity to reduce the cost of trade and free scare labour for agricultural production, Hay (1971) suggests that vehicles imported into the Gold Coast and Nigeria alone were double those in both number and tonnage compared to FWA in 1922. The combined effect of different population densities, possible relatively easier access to credit, evolution of trade facilitating infrastructure and thus

easy formation of capital for internal trade may have undergirded the observed divergence in trading performance between French and British territories on the West Coast. The reinforcing recurrence of these factors may have created a virtuous or vicious cycle for the development of internal trade in BWA and FWA respectively. In the belief that this observation is plausible, the internal trading situation pertaining to FWA could be expected to remain a fair reflection of its intercontinental trade performance, access to credit and evolution of trade-supporting infrastructure. While accepting that the omission of some⁷¹ FWA trading records could somewhat affect the revealed and estimated extent of internal trade in the region, it seem that there is some comfort in assuming that the emerging trends and dynamics as established by this dissertation, with the use of BWA records alone, may not be markedly disorientated by the inclusion of FWA statistics in the near future.

2.7. Uncaptured Trade Statistics: Carrying Capacity for Internal Trade

This chapter has postulated an extensive growth in domestic long-distance trade based on available statistical and descriptive records. We are cognizant of potential anxiety pertaining to the agro-economic carrying capacity of the interior of the region, especially of both Gold Coast and Nigeria to sustain our suggested sustenance of domestic long-distance trade. The inclination is to re-state that much of the data and projections on domestic trade expansion in the Gold Coast is Ashanti-centric⁷².

⁷¹ In using BWA records, the paper achieved partial understanding of FWA trade performance given the reflection of trade between FWA and BWA. The most notable omission in this dissertation is the information pertaining to intra-FWA trade.

⁷² This is partly the outcome of its central geographic location (See [MAP 1](#) page 401) as well as its trading performance within the Gold Coast Territories as per recorded data.

Within Nigeria, our data has been on the exchanges between both the broader Southern Nigeria (including Lagos) and Northern Nigeria. In this context, we are enjoined to provide much more clarity in terms of the capacity of the land to sustain such territorial exchanges in relation to these observed patterns.

To address this issue, we highlight the relative factor endowments of both the Gold Coast (specifically Ashanti) as well as Nigeria since they are the main sources of data for the domestic trade statistics. Available literature from Hopkins (1973) and Austin (2005) have argued the relative abundance of land over all other factors of production in the long-term history of much of West Africa. While there have been observed changes in factor combinations in specific contexts as well as changes in the relationships between input and outputs over period, it still remains generally agreeable that, at least up to the end of the colonial period, land was more abundant in relation to capital and labour in West Africa. It is equally important to clarify the concept of land to appreciate its dimension and variation as well as its utility. The use of land includes the physical land (cultivable and mining lands), the ecology and rivers/water that facilitates its socio-economic usability⁷³. By use of this concept, we are able to explore the economic and ecological connections that provide valuable insights into the carrying capacities of the interior of the two colonies.

⁷³ Sugihara (2017:140) has rightly argued for an approach that unpacks this conception of land as a factor of production, especially in resource constrained arenas. He argues for going beyond the classical framework of capital, land, labour to include relevant factor endowments such as water and energy.

From this perspective, some key questions emerge. The first question relates to the nature and use of the land. A consequential question remains how the use of the land affected the nature and availability of land to successfully sustain the implied extent of domestic trade and economic expansion. Additionally, and even assuming that there was ready availability of both labour and capital, another question will focus on how freely accessible these lands were to foster production and exchanges that unify the distinct local economies in these territories. Lastly, but most crucially, there is a question of whether this land possessed the population carrying capacity to foster anticipated growth of internal trade exchanges.

It is understood that major parts of both Ashanti (of the Gold Coast⁷⁴) and Southern Nigeria⁷⁵ Protectorates formed part of the forest belt zone of West Africa. The land

⁷⁴ The Colonial Office report on "*An Economic Survey of the Colonial Territories, Volume III The West African Territories, (1952)*" provides richer information for our purpose. The ecological account below largely reflects situations outside the study period but may appropriately stand for the state of the territories by 1940.

In respect of the Gold Coast (page 17) the report states "The country may be generally described as being divided into plains and scrublands, forest areas and open parkland. The plain and scrub areas lie between the coastline and the southern boundary of the forest, which leaves the neighborhood of Takoradi and runs north-east to the depth of some 60miles inland on the eastern frontier. It consists of rolling plains covered with scrubs and grass, usually denuded of big trees, and with occasional isolated hills rising to a height of several hundred feet, particularly in the region of Cape Coast, between Apam and Winneba, and the south of Akuse. The northern boundary of the forest area follows the Volta River to the Western part of the country. The forest area is broken by numerous steep ridges and hills and the heavy annual rains and dense cover of the forest makes it the most productive area of the country. The forest in its natural state consists of massive trees, standing close to one another with widespread buttresses, and rising to a height of about 200feet, and protects the soil from desiccation and erosion. The country on the north of the forest zone may be described as open parkland. Generally speaking, the country is covered with low open woodland throughout the whole of northern Ashanti and the Northern Territories. The whole of the forest area is well watered by small rivers and streams, most of which dry up during the dry season, but flow strongly during the rains from May to October. The open parkland streams flow only for short periods during and for a few hours after falls of rain.

⁷⁵ In respect of Nigeria (page 49), the reports reads "Nigeria is divided into four zones as follows:

(i) A belt of swamp and mangrove forest, 10-60 miles wide and following the coastal line. It includes the delta of the Niger and it is intersected by innumerable rivers and creeks

(ii) A belt of dense tropical forest from 50-100miles wide, intersected by rivers and streams, and very rich in oil palms, which constitutes at present the chief wealth of Nigeria. The ground here is undulating with few scattered hills, but there is no open ground except around villages and farms. This zone merges into the next, a line passing through the towns Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ondo, Onitsha and Afikpo serving as boundary.

in these areas, watered by heavy annual rains and covered by dense forest was described as the most productive area of the Gold Coast⁷⁶ for its exploitability. The forest belt of southern Nigeria was similarly typified as the home of the chief Nigerian exports. Major trade commodities such as kola, rubber, and gold were found in the Gold Coast and Ashanti forest while the Nigerian forest was home to palm trees and other minerals. Unsurprisingly, the later advent of the cocoa 'revolution' in West Africa from early 1890s occurred in the forest belts of these colonies. In this respect, it can be argued that the forest zones of both the Gold Coast and Nigeria have been largely the engine of much of West Africa's foreign and domestic trade. The impression gained from exports of commodities from this zone is suggestive of its intrinsic nature as well as the extent of agricultural and mining exploitation of this resource. However, it seems that within the conducive nature of the forest land for exploitation exists its most destructive power. Philip (1959) has observed that there are far-reaching issues intimately associated with exploitation of the forest and its productivity. He argues that surface erosion and the truncation of the profile by the removal of much or all of the upper horizon; leaching of nutrients from the upper horizon and the eluviation of the clay from the soil leaving in position the coarser materials are the outcomes of exploitation of the soil. These negative effects are

(iii) A belt of more open country which gradually becomes clearer, park-like land being followed by open expanse covered with high grass. This zone is hilly, especially in the Ondo Province and on the Eastern Frontier.

(iv) A vast, undulating plateau, generally about 2000 feet high, but occasional hills of granite and sandstones, rising eg, in parts of the Plateau Province and to the south-west of Yola to a height of over 6000 feet. The southern portion of the plateau is covered by a thin forest, but the country becomes more open towards the north, until at last the sandy tracts that border on the Sahara.

⁷⁶ Colonial Office (1954), *An Economic Survey of the Colonial Territories*.

thought to emerge from the impact of abundant and frequent rain of high intensity upon the soil during the fully and largely exposed stages of exploitation through agricultural cultivation and mining. However, it seems that the exploiters of indigenous forest (thus mainly indigenes of BWA) have long been conscious of protecting forest floors from the adverse influences of exploitation. These indigenous people have displayed their knowledge and nervousness by largely extending the cultivable frontiers under the practices of mixed cropping⁷⁷, crop rotation and shifting cultivation or swidden farming⁷⁸ for much of its history, including the colonial years. Following the shifting of cultivable frontiers, local 'foresters' tend to allow a fallow period of approximately 10-20 years for the full restoration of forest cover⁷⁹. The notion of abundant exploitable land, at least in the physical sense, was fostered by the prevailing institutional regime in terms of land tenure which tended to grant usufruct rights for cultivation⁸⁰ and mining in these forested zones. The exploitation of the forest lands by local people, due largely to land holding and land granting rights regimes, and their postulated deterioration from use implies that the previously

⁷⁷ In the process of cultivating long term crops like cocoa and oil palm in the forest, when land has been cleared and the seedlings planted, the same land is used to grow food crops for 2-3 years, after which the long term crops would emerge to provide shade to the soil.

⁷⁸ Shifting cultivation entails the clearing of an area of land, the cultivation of cleared land continuing for usually 3 years, followed by its abandonment. The abandoned land is allowed to become overgrown with weeds and bushes in the belief that its fertility will be restored in medium to long-term making the land useful again.

⁷⁹ In areas and periods of intensive pressure from population and exploitation, such as in the post-WWI period, it is likely that the fallow periods would have been shortened to the detriment of sustainability.

⁸⁰ In 1912, the West African Lands Committee noted that in Southern Nigeria, each community had rights of distribution amongst its members over a certain tract of land. Subject to good conduct and performance of responsibility towards community, the person could retain the land until death, after which it could even pass to the eldest son, with the approval of the community leadership. Following this, legislation was passed to prevent wholesale alienation of land under economic pressure and the introduction of extraneous forms of land tenure. And this arrangement prevailed throughout the colonial period.

In the case of Ashanti, Austin (2005) emphasized that the long-established distinction in Asante land tenure, between ownership of the soil and ownership of the crops planted on it, was maintained throughout the colonial period, even though the cultivation of cocoa occasioned a seismic shift in the economic value of cultivation rights.

assumed extensive 'forest rent frontier'⁸¹ in terms of agricultural production and mining would be threatened over the long term and across space. This is a classic case of a cyclical loop where economics determines ecology and vice-versa. This observation gives rise to the question of whether the forest zones had the capacity for sustainable exploitation from 1880-1940. To respond to this issue, attention is focused on population density and the carrying capacity of forest zones.

[Table 2.1](#) (page 373), showing population density in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, has been constructed, to demonstrate the relative abundance of land as a factor of production⁸² for 1921, 1931, and 1948 (for Gold Coast) and 1950 for Nigeria.

It is instructive to note that even in 1948, the population per square mile for the entire Gold Coast was 44.7. In respect of Ashanti, it is clear from [Table 2.1](#) (page 373) that population densities had more than doubled from 16.4 in 1921 to 33.5 in 1948. Added to the increases in population is the concurrent appearance of the cocoa boom, fueled by extensive shifting cultivation along the forest frontier. This implies massive exploitation of land and forest resources. In isolation, this increase may be equally troubling and supportive of our assessment of the expanding growth of internal trade; as it may be indicative of both exhaustion of the land frontiers or increases in population, urbanization and growth of the market for increased exchange. However, the main issue to clarify is whether the available land had the

⁸¹ Austin (2005) extended François Ruf's 'forest rent' concept and termed it -"Broad Forest Rent"- to cover the market value of all non-renewable productive assets obtainable in the forest zone. We are persuaded by Austin's extension but use 'Forest Rent Frontier' to bring into sharp focus the exhaustible and dynamic nature of such rents as pertain in the forest zones of West Africa.

⁸² We take the view that the fertility of the available land in the forest zones of the Gold Coast and Nigeria have been established in the preceding section and demonstrated by the phenomenal contribution and exploitation for the economic progress.

capacity to sustain the resultant population density. To this issue, Allan's (1965) seminal work on the carrying capacity of land in different ecological zones is instrumental (Allan, 1965)⁸³. In his assessment, Allan (1965) argues that for the forest ecological region, of which Ashanti and Southern Nigeria are part, the 'critical population density', where subsistence agriculture is just about sustainable, and the population density would be between 85-130 cap/mile². Juxtaposing this calibrated density of the entire Ashanti (even when its northern portions were not in the forest zones) and Southern Nigeria reveals that even in 1948 and 1950, population densities were well below the critical threshold. Whereas Ashanti tended to possess more forest rent frontiers, Southern Nigeria seem to close in on the limits at mid-20th century. The implication is that throughout the period of 1880 -1940, both Ashanti and Southern Nigeria possessed the land-carrying capacity to continue sustaining its population and related economic activities. Importantly, this reveals the fact that population expansion, more generally⁸⁴, was not a constraint on output expansion for both foreign and domestic trade. Rather, the 'forest rent frontier' offered a formidable framework of potential for increased production and exchanges especially as improvements in local transportation infrastructure continued amidst peace and with the known absence of natural disasters.

⁸³ Allan's work postulates a 'critical population density' for differing environments in Africa. He argues that exceeding certain critical densities will result in increased soil erosion, reduced soil fertility and a reduction in the carrying capacity of the land.

⁸⁴ There could be internal differentiations where some areas could be well beyond the critical threshold, especially in the very urbanized areas of Kumasi, Ibadan, Oyo and Abeokuta.

2.8. Structure of Internal Trade

Informed by the statistical review of the commodities, a clear structure is observed.

The structure is that of a commodity production and distribution driven across ecological zones. Specifically, a three-dimensional structure of internal integration occurred in the region and is explained below. In the entire study period, kola production in the forest areas across West Africa increased, connecting both the coast (and coastal merchants) and the savanna. This was a regional commodity, driven by the local patterns of production and consumption. Further, livestock trade increased between the savanna and the rest of West Africa (forest areas and the coast). This was a driving force of 'vertical integration', later aided by the development of transportation. Conversely, cocoa production expanded enormously as a result of Western demand. It was produced in the interiors of forest areas as well as in areas nearby the ports, by local producers, and carried to the ports by mostly local/regional merchants. [Figure 2.9 \(page 393\)](#) has been designed to illustrate the structure of integration. To further elaborate on the diagram the next section discusses the dynamics that affected the trade in these major commodities.

2.8.1. Kola and Horizontal Integration

Due to expanding market demand and improving transportation, kola production expanded in the kola-growing territories of BWA; Gold Coast and Sierra Leone and Nigeria. Except in Nigeria where the colonial government implemented a raft of policies to nurture the kola sector (Chapter IV will elaborate on this issue), the spread of kola cultivation in Gold Coast and Sierra Leone resulted almost completely from ingenious initiative of indigenous forces in response demand. [MAP 2](#) and [MAP 3](#)

(page 402) have been drawn to geographically illustrate the spread of kola production. . [MAP 2](#) demarcates the existing kola frontiers across colonies by the end of the 19th century. A key feature of this map is the marked absence of any major form of land-based transportation except for the railways in Sierra Leone and Nigeria, emanating from Freetown and Lagos respectively. In the Gold Coast, kola was produced in the forest middle belt, in a similar manner to Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

In the 20th century, and seemingly following the emergence of railways, production began to spread as producing areas expanded. [MAP 3](#) (page 402) is designed to delimit the areas of new cultivation, 'shown in red'. Specifically, areas in Agona, Akyem and Fante in Gold Coast which were closer to the coast and improving railways transportation were added. In Nigeria, due to both indigenous initiative and governmental policy support, Ota, Abeokuta, Agege, and around Ibadan entered kola production. At the regional level, the expansion of kola production, based on recorded trade statistics from the traditional kola producers in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone has been presented in [Figure 2.9](#).

The key message from the figure above is the continuous increase in production for over four decades until the middle of the 1920s. The phenomenal rise from less than 500,000 kilograms to about 4,500,000 kilograms in 1926 is demonstrative of the indigenous response to improving market conditions and transport infrastructure. As will be discussed in Chapter Three and Four, decline was partly a function of import substitution across the region and the potential effect of other commodities with

similar guaranteed markets, such as cocoa, in the interwar period. In spite of this, the astounding rise deserves some interpretation. On casual observation, the trappings of 'vent-for-surplus' may be at play⁸⁵. A look at the key conditions suggests that the increase in kola production could be explained as a 'vent' of surplus productive capacities. Figure 2.9 and Maps 2 and 3 together demonstrate the expanded production of kola. Administrative reports suggested that the production of kola required limited technical innovation and changes, as the crops mostly grew 'wild' with little conscious cultivation. The main form of inputs was the labour that tended to address weeding and harvesting requirements. All these recorded data, shown in [Figure 2.10](#) (page 394), concern exported quantities rather than total production, although consumption in most traditional producer territories was thought to be less significant. It was only in Nigeria that domestic demand was disproportionately significant. Even here, it was mainly outside of the producing forest zones and in the consuming savanna regions. Furthermore, population is not understood to have greatly increased. According to Mitchel (2005), the total change in population of the entire West Africa was from 30million in 1910 to 88million in 1953. Specifically for the traditional producer colonies, the changes in population within similar time period suggest a medium increases. Madison (2006) indicates that the Gold Coast population had increased from 2 million to 5 million between 1910 and 1950. By 1950, the population of Sierra Leone hovered around 2 million. The fusion of these parameters seems to satisfy the tenets advance theoretically for vent-for-

⁸⁵ I am truly grateful to Gareth Austin's extensive and timely intervention that shapes the discussion on this issue.

surplus, such as limited technical changes, limited population/labour increases and expansion in production and marketing. Seen from the ecological zone as a region, there is potential difficulty in establishing that the cultivation of new areas and the general expansions utilized previously idle labour. The difficulty, partially springs from the seasonal nature of labour employment due to environmental challenges, especially across the savanna regions. Without natural barriers and hard borders, the migration of labour to the kola producing areas was not only possible but real. Several studies such as Tosh (1980) and Swindell (1984) well as administrative reports have discussed the seasonal migration of laborers into the forest areas from the savanna zones. In this situation, it remains to be empirically verified whether labour employed in the forest regions was previously idle and fits the opportunity cost considerations. In the absence of that, the theorization of the situation of kola production and expansion in the forest zones will have to hang between vent-for-surplus formulations and the possibility of a productivity break-through. However, when the entirety of the region is considered, it can be argued that the production, distribution and consumption of kola typifies the classic tenets of vent-for-surplus. The expansion of the trade followed improvements in in-land transportation to markets outside the producing zones. The potential employment of migrant labour from the northern savanna areas were all regional resources that may have been idle during certain seasons of the year. Admittedly, there may have been some potential limited migrations from other adjoining colonies like Cameroon in the case of Nigeria. However, the scale of that may just be insignificant since there are not

readily available records on such happenings. The combination of abundant arable land in the forest zones with the support of migrant labour from the savanna areas to expand output and export in the region is not known to have also negatively affected existing productive enterprises.⁸⁶ Thus, on a regional stage, the improvements in transportation and income intercontinental trade conditioned a vent-for-surplus expansion of kola in West Africa from 1880 to, at least, 1928.

2.8.2. Livestock and Vertical Integration

In respect of regional trade in livestock, the impression is one of a form of vertical integration. Larger herds of livestock, mainly reared in the northern savanna areas, were traded southwards to the forest and coastal regions in exchange for other goods including salt, kola, and general merchandise from Europe. Volumes of trade expanded over the period. Accurate statistics on the production of livestock is hard to obtain. However, due to taxation and desire to foster the production, census of livestock were undertaken.

[Table 2.2](#) (page 374) the situation of production of livestock in Nigeria and Sierra Leone in the inter-war period. It has been prepared to provide insights into the magnitude and variety of animals. Production of cattle tended to dominate and was followed by sheep and pigs. Aside from these figures presented in the table, there was a sizeable recording of horse rearing in Nigeria. The general impression is one of sustained and increasing production in all types of animals over the period and

⁸⁶ Instead, it was the expansion of cocoa cultivation in Ghana that seemed to have affected the output levels of kola in the late 1920s.

across territories. Admittedly, these are census data and as such is difficult to account for the differences reported figures over the years. The changes in reported figures are either increases or decreases in production. Increases could be resulting from genuine increased production, even as consumption and trade continued. Decreases could emanate from incidences of disease outbreaks that whittles down the size of animal population or disproportionate increase in trade and consumption. In the inter-war period, the where there is increase or shortage caused by trade or death of animals. With respect disease, there are only instances in the study period where disease outbreaks were recorded. In these instances, they tended, as in the 1932-1934 period, to be mostly restrained to the FWA areas. The limited use of veterinary and quarantine services were helpful in avoiding a contagion. As a consequence, the general trends of increase or decrease seems to be inspired by trading and consumption which in turn facilitates increased production. In this context, it is suggested that the trade in livestock from the northern savanna to the forest zones was substantial. Unfortunately, trade statistics on trade in livestock was hardly recorded, and even when it was done, might have been grossly under-recorded. However, effort has been made to report on the recorded extent of trade in livestock as far as practicable.

In Table 3.1C (page 333) in [Appendix 2](#) provides insight into trade in livestock in the Gold Coast alone. In 1903, some 98,536 livestock comprising mainly 12,386 cattle, 67,961 sheep and goats were passing to markets in the south. This must have been sustained through WW1 to reach 127,825 livestock using similar route in 1926. Of

this cattle constituted 40,346 while goats and sheep accounted for 60,752. In Nigeria, whereas, 6,000 cattle were on record as passing from Northern to Southern Nigeria in 1906, approximately 200,000 cattle entered Lagos from the Northern Nigeria in 1933. Within the same period, some 118,324 sheep, goats and pigs were traded in Southern Nigeria from the northern part of the territory. The expanded trade in livestock is another example of indigenous initiatives and responses without any direct technical or financial support from the government. The only periods of intervention were during the rinderpest outbreaks of where quarantine services were provided at the frontiers to avoid a contagion. The unwillingness of livestock producers in the northern part of Nigeria to patronize the limited colonial services in veterinary services has been partly blamed on the tax arrangements around livestock (Adebayo, 1995). In spite of the imposition of a 10% tax called Jangali that existed in this period, production and trade in Nigeria seem to have proceeded largely unaffected.

2.8.3. 2.8.3. Cocoa and Internal and External Integration

The extensive cocoa trade from the forest regions through to the coast areas as an intercontinental commodity conditioned continued demand for livestock importation. Increasing incomes from cocoa exports occasioned effective demand for meat from livestock from the savanna regions. Cocoa production was an indigenous initiative and remained in their hands over the period. The history of cocoa production has received extensive study since Polly Hill's ground breaking work on migrant cocoa farmers in the southern Gold Coast. A key feature of the increasing capitalist

cultivation of cocoa was the employment of wage labour. Initially planted in the 1890s, with increased adoption around 1900, exports averaged around 28,000 tons annually two decades into the 20th century. As an intercontinental commodity, it was subject to price fluctuations. In terms of the expansion in trade, the role of improved transportation is apparent. In the Gold Coast, improved connectivity by rail and road facilitated the trade in Cocoa, mainly from Ashanti protectorate. Railway reports suggest that cocoa shipped by rail increased from 1,200 tons in 1910 to reach 14,000 tons by 1915. The transport of cocoa by rail more than doubled in the year after WWI to reach 30,000 tons. With accompanying improvements in roads and road infrastructure in the 1920s, road transport became an important means of cocoa transportation from the forest areas to coast.

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENT OF MERCHANT NETWORKS AND THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

Following the discussion of the revealed and estimated extent as well as the pattern of internal trade in West Africa, our interest is to elucidate the factors that explain the nature and pattern of the evaluated extent of trade. Our approach is principally driven by the quest to respond the question of what is known of the development of merchant networks and the emergent transportation system, and what that offers in terms of both the revealed and estimated extent of internal trade. It may be clear by now that, broadly, we associate the growth and pattern of internal trade with the adaptability and spread of network of merchants and traders and the evolution of the transportation system. We make these observations in the understanding that both foreign and domestic long-distance trade, presented challenges⁸⁷. Elaboration of these afore-mentioned factors, under thematic sections, is provided in the hope of demonstrating closer relationships between the evolution of internal trade that offered a degree of economic integration in the sixty-year period into the WWII.

3.1 Merchant Networks and the Evolution of Internal Trade

Regarding general regional trade, the character, nature and state of markets in West Africa have been previously discussed to signal their periodicity and locational dimensions⁸⁸. The extension of this understanding is that the successful execution

⁸⁷ These challenges include information flows on the conditions of the market (supply and demand of the commodity), establishment and maintenance of trust amongst merchants, traders, and agents, sometimes leading to the opening of credit lines and facilitating arrangements that ensure that commodities are transferred to designated markets through available and efficient transport systems.

⁸⁸ See Meillassoux (1971).

of trade, by necessity, requires either the presence or the able representation (by an agent) of the trader on the spot. The fulfilment of this important requirement would naturally result in a creation of some sort of network of trusting and cooperating producers, 'middlemen'⁸⁹ and consumers. On the whole, and in a similar manner to other regions⁹⁰, the prominent feature of the growth of internal trade in West Africa was the organization of trade networks predominated by migrant merchants with the support of numerous local traders as well as native liaisons. This is not, in anyway, to suggest that merchants, traders, middlemen⁹¹ and producers performed clearly distinguishable roles. Thus, the orthodox notions of wholesalers and retailers may not strictly apply. On some occasions, the trader dabbled in both in production and liaison functions. Thus, in many instances, and akin to the colours of the rainbow, the pursuit of their avowed economic objectives usually, meant that their roles fused and merged into those of others. The fusion of roles vis-à-vis their expressed objectives partially ensured that their actions were moderated by both competitive and cooperative considerations. To fully appreciate the role and functions of the actors between the producer and the consumer, some important contextual clarifications are provided.

⁸⁹ The term 'middlemen' is use here to denote the host of actor(s) engaged in the varied transactions leading to the eventual transfer of the commodity from the producer to the consumer.

⁹⁰ The dominance of Jewish and Arab traders in Mediterranean trade in Middle Ages and the predominance of Indians in East African trade is fairly well documented. Furthermore, the exploits of Overseas Chinese traders in Asia and other non-Chinese migrant trader networks even in European colonial times was the subject of an informative volume edited by Fallers (1967).

⁹¹ We acknowledge that the use of this term might be potentially problematic given that we previously conceived the entire group of actors between the producer and the trader as middlemen. From here on, our use of the term 'middlemen', refers to the actor just immediately between the very local trader-agent and the producer of the commodity.

In this dissertation, we employ the term merchants to denote trading actors who are understood to have undertaken relatively large scale regional long distance imports or exports trade directly and or through recognized agent at the point of trade in a different geographical sphere (either within a political territory or in a different territory). As already pointed out, merchants were typically migrants or of migrant extraction. Thus, in this view, the presence of actors (for example people, from Hausa-land, Yoruba-land, Mossi-land, Ashanti-land and in some limited instances of European and Levantine origination) in the inter-territorial and intra-territorial trade of the region are treated as regional merchants. Specifically, we conceive merchants to be those traders that are involved in bulk buying for the import and/or export of commodities for long-distance trade, usually with other territories but also within territories. Our characterization of merchants reflects mostly stationary trading actors who are routinely located in their political/administrative territories or within the area of trade in another territory but not mostly engaged in direct procurement or turnover relationships either with the producer or consumer. For these migrant merchants, even if they were in the trading territories, they tended to be usually on the coast, or in area of where voluminous commodities were assembled for transshipment.

On the other hand, traders, as used in this study, refers to local actors within the distinct geographical sphere who are engaged in mostly facilitating long-distance trade through the procurement and sale of commodities either on behalf of merchants or, by personal initiative and capacity, engaged in a trading relationship with merchants. Contrary to the merchant, the role of the trader tended to be more

itinerant in nature, 'meeting and greeting' both producers and consumers alike. The nature of the scale and scope of operation implies that merchants were relatively well-capitalized. Unlike the merchant, the trader had less capital and relied on credit arrangements, mostly from the merchant and on very limited occasions from the producer. Admittedly, it may appear that these definitions are not precise. However, we take the view that these conceptions may form a necessary building block for appreciating the role of trading actors in the nature and extent of trade in the region. With these few clarifications, focus is directed to the nature, spread and form of the trading network that pertained in the regional trade of West Africa from 1880 - 1940. This will be undertaken with close attention to the trade in key commodities (kola, livestock and cocoa) that are seen to have driven the extent and pattern of internal trade integration.

3.1.1. Regional Networks of Merchants and Traders in Kola and Livestock-led Trade

From the statistical examination, we observed an overwhelming and rising share of kola in the internal trade of West Africa from 1880-1940. As has been adduced in the previous chapter, kola grew in the forest belt and was mainly consumed in the savanna ecological zones. Until Nigeria consciously promoted and achieved kola production and trade on a large scale around the 1920s, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone were the main drivers of kola-led exports in the BWA region. It is therefore helpful to understand how a network of actors evolved and spread to link these distinct production and consumption areas.

We re-state our understanding that kola-led regional trade exploited both sea-borne and land-borne routes. Whereas sea-borne kola-driven trade was ‘revolutionized’ in almost the first forty years after 1880, we emphasize the fact that land-borne kola-led trade did not disappear, and even supplanted water-borne trade in some places from the 1920s. This dichotomy suggests the continued relevance of discussing merchant networks along the routes of long-distance trade separately. That the opportunities and constraints inherent in these distinctive routes are quite dissimilar may even validate such a framework. In actual fact, there was close association of livestock trade with land-borne kola trade, while there is no such interlinked trade for sea-borne kola trade⁹². It is, in part, a recognition of this interconnected trade of kola and livestock on land routes that we discuss the general merchant networks in a similarly separated fashion. For both practical and contextual purposes⁹³, a detailed account of the nature of the merchant networks involved in this type of trade along routes in producing and consuming zones is initially presented. This will be followed by a discussion of the nature and spread of the network of actors that is believed to have provided a reinforcing connectivity for further integration of the

⁹² A systematic study of the livestock production and trade in West Africa may be interesting. The differences in modes of transportation and demand markets suggest it is somewhat unique. Further, the reasons why livestock produced from West Africa never became an intercontinental commodity of significance remains yet to be firmly established.

⁹³ The evolution of the respective networks, their nature and changes as well as the main markets of distribution are fairly distinct, implying that a hasty generalization towards a regionalized story would miss some important historical details.

region. After this, a discussion of a synthesized regional narrative of merchants and traders in regional trade integration will be offered.

3.1.2.a Sea-borne Kola-led Trade

To understand how the marketing situation and the merchant networks interacted, focus will initially be on sea-borne⁹⁴ kola trade. We re-state that this medium of trade is not associated with the trade in livestock.

3.1.2.a.i. Gold Coast

Regarding the Gold Coast, initially and mainly from the forest parts of Ashanti, the kola-led trade was northbound and, naturally, land-borne. Abaka (2005) has persuasively argued that 1874 was a watershed year⁹⁵ for both merchants and the very fortunes of cross-territorial trade in kola in the region. Before this period, and by virtue of its central geographic location (see [MAP 1](#)) in the Gold Coast, the age of conquest had bestowed on the Ashanti State⁹⁶ a monopoly on trade in kola as well as extensive control of the trade between the coastal south and the northern savanna zones (Lovejoy, 1980). Post-1874, and in pursuit of trade, the government of the Gold Coast Colony attempted to create direct trading routes with the territories north of Ashanti, without traversing the Ashanti Territories (Colonial Office, *PP*, C.5615, 1888). As a consequence of the Treaty of 1874 signed with Ashanti, migrant

⁹⁴ It is clarified that this southward orientation of kola trade from both Gold Coast and Sierra Leone had an intercontinental dimension. From 1880-1900, export of kola from these two colony to intercontinental markets was worth £41,160, only to decline to £15,862 in the period 1900-1913. The main destinations were the United Kingdom, Germany and Brazil. However, for the purposes of this chapter, our discussion will be restricted to the exploits of merchants and traders in the regional and local context.

⁹⁵ The British invasion/defeat of Ashanti and the resultant Treaty of July 1874 occasioned the agreement of Ashanti State to open and maintain trading routes with the Gold Coast Colony.

⁹⁶ The Ashanti state is thought to be a hegemonic state within what became the unified Gold Coast 1902 and eventually Ghana in 1957.

merchants, mostly Hausas, Mossi and other Muslim traders from the northern savanna regions and beyond moved further southwards (in the late 1880s) to commence direct trading with farmers and local middlemen (Abaka, 2005). Indeed, the Hausas have been recognized for their mercantile prowess and are known to have established diaspora communities through long-distance trade (Lovejoy, 1980). Banfield (1905) identified the Hausa as the great trader of Nigeria who can be found in nearly every town or village selling goods which he has brought from the coast. Lovejoy (1980) has traced the historical capital formation of the Hausa traders to both their ownership of plantations, which were worked by slaves, mostly in Northern Nigeria and their agency as the trading link for the Sokoto Caliphate for almost a century from the 1804 Sokoto Jihad.

From the early 1880s, the ubiquity of migrant merchants in the southern⁹⁷ Gold Coast was observed. The presence of merchants and their modus operandi is revealing of the possible impact they must have had on the evolution and subsequent 'revolution' of the sea-borne kola-led regional trade. It is suggested that the southward descent of the migrant merchants provided needed impetus for the growth in production of regionally traded commodities such as kola (as seen Maps 2 and 3 in page 402). Even as the availability of merchants in the south is observed, from the early 1880s, it emerged that the bulk of the kola-led trade was undertaken not through the centuries old north-bound route, but through shipments from the

⁹⁷ We use southern to typically define all the areas south of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

Gold Coast ports of Sekondi, Cape Coast, Winneba, Accra and Saltpond. The Gold Coast records reveal the extent of penetration by migrant Hausas and Muslims merchants in towns as well as along trading routes in the southern Gold Coast. Specifically, the Census Report of the Gold Coast (1891) notes the increased presence of migrant merchants. Around 1900, a self-reporting account from migrant merchants to the Gold Coast government suggested that there were about 1,200-1,500 migrant merchants involved in the kola-led trade (Chief Alhaji, Letter to Governor June, 1901). Indeed, increased cultivation of kola was linked to improved demand which was facilitated by the presence of migrant merchants. A greater proportion of Hausa and migrant Muslims were found in the coastal towns suggesting their presence was in direct response to the growing sea-borne kola-led trade. Their location, mostly along the trade routes and in the trading centers, suggested that they were less concerned with Islamic proselytization (Gold Coast, *Census Report*, 1891). Given that there are no readily available and reliable production figures for kola, we are inclined to take changes in the export volumes and values as reflective of the suggested 'revolution' in the production and trade of the commodity. This is done with recognition that the additional local consumption would only improve the extent of the production and trade of this commodity. As an instance, in 1885, there were only 114 packages of kola, worth £727, exported by sea from the Gold Coast to destinations in West Africa. By 1905, the exported volume from the territory had reached 2,677 packages and valued at £50,043. The

sea-borne export of kola would further increase from 1,974 tons in 1908 to 5,917 tons in 1918⁹⁸.

A key characteristic of these southern-based migrant merchants is their sense of coordination. As the trade volume and values increased, so did their coordinated voice. The collective voice of the merchants was heard during the period of proposed tariff policy changes, which was deemed by the merchants to have potential effects on the kola-led trade. When, due to the fiscal strains on the economy from the war in 1917, the Gold Coast colonial government decided to raise excise duty on the sea-borne trade of kola, these merchants, who were mostly Hausas but now with some persons of Yoruba (a tribe in Southern Nigeria) descent included, petitioned the government (Commissioner, Letter to Mallam et al, 1914)⁹⁹. Prior to this, these merchants protested the attempts by the Nigerian government to impose import packaging restrictions in the form of allowable weights and time of arrival of ships in Lagos (Lugard, Letter to Clifford, 1917)¹⁰⁰. Even much earlier, around 1908, when health and epidemiological conditions threatened their trade, the migrant merchant community complained of perceived targeted measures adopted by the colonial government in response to the outbreak of a plague in the Gold Coast¹⁰¹. To some extent, the fact that these merchants found it necessary to 'unionize' in cooperation

⁹⁸ All figures quoted in this and the preceding sentences are taken from Gold Coast *Blue Books*, various years.

⁹⁹ Enclosed in the correspondence is the attached list of petitioners which is revealing of their nationality.

¹⁰⁰ Enclosed in the correspondence is the attached list of petitioners which is revealing of their nationality.

¹⁰¹ See *Palaver held at Government House, Christianborg, on 9th July 1908*. In the ensuing engagement with the government, the merchants highlighted their migrant status by stating "Mohammedans chief in Accra came from different nationalities. We are from Northern and Southern Nigeria, Northern Territories, Senegal and Upper Dahomey" At the Palaver, focus on their trade and stress that "We wish to speak about our kola. The shipping company refuses to take our kola to Lagos....we wish to pack our kola in our houses as before and not be compelled to take it to the beach.....we do not want kola to be fumigated or marked".

and pursue matters of mutual interest, even when they were naturally and economically competing, is revealing. In part, it illustrates their understanding of the potential impacts of coordination failure on economic prosperity. Additionally, it signifies their recognition as a large enough group of actors playing their roles in connecting producing and consuming regions. As further proof of their acknowledged economic significance, the colonial government engaged them on all occasions. These moments of cooperation and coordination were, in all likelihood, boosted by the umbilical cord of religion, culture, and migrant identity status.

From this suggested close connection of the southward spread of migrant merchants with the increases in sea-borne trade, it is pertinent to clarify the nature and organization of the trade within the Gold Coast. The key question to be focused on is how the commodities were procured and transported to the ports of export. It is important to note that a major feature of this Hausa and Muslim migrant-dominated kola trade was the 'landlord and broker' system (Hill, 1966). As practiced in the decades prior to the 1880s, the descent of migrant merchants in the Gold Coast was built on the network of traders and landlords who mostly acted as brokers, credit guarantors and provided warehouses (Abaka, 2005). The landlord is viewed as a settled stranger who made it his (in most cases male) business to accommodate long-distance stranger-traders and to assist them in selling and usually in storing goods (Hill, 1966). A key point of note was the involvement of migrant labour and slaves in the transportation of the kola-led trade in the pre-1900 era. Even in the post-1900 era to almost the end of the First World War, portage of loads to the

main trading centers was undertaken by migrant labourers as they returned to their original locations or territories from their involvement in the cocoa industry (Swindell, 1954).

In terms of market characteristics, West African markets were essentially ephemeral institutions, operating periodically without suitable storage facilities (Hill, 1966). Considering time requirements for turning over long-distance goods, storage remained a major challenge. In that understanding, the storage facilities provided by the many landlords are effectively extra market locations, especially when the produce is bulky. In effect, the home of the landlord was a wholesale premises (Ibid: 355). In most instances, the landlord supported merchants in securing means of transport and procuring goods, even on credit, while receiving rewards in both cash and kind. Whereas kola nuts were sometimes procured directly from kola producers by merchants, the purchase of kola through middlemen predominated (Abaka, 2005). These middlemen, both natives and migrant landlords, played the role of packing in readiness for head portage. With the improvements in internal land transportation (roads and rail), these middlemen transferred assembled and packaged goods by lorry and rail to designated locations. It is useful to note that kola was not generally traded in a market in the traditional sense (Hill, 1966). The kola marketing locations tended to be dotted along the trade routes and in the premises of landlords as well as in suburbs mostly inhabited by migrants within trading centers, away from recognizable and designated community markets.

In summary, therefore, while Ashanti, *ACR*, (1910:5) observes the continued use of the northern route for kola trade in the Gold Coast, it seems reasonable to associate the presence of the Hausa and Muslim merchants, predominately in southern regions of the Gold Coast, with the large-scale sea-borne kola-led exports from the Gold Coast, at least from the 1880s to 1920s¹⁰². Part of the explanation for these large-scale kola-driven exports by sea is the possible impact of steam ships on West African trade (Lynn, 1989) which was reflected in lower transport cost and reduced travel time and brought with it positive effects on the preservation of the nuts. This sudden adoption of and adaptation to sea-based trade, largely afforded by colonial intents to invigorate intercontinental trade prospects, is in our view, a demonstration of an economic and rational response by both local producers and migrant merchants to innovations offered by European impact on the West Coast. From 1920 to 1940, these same networks prevailed to sustain the kola-led coastal trade from the Gold Coast to Nigeria and regions beyond, albeit at a declining rate. To a very large extent, the presence, spread and increase in migrant merchants within the southern regions of the Gold Coast, mostly found along the trading routes and centers of these areas, seem very closely related to the integration of the Gold Coast forest regions with the savanna regions of Northern Nigeria and beyond through sea-borne trade. The merchants' reliance on cultural, linguistic and religious bonds in

¹⁰² In terms of the volume of exports, our statistical evaluation indicates a re-orientation of trading routes to the previous land borne routes. We intend to interpret these changes as a response to transportation innovation and this will be addressed in subsequent sessions.

forming a collective voice and their pursuit of economic ends is indicative of the nature of the networks that prevailed.

3.1.2.a.ii Sierra Leone

We now turn our attention to a discussion of the situation as it pertained in Sierra Leone, the other kola-led trading colony of the BWA region. In this colony, the nature and form of the established merchant network for internal trade is one that may best be described as a 'phased dominance'. It also serves as one of the many examples of the engagement of women in the internal long-distance trade in West Africa (Horton, 1969)¹⁰³. Initially dominated by indigenous female merchants, by the end of the First World War this network had been overwhelmed by non-native non-European merchants of Levant origins, specifically Syrians and Lebanese, who had entered the network. In part, history and geography explain the evolution of internal long-distance trade and merchant networks in Sierra Leone. The growth of Freetown¹⁰⁴ as a colony, the annexation of the riverine territory of Sherbro¹⁰⁵ in 1861 and access to European boats facilitated Sierra Leonean internal trade in West Africa (White, 1981). In terms of regional commodities, and in specific reference to kola-led trade, Alldridge (1901:73) indicates that "the kola trade is entirely in the hands of the women, chiefly the Sierra Leone women, who penetrate considerable

¹⁰³ Horton (1969) described the industry and acumen of Yoruba women in trading over the long distances in the region. Also see Johnson (1973).

¹⁰⁴ As the name suggest, Freetown was initially inhabited by freed and liberated African slaves, mainly from the UK.

¹⁰⁵ Sherbro District in Sierra Leone is located along the riverine routes which offered improved access to the commodities produced in the interior. From here merchants could undertake coastal trade to Freetown, in Sierra Leone, other West African Ports and to Europe.

distances into the country to collect this much sought after article of commerce". Unlike the Gold Coast,¹⁰⁶ whose sea-borne kola-led trade was east-bound to Nigeria and beyond was thought to be dominated by males, the main consuming markets of Sierra Leone's second biggest exports for much of the period up to the 1930s, kola, were west-bound and up the coastal lines to British Gambia, French Senegal and Portuguese Guinea, all largely located in the savanna areas of West Africa. Curtin (1975) suggests that this sea-borne trade, which had existed as far back as the 16th century, only assumed significance with the participation of indigenous merchants in the last two decades of the 19th Century. From Alldridge (1901), the overwhelming participation of women in collecting the kola produce from the interior was manifestly visible just by observing the size and sex structure of population; especially when the women travelled into the hinterlands to connect with their liaisons and producers. These indigenous women merchants, mostly of Creole¹⁰⁷ descent, had middlemen traversed between the merchants and the producers, sorting and searching out quality produce, collecting and packaging the large quantities of kola and other commodities for transfer to the shipping ports in Freetown and Bonthe. The merchants, with the help of local middlemen, organized porters. While there were men involved in this trade, the predominance of women had both positive and negative dimensions. On the positive side, women were thought to have been better

¹⁰⁶ According to the *Blue Books*, commercial quantities of kola was not exported from Sierra Leone into Nigeria until 1917 where only 4tons were carried on the steamer. In less than a decade, and by 1924, Sierra Leone kola was competing with Gold Coast in the Nigeria Market with about 1,651 tons of exports.

¹⁰⁷ The Creole are believed to be of the lineage of liberated Africans and African-American who domiciled in the western part of the colony around 1787 and about 1885.

at community integration in the interior. Conversely, their status as women made them prone to rampant and targeted looting and kidnapping by the natives of the interior (White,1981).

Closely mimicking the migrant merchants in the Gold Coast, but with slight differences, White (1978) has discussed the nature of the network of migrant merchants from Sierra Leone to typify what can be described as loosely-knitted trading diaspora merchant network. In this network, merchants sent kola to agents who were wives of Sierra Leone civil servants posted to Gambia by the British, even though, on most occasions, merchants specifically entered these markets to establish contact for opening up trading relationships. In both Senegal and Gambia, these merchants depended on previous contacts with other liberated Africans of Sierra Leonean/Creole origin to establish trading contacts (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1903). By use of these previous familial and cultural contacts, they established a network in the consuming markets. As stranger-trader in destination markets (Senegal and Gambia), the Sierra Leonean diaspora merchants depended on their distinctive predisposition to trade and relied on a single language as well as a sustained evolution of institutional mechanism in the form of faith-and non-faith-based organizations (White,1981). In many respects, these mechanisms and arrangements must have aided their ability to form relationships of trust that fostered credit-giving, warehousing arrangements and enforced some codes of conduct, thereby providing a framework for addressing potential coordination challenges.

These networks and relationships flourished over time. However, in the later part of the 19th century, this dominance and seemingly successful network woven by indigenous women as purveyors of internal regional trade anchored around kola faced daunting tests. Ironically, these tests were brewed and served from home in Sierra Leone and not from the supply markets. The declaration of a protectorate over the interior of Sierra Leone in 1895 and the accompanying imposition of house taxes in 1898 occasioned a revolt from the inhabitants of the interior. These merchants, who were originally not from the interior, for varied reasons, became the target of attacks that led to some losing their trading capital and local contacts¹⁰⁸. These developments notwithstanding, the fortunes of the network for kola-led coastal-based regional trade can be said to have thrived, if not becoming overwhelmingly successful. After all, they evolved and sustained a trading network that connected the producers in the interior of Sierra Leone to the consumers in other territories in Senegal and Gambia.

Indeed, the sole dominance of this indigenous network would prevail until 1907, when Lebanese (Winder,1962) and Syrians, who are thought to have arrived (Winder,1962) in Sierra Leone in 1890, entered internal long-distance trade. As would be expected, with time, the Levantine population had increased. It is understood that the Levantine population (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1911) had increased

¹⁰⁸ For a full discussion of the reasons ranging from local political and chieftaincy interferences to plain tribal jealousy, see Crowder (1968), p.155.

from 47 in 1901 to 175 by 1911. Suggestions were made to the effect that the entrance of the Syrians had invigorated trade, especially exports of kola (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1913). Over a short period, these new entrants tilted the scales of dominance in their direction. According to official accounts, the Lebanese were believed to have assumed control and dominance of the kola-led trade by 1919, almost a decade after entry. Indeed, as of July 1919, the Levantine dominance was so overwhelming that, they controlled almost 75% of kola exports to French Senegal, British Gambia and Portuguese Guinea (Wilkinson, Letter to Milner, 1919).

Quite naturally, the question requiring response is how a trade dominated by the indigenous Creole women many long decades, could be taken over by non-natives, all the more so considering that these were non Europeans. Unsurprisingly, there were no simple and straight answers. The account differed depending on who was speaking. As a consequence, there were opposing interpretations to this paradigm shift in dominance and fortunes in trade. To the Creoles, suggested Kaniki (1973), their gradual dethroning from the zenith of internal trade was an outcome of the unconventional and devious commercial practices of their adversaries. These dubious activities included gambling in foodstuffs and the creation of commodity syndicates that artificially controlled prices. However, as Winder (1962) argued, accusation of such untoward practices is indicative of the reality that the regulatory framework was generally weak and that everyone, both the natives Creole women and the Lebanese, had plenty wriggle room for operation (Winder,1962).

Furthermore, the indigenous merchants blamed their decline on the activities of the interior native representatives in Sierra Leone, who acted as agents for the Lebanese and Syrians. They were cited as out-competing the original middlemen of the indigenous merchants given their suspected personal and sometimes amorous relationships with their principals. The inference from this principal-agent economic relationship infused with personal relationships was the potential reduction in transaction and operations costs as well as a natural heightened sense of motivation. It is noteworthy that similar charges of business 'malpractice' were leveled against Lebanese and Syrians operating in other West African territories (ibid: 315). Conversely, and for some in the colonial government, the success of the Lebanese was down to their apparent economic instincts. The suggestion was that the tilted scales of dominance must be seen as a rational outcome. Specifically, some official narratives suggested that through diligence and commercial acumen, the Lebanese had earned the discontent and distrust of the indolent and incompetent Creole merchants (Kaniki, 1973).

The account above presents a case of indignation on the part of the indigenous merchants. The official position seemed, at least on the face of it, to also be disinterested in engaging the matter. At that rate, it may be right to suspect that this dislodgement of indigenous merchants, was bound to enlist a reaction. In fact, it did prompt a heated and almost violent reaction (Kaniki, 1973). The 1919 Riots have been interpreted as the manifestation of the smoldering animosity and disquiet

peace on the economic landscape of Sierra Leone. Following a review of the 1919 Riots, the colonial policy tended to view the Lebanese as industrious and a positive factor for economic development, who rather needed encouragement (Slater, Letter to Amary, 1925), or at least noninterference, from the government. This policy stance must have, in some way, strengthened the grip of Lebanese, especially as nothing was done to prop-up the weakened indigenous merchants. At this stage and time in Sierra Leone, it can be argued that the full ethos of market-based efficiency and allocation principles seem to have been invoked by the colonial government. At a more general level, another advantage the Lebanese were thought to hold over African merchants, especially in the post-WWI era, was their ability to receive credit from the European Banks, which tended to be reluctant to lend to the latter (Bauer, 1954). The effect of this credit was the granting of cash advances to the native producer/cultivator in the interior. In most instances, these Lebanese, in turn, provided products, procured from the large European concerns on the coast, to other native traders in the most remote areas of the interior. With these conditions, it may not be far-fetched to appreciate the ability of the Lebanese to take over and sustain the supply markets in Senegal and Gambia, previously held by the Creole women. This possibility is substantiated by the suggestion that Lebanese were equally located in other West African colonies, including Senegal and Gambia, the main markets of these Creole merchants. Unfortunately, there are no readily available comparable corresponding statistics to indicate the presence of the Levantine population on the West African Coast. However, we do know, on account of the

Lebanese community itself, that there were Lebanese in Senegal (from 1897), Sudan (from 1900), Guinea (from 1890), Liberia, (from 1899) and the Gold Coast (from 1900)(Winder, 1962). Given their noted presence in these territories, it would not be unreasonable to foresee their ability to develop relationships in Senegal and Gambia that would aid them in taking over the trade network in these territories. In partial confirmation of our speculation, the Lebanese are credited with the extension of the Sierra Leone kola trade to both Northern Nigeria and Grand Bassam (Ivory Coast) in the 1920s (Sierra Leone, TR, 1924:10) due to their reliance on other Levantine resident in these territories. As a reinforcing occurrence, the closeness in commercial ties among Lebanese on the West African Coast is also well documented (Bauer, 1954). In these accounts, there was an anecdotal comparison of the business operations of both Levantines and African merchants that indicated that, quite unlike the indigenous merchant, "Syrian and Lebanese gives his brother in full measure and most readily (Pan African Age, cited in Winder, 1962) ". In no small way, these gradual changes and factors must have contributed to the decline of the indigenous merchant network, and its subsequent replacement by the Levantines in Sierra Leone as purveyors of the internal trade in West Africa.

However, subsequent events would prove that the cliché implying that time remains the best judge of most situations retained some measure of value. The previously romanticized business acumen and conspiratorial tendencies of the Levantines was to face its severest test with the passage of time. The smooth-sailing fortunes of sea-

borne kola trade-led networked by Lebanese and Syrians was to be hit by stronger tidal waves. The result was seen in the decline in exports to traditional markets in the region. Around 1930, the volume of kola exported by sea to Senegal had declined by 65% (Sierra Leone, *Trade Report*, 1932:11). By 1934, quantities imported from Sierra Leone into Nigeria were 914cwt compared to 39,559 cwt in 1927. In a very peculiar irony, the loss of Sierra Leone's share in Senegal market was attributed to the resourcefulness of Lebanese in Grand Bassam, although the effect of preferential tariffs cannot be overlooked (Sierra Leone, *Trade Report*, 1934:10). The subsequent decline in network dominance, at the hands of another group of Lebanese has some significance. It is, in part, illustrative of how economic interest triumphs over non-economic ties, especially in challenging economic situations. The general economic depression from the 1929s-1930s and the subsequent unravelling of the tariff and taxation policies from the Ottawa Agreement might have conspired to make Lebanese in the Ivory Coast consider self-interest and survival against cultural and identity ties. Thus, while the autochthonous network from Sierra Leone had sustained internal trade with savanna based markets, these routes and networks were taken over by merchants of Levant extraction, probably during the WWI. Importantly, these Levantines stationed in Sierra Leone would lose their dominance to other merchants of the same origins from the 1930s.

3.1.2.b Land-borne Kola and Cattle-led Trade

The previous section highlighted the co-existence of both land and sea trading routes for regional trade integration. Here, further insights are provided on the land-borne

trade and how it was sustained by the dynamism of the merchant and trader networks. In pursuit of contextual richness and clarity, the previous strategy of combining this with a discussion of the situation in the territory is followed.

3.1.2.b.i Gold Coast

According to Hill (1969), Lovejoy (1980), Arhin (1979) and others, the principal kola merchants in the export trade in the Gold Coast were known dealers in cattle and other livestock. Kola dealers, irrespective of size, traded in other commodities, and a number of the most well-known had commenced their trading careers as cattle dealers (Hogendorn, 1978:82). Indeed, official accounts as rendered by the *Annual Colonial Reports* of Ashanti and Northern Territories of the Gold Coast as well as Nigeria, are replete with discussions of livestock trade being undertaken by merchants who dealt in the kola trade. Discussion of the contents of the caravan as they journeyed the land routes consistently connected kola to livestock, especially cattle. As described in Chapter Two, recorded land-borne long-distance trade does not seem to have been captured. However, that captured, shows the surge of land-borne kola and cattle trade between destinations beyond and beside the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast from the 1920s. Specifically, in the post 1923 era, recorded land-borne trade in kola rebounded and overtook sea-borne trade by 1932. Closely accompanying this land-borne cattle-led exchanges from savanna regions were shea-butter, dawa-dawa, sheep and goats, as well as native clothes from Kano. Aside the propelling influence of innovative changes in land-borne transportation, we view the recovery of this route as a function of merchants' desires to seek new

markets given the saturation that ensued with the entrance of the Sierra Leone kola-led trade under the major influence of Lebanese in the Nigeria market as well as the effect of the import substitutions undertaken by Nigeria. Available records¹⁰⁹ signal the fact that most of these land-borne export ended up in Mali, Niger and Upper Volta. With internal cultivation of kola in Western Nigeria coming on stream and the competition from Sierra Leonean trade, merchants were prompted to look for new markets. Propitiously, major road constructions occurred that linked Ashanti to the Northern Territories. In a snapshot, we correlate the construction of roads to the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and its effect on security with the recovery of the land routes and increased land-based exports. Furthermore, the boom in the cocoa industry relied on migrant labour from mostly the Northern Territories and beyond. The partial effect of this cocoa industry on kola trade was manifested in the use of migrant labour returning to the northern territories as porters in addition to more mechanized and motorized transport to the savanna regions. This connection between land-borne kola and livestock trade could fortify our previous estimation of internal trade with respect to return cargo. We speculate that return cargo items were a key consideration for long-distance traders, especially merchants using utilizing land-route. Recognizing the profit-seeking tendencies of these merchants would mean that the recorded volume of both kola and cattle could indeed be an under-estimation.

¹⁰⁹ See Gold Coast Colony, *Report on the Department of Agriculture for the year 1930-1931*.

3.1.2.b.ii Sierra Leone

The land-based internal trade in Sierra Leone displays similar characteristics to that in the Gold Coast. Specifically, land-borne trade in kola was tied closely with trade in cattle. Cattle were largely raised in both the northern parts of the colony as well as in neighboring French Guinea. Land-based long distance trade was undertaken mainly with French Guinea. Kola nuts, tobacco, salt and palm oil were the main articles carried to French Guinea, where they were exchanged for cattle and gold (Kaniki, 1972). From the early 1880s to the 1940s, cattle were driven on hoof and shepherded for sale in different locations conditioned by demand. The existence of landlords and resident merchants was vital in re-routing direction of cattle into Sierra Leone (Alldridge, 1901). As happened in the Gold Coast, these cattle and kola-dominated exchanges were the source of the majority of the meat eaten in the forested middle and central parts of Sierra Leone. However, the exchange of kola for cattle was not as entirely straightforward as has been presented so far. According to other accounts, a trader could, buy rice in his village during harvest time when prices were low. He would hoard the rice in anticipation of favourable prices due to shortage. The rice was bartered for kola nuts, which was 'exportable' at relatively high values. Kola was conveyed, mostly with other commodities such as salt and tobacco to the northern part of the country and to French Guinea and exchange them for cattle (Kaniki, 1972). The extent of barter declined with the introduction and improved circulation of European currency, largely British silver as well as other policies on taxation. Both paid labour and domestic slaves (in the early stages) were

used in this transportation of trade commodities in this land-borne trade with French Guinea(Alldridge, 1901). With the advent of railways and improvements in motorized transport, the merchants resorted to these means of transport, except that cattle usually grazed as they journeyed on land to designated marketing areas. These merchants relied on previous networks of traders and middlemen in both locations to transact business.

3.1.3 Nature of Cocoa Trade in the Gold Coast and Nigeria

In previous sections, we have raised the reinforcing effect of domestic long-distance trade in cocoa on observed patterns of internal integration in the region. Our understanding then, similarly, is partially based the extensive involvement of indigenous merchant/trader networks as well as the nature of transportation arrangements in this trade from the forest through to the coastal zones of the region, in large measure, validates the observed relationships. Here, we are impelled to offer some narrative accounts to demonstrate the key roles played by indigenous network of traders in trade of cocoa.

It remains a publicized fact that cocoa from West Africa is produced by a large number of small farmers, though not necessarily nor entirely peasants. Following the expansion of production in predominantly the Gold Coast and Nigeria, there emerged a large marketing architecture that supported purchases, accumulation and transportation of the produce to the coast for shipment. This marketing structure was composed of both foreign and local merchants as well as a local traders-agents

(middlemen). Given that the expansion of cocoa production was stimulated by effective demand in intercontinental markets, it may be fair to suggest that the marketing structure was coast-facing and outward in orientation. However, and in actual practice, this outward-looking arrangement was in parallel used to undertake the enormous business of importing and distributing goods in the cocoa producing interior and beyond. In effect, this framework evolved a 'relay' type of trade, where most European merchandise was delivered to the forest zones by the cocoa traders, prior to being carried northwards to the savanna regions by the regional merchants who dealt primarily, but not solely, in cattle and kola. Thus, even as this structure sustained the procurement of cocoa, on behalf of the largely European exporting firms, by indigenous traders and middlemen employing money advanced to them, it equally delivered imported merchandise to local traders for distribution in the interior and beyond.

3.1.3. a Structure and Operations

The marketing structure¹¹⁰ of cocoa operated in a way that, even if only at some point, the producer could directly deal with the manufacturing companies, although these practices tended to be almost non-existent. At the coastal end were merchants who dealt in large-scale imports and exports, overwhelmingly dominated by Europeans. A wide network of cocoa buying stations that reached deep into the interiors of producing areas were mostly manned by indigenous traders and

¹¹⁰ Much of what follows is a synthesis from the Nowell Commission (1938), *Report on the Commission on the Marketing of West African Cocoa*.

middlemen. These traders and middlemen differed in the size and the scope of operations. They ranged from relatively small community dealers to large independent traders (Southall, 1978)¹¹¹. For in-depth clarity, we are minded to categorize traders and middlemen in the cocoa industry broadly into capitalized traders, and funded trader-agents and middlemen. A brief description of their functions is provided to distinguish their roles. As previously intimated, these functions are not always clearly distinctive. Capitalized trader included indigenous, and sometimes persons of Levantine origins, who possess their own capital for the procurement and delivery of cocoa for shipment by European exporting firms. As a means of securing trade, these types of dealers tended to have prior agreements with interested European exporting firms. Given the known capital strictures to entrepreneurship in the region, these types of buyers were relatively small.

Funded traders-agents were those who operated on a commission¹¹² basis and with funding support for their operation provided by exporting firms. They usually received compensatory wages or a retaining fee. The advances provided by the exporting companies were usually offered to farmers in anticipation of the harvesting period as

¹¹¹ Southall (1978) suggests that until the fall of cocoa prices in 1920-1921, European merchants were generally supplied by African trading concerns and individuals who were closely linked with the cocoa production process. Additionally, Southall finds that the sub-traders and agents who were not involved in the production of cocoa seem to have become crucial in the second decade of the 20th century as road and rail infrastructure as well as cocoa cultivation extended into the interior regions.

¹¹² As an insight into the commission scheme, the Association of Ashanti Cocoa Brokers reported to the *Nowell Commission*, as follows:

Commission and Tonnage- 1s.0d per load of 60lb of cocoa;
Overriding Commission- 7s. 6d per ton for 50tons of cocoa procured;
“ 12c 6d per ton for 100tons of cocoa procured; and
“ 15s.0d per ton for 500tons of cocoa procured.

a form of security and guaranteed market. These trader-agents varied from being small to large in terms of scale of operations. Whereas some simply purchased produce of appreciable quantity and commensurate quality from their community, others procured about 1000 tons or more of cocoa in a season for delivery at a location designated by the exporter. It can be expected that with the passage of time and the expansion of production, larger-scale agents will increase considering that credit advances for cocoa procurement will have increased due to heightened competition by exporting firms. Depending on the scope of the trader, there may have been sub-agents under the management and supervision of the main agents. In this situation, the trader-agent distributed working tools such as sacks and bags, tarpaulins and weighing scales to these sub-agents/middlemen who were also pre-funded by him to procure cocoa from their assigned jurisdictions. On receipt of returns from these middlemen/sub-agents, the trader in some instances sorted and further dried the cocoa beans at the designated storage and bagging house. At another level, some other type of trader-agents may have been involved in preparing and delivering larger quantities of procured goods completely ready for export. In doing this, this type of trader-agent in addition to the previous functions, would have been expected to grade and transport the bagged cocoa to the shipping yard of the exporting firm. With the direct entrance of manufacturing companies in the export of cocoa in the late 1920s, some other form of actors were introduced. These types of actors performed similar roles as the trader-agents, except that they did not offer financial advances to farmers in lieu of future transaction. They penetrated further

into the producing areas by buying from road sides in cocoa producing areas. However, this was not a widespread phenomenon.

3.1.3.b Spread and Numbers

In terms of the persons involved, the 1931 Gold Coast Census reported that there were about 1,500 persons acting as cocoa agents. Clearly, these figure do not reflect the pre-dominance of sub-agents especially if consideration is given to the volumes of cocoa exported. According to some estimates (Nowell Commission, 1938:29), there were about 37,000 sub-agents supporting these agents in delivering the cocoa for export. Accepting this assessment means that about 2.26% (mostly from the southern regions) of the entire Gold Coast population were engaged as cocoa traders.

3.1.3.c Trade Dependent on an Indigenous Network?

All through the period, and by means of this elaborate and well-oiled structure, cocoa witnessed a take-off and eventual boom. The result is partly a function of the cooperative and coordination successes of producers, merchants and traders. Generally, emerging issues were dispatched with alacrity until the coincidence of several factors¹¹³ led to a rare breakdown. Around November, 1937, as a direct outcome of Buyer Agreements by the important European merchant firms in cocoa trade from the Gold Coast and Nigeria, a hold-up in the cocoa trade, ingeniously partnered by a boycott of certain European merchandise, was initiated in the Gold

¹¹³ See the discussion of the factors that led to the cocoa hold-ups as presented by the Nowell Commission (1938). The factors cited include general economic performance, prices of cocoa, attempts by European merchants to respond to these issues through a buyers' scheme.

Coast Colony and Ashanti. The drastically reduced¹¹⁴ quantities of cocoa traded are indicative of the success of the hold-up. The compelling records of imported merchandise being accumulated and unsold in the merchant warehouses, customs sheds and shops symbolized the effectiveness of the boycott. In the ensuing impasse, meetings were organized, letters were written to and from London, press briefings were held and sometimes name-calling ensued. At the insistence of the colonial governments in both Nigeria and Gold Coast, a commission was constituted in London to “inquire into the situation and at the same time to examine the whole question of the marketing of West African cocoa”. The commission, chaired by William Nowell, commenced consultations with aggrieved stakeholders; merchants, traders associations, cooperatives, chiefs and farmer federations. In its consultations, a potentially insightful understanding emerged. Key amongst the issues suspected to be at the root of the problem was the extensive nature of competition amongst merchants to buy larger quantities of cocoa. When granted the opportunity to respond to these suspicions, the merchants not only confirm but elaborated on the issue. The contention of the merchants suggested that the purpose of buying as large a tonnage as possible was to spread overhead cost equally and avoid loss of prestige space on ships for both imports and exports. Seemingly empathetic with the merchants’ concerns, the commission’s words may have struck a chord. The report reads“as regards the prestige acquired by buying a large tonnage, it must be

¹¹⁴ Year-on-year cocoa export from Gold Coast indicates that 52,000 tons (1937-1938) had been exported as compared to 246,000 tons in 1936-1937.

remembered that the firms believe that this affects their position not only as cocoa buyers but also in the much more profitable business of importing and distributing merchandise. Merchants have indeed represented to us with considerable emphasis that their business as buyers of cocoa is largely carried on in order to assist them indirectly as importers” (Nowell Commission, 1938:103).

Combining the merchants’ explanation and the commission’s interpretation leads to a further understanding of the indispensable role played by the network of mainly indigenous traders and their sub-agents in the cocoa industry. To an appreciable extent, it seems that the entire production and distribution cycle was hinged on the competence and network of these local traders. Indeed, at some point in the impasse, some of the merchants believed the traders had incited and instigated the hold-up and boycotts. In this interpretation, the European merchants and the commission had recognized the dominance of the traders’ network in the entire trade of the economy. Sustaining this view further will buttress our suspicion that internal trade, and specifically domestic long-distance trade must have been much larger than recorded statistics would reveal. Granted that the distribution of imports to the interior was a major cog of the cocoa export marketing structure, the quantity of imports, which was usually considerably large, could provide a good insight into extent of domestic land-borne long distance trade and underscore the almost indispensable role played by indigenous traders in unifying both the global and regional sphere.

3.1.4 Regional Networks: A Synthesis

The narrative from the last two decades of the 19th century to 1940, suggests that several factors conspired to create demand for increased exchanges between the territories and regions of West Africa. The successful pursuit of these economic opportunities led to the creation of a network of actors in different territories and ecological zones. We have attempted to discuss the evolution, spread and dynamism of the emergent trading networks that sustained such exchanges.

With predominantly migrant merchants, mainly Hausa, and mostly natives of the Nigerian and other northern territories as well as indigenous Sierra Leoneans helped meet the kola-led demands in the savanna zones. This was done by the developing and sustaining a network of merchants and traders that connected the producers in the kola producing forest to consuming savanna regions. The key binding characteristic of these networks is the near absence of involvement by European merchants. The nature and form of the networks varied in several ways. Importantly, these merchants voluntarily took advantage of the improvements in both sea-borne and land-borne routes in the regional trade they networked. These regional actors between production and consumption in West Africa were fundamentally migrant merchants who relied on religious, cultural, linguistic and economic commonalities to expand and sustain internal trade. These common pillars provided the requisite framework for addressing potential coordination failures and enforcing codes of conduct. They depended on local traders and middlemen to organize the trade and

connected with the consumers in their respective destinations. In the Gold Coast kola-led trade, the regional migrant merchants, predominated by Hausas, Mossis, Yorubas, revolutionized the eastward sea-borne kola-led trade to markets in Nigeria and beyond. Similarly, the west-bound maritime trade, almost solely pushed by Creole women from Sierra Leone until around 1917, boosted regional trade. In meeting the deficiencies of market systems and structures, the migrant merchants are thought to have relied on the landlord system where a stranger-settler intervened by supporting merchants in securing means of transport and procuring goods (whether paid for or on credit). However, in the after 1919, the decades-old indigenously-knitted network from Sierra Leone was replaced¹¹⁵ by Lebanese immigrants. The factors for the successful toppling of the indigenous network by the Lebanese include suspicion of unscrupulous business practices, a supposed natural instinct for commerce, relatively easy access to credit, and the ability to foster closeness based on cultural identity and economic interest.

During this period, merchants responded to markets and transportation innovations. As an example, land-based trade, which had declined from the turn of the 20th century, rebounded and supplanted sea-born regional trade. With respect to land-based long-distance trade, kola and livestock, more specifically cattle, were closely

¹¹⁵ The success of the Lebanese in Sierra Leone regarding the ability of migrant merchants to maintain trading stakes in the Gold Coast should be of importance to West African historiography. Given that there were recorded Lebanese and Syrians in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria, it remains curious that similar developments did not occur in these other two colonies. It will be interesting to attempt to understand the circumstances that dictated these outcomes in Gold Coast and Nigeria.

related in trade. Whereas in Sierra Leone, the land trade was networked by both indigenous and Lebanese merchants, the Gold Coast land-borne trade remained in the hands of the diaspora merchants from locations beyond the Ashanti. This connection between land-borne kola and livestock trade could fortify the statistical estimation of internal trade with respect to return cargo. We speculate that return cargo items were a key consideration for long-distance traders, especially for merchants utilizing land-route. Recognizing the profit-seeking tendencies of these merchants would mean that the recorded volume of both kola and cattle could indeed be an under-estimation.

Within the same period, cocoa production and trade took-off and boomed in forest zones of the region, induced by effective demand in intercontinental markets. These regional networks received reinforcements from the elaborate internal cocoa marketing structure connecting the coastal areas to the forest zones, where kola was mainly produced. Here, European merchants depended on a wider network of local traders and their agents to accumulate cocoa for export while distributing imported merchandise through the same network to the forest interior. In the ensuing situation, migrant merchants pursuing kola and cattle-driven regional trade mostly obtained European merchandise for further trading, thus further integrating the region. Aside providing the economic power to a larger section of the forest zone inhabitants to effectively consume livestock produced from the savanna regions, the cocoa sector

equally provided means of transportation as migrant worker from the northern territories were hired to head-carry regional commodities to their destinations.

3.1.5 Regional Networks and Internal Trade

In conformity with the original objective, this section set out to explain what is known about merchant networks in the prevailing literature, and primary sources provide explanation for our understanding of both revealed and estimated internal trade. The emerging understanding is that the spread the networks of regional and local merchants engaged within main commodity-producing areas is supportive of what the revealed statistics indicate. Their very presence in these areas suggest the pursuit of commodity trade. However, and even more importantly, two other characteristics are revealing of the extent of trade that occurred but was unrecorded. The first is the continued reliance on indigenous networks built around socio-cultural commonalities as well as 'informal' credit arrangements, even with non-indigenous merchants. In this situation, trading activities mostly conducted outside the scope of the radar of the officials, and thus the potential for recording was limited. Additionally, their extensive use of land-based transportation, especially road and motor transport from the middle of the 1920s confirm the potentiality for their activities not being captured. It has been explained that this re-orientation of trading routes was an economic response to new innovation in transportation.

In some sense, the ability of the regional merchants and local traders to develop and sustain trade within and across the territories of West Africa is of some interpretative significance. Seen from the very outcome of extensive and improving regional trade,

especially without any colonial tutelage and direct policy support, their performance is indicative of the indigenous responsiveness to economic opportunities. Their perceptiveness in understanding and organizing such markets, usually far removed from their home territories, is unmistakable. That they innovated and reinvented mechanisms that addressed potential threats and teething problems, including cooperation and coordination failures, is demonstrative of their agency. However, placed in the context of both the global and regional history, there are equally elements of continuities and changes. With the global history of trading networks, especially for developing regions, it has been the norm for migrants to predominate such trading arrangements. Seen from here, the merchants in West Africa were simply on 'auto-pilot mode', proceeding in the steps as known in previous times and in different regions. In the history of long-distance trade in West Africa, these merchants were only on already well-trodden grounds, as their predecessors had undertaken similar efforts, presumably at a relatively lower extent. The only exception in this case is that the conditions of operation of this generation of merchants and traders were probably different and adorned with fewer inter-state wars (were more peaceful), limited and almost abolished slave raids, less kidnapping and banditry, and not regularly facing the sometimes treacherous perils of travelling across the Sahara.

3.2. The Transportation System and Evolution of Internal Trade

Unlike other issues such as tariff and taxation policies, the development of the transportation system in West Africa seems to have attracted much attention from earlier studies. This extensive focus is probably the outcome of the view from McPhee (1971:129) that “transport is the foundation of trade in West Africa” . In fact, the value of transportation has been elevated by Lugard (1965), who argued that the word ‘transportation’ is synonymous with the state of progress in Africa. Therefore, a lot more is certainly known of the transport situation and general material progress of the region, especially with the related expansion of intercontinental trade from the colonial period. In this regard, and in this section of Chapter Three, we intend to interpret the prevailing understanding of the development of the transportation system in the context of the observed extent and patterns of internal trade. We reiterate that we are interested in understanding how what is known about transportation innovations explains the outcome of the statistical examination presented and discussed in Chapter Two. We wish to stress that whereas this presentation discusses the direct observable effects of transportation development on internal trade, we are mindful of other equally significant indirect¹¹⁶ and less quantifiable effects on labour and capital formation as well may have occurred.

¹¹⁶ In the specific context of West Africa, where head portorage was commonplace, transportation innovation could be expected to release scarce labour. Further, the boost in exports received from transportation in many ways supported the formation of capital seen in the use of cocoa plantations as credit and capital acquisition.

In what will be presented shortly under this section, we will discuss the linkages between the evolution of both transport development and internal trade. We take the view that the transport system, as pertained in the region in the period of study, was a functionally integrated system of land-borne (railways and roads) and water-borne (sea and inland waters) transport. Yet, by no yardstick do we argue that the transportation system was an integrated network since there are no observable patterns to this effect. We focus extensively, but not exclusively, on land-borne transport innovation with respect to railways and road transport. Only somewhat briefly and initially do we discuss developments on rivers and waterways within the region to validate crucial points. Additionally, and on a need basis, occasional elaboration of the potential effect on the emergent ports and harbor facilities across the region will be cited. Our extensive focus on railways and roads is actuated by the sense of land-lockedness and how easing constraints in this respect might potentially explain the extent and patterns of internal trade being observed. A cursory review of the evolution of transportation innovation and internal trade suggests a periodized relay scenario of transportation modes where railway, followed by road, gradually took-over from sea and inland water-based forms of transport in the region. At the initial stage of colonialism, the old land-borne caravan routes used throughout the 19th century was complimented by invigoration of inland waterways and rivers as the most vital means of transport. For this reason, an account of the river transport system that was crucial prior to the emergence of improved land-based transportation is initially offered.

3.2.1 River and Inland Waterways Transport

Of the four colonies under British administration, Gambia and Nigeria, relative to the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, had the good fortune of inland water transportation that possessed considerable navigable quality. In British Gambia, the River Gambia was and remained the main means of transport. In fact, the significance of the River Gambia in the colony may best be appreciated in its comparison with the famous River Nile¹¹⁷. The utility of the river was confirmed by the Collector of Customs, Mr. Thomas Pierce when he testified on 7th November 1899, that the main means by which merchants reached their trading partners in the interior of Gambia was to go up the River Gambia¹¹⁸. The River Gambia was navigable for ocean going ships (not exceeding 13 feet draught) for 180 miles, and by river vessel for 300 miles (Colonial Office, *Economic Survey*, 1951). That Gambia remained the only colony under British influence that had no appetite for the construction of railways is in many respects a tribute to the enduring and indispensable role of the River Gambia. For trading purposes, many of the overland caravans headed towards towns along the River Gambia in the colony.

In respect of Nigeria, although endowed with rivers, lagoons and creeks, their utility was impeded by the general limitations of sharp currents, seasonal fluctuations in volumes of water, large numbers of tributaries as well as rapids and shifting

¹¹⁷ "The Gambia Dependency can be truthfully described as a miniature of Egypt....The Gambia Dependency is the Gambia River, and the Gambia River is the Gambia Dependency" (McPhee, 1971), p.109.

¹¹⁸ In his testimony to the committee on the Barbour Committee of West Africa Currency cited in *Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Committee on the Currency of West Africa Colonies* (1899), p.2984.

sandbanks at the heads of water bodies. Interventions were required to render them purpose-fit for trade. As a result, the colonial government undertook several efforts¹¹⁹ in this direction, especially after 1900. Before 1900, and specifically prior to WWI and the advances in railways, the inland waterways, especially the River Niger and River Benue were the main means of connecting Southern and Northern Nigeria. Trading companies, mainly the Royal Niger Company, operated river transport services to connect the internal regions of Nigeria until 1903¹²⁰. Both commercial and strategic administrative reasons motivated the government to break the private sector dominance and to participate in the river transport business. In 1903, the government introduced cargo services on the River Niger and River Benue, which charged almost half the rate as that of the private companies, to help merchants connect the south to the north of Nigeria. As may be expected, the immediate patronage and response of the merchants occasioned a shortage of vessels and long queues. In 1907, 13,021 passengers and 13,000 tons of goods were ferried on the River Niger, Benue and Kaduna with a total revenue from these services amounting to £17,000 (Northern Nigeria, *ACR*, 1908:18). As so often with domestic long-distance trade in the region, there are no consistent statistics to provide further insight into the composition of commodities transported by this medium of transport. However, the observational comments from the *Blue Books* and *Annual Colonial Reports* indicate that groundnuts and cotton were the chief exports from Northern Nigeria while

¹¹⁹ These included periodic dredging, and the use of explosives to clear rocks to widen and deepen waterways

¹²⁰ The River Niger Company implemented a raft of tariffs aimed at excluding local traders and competitors from use of the river. Discussion of this development is presented in Chapter Four.

European goods and local produce such as yam, kola and rice were sent from the south into the Northern Protectorate (Northern Nigeria, *ACR*, 1904:91-98). The importance of this river route declined, only after railway connection between the north and the south was actualized in 1911. This was reflected in a reduction in the number and frequency of vessels traversing the rivers, as trading through the newly constructed rails gathered steady steam (Northern Nigeria, *ACR*, 1911:23). To some extent, this did not cause a sudden disengagement of the government from the water transport services. In fact, the Southern Nigerian Government maintained its water transport system to service the inter-territorial trade between Lagos and Port Novo (in French-administered Dahomey) until 1912, when it was divested to the ownership and management of a French Company (Southern Nigeria, *ACR*, 1913:28). Although the Gold Coast had some rivers, they were not of much use for trading purposes. The principal river of the country, the Volta, was navigable for a considerable distance (Colonial Office, *Economic Agriculture*, 1889:8). Largely located in the eastern part of the territory, the River Volta unified both the southern and northern regions of the Gold Coast and connected the Gold Coast to German Togoland. It thus served as a major river trading route owing to this connectivity. Ferries and canoes were used by natives to trade between the Volta areas of both territories. Although there are no systemized information or statistics available for this trade, it is understood that salt, fish, kola and European goods constituted the main commodities that headed north on the river, with the south-bound traffic comprising native clothes, vegetables and shea nut.

In contrast with the three other colonies, Sierra Leone, which possessed what is thought to be the best natural harbour on the West Coast, was not blessed with any rivers large enough to match the size and trading influence of the River Senegal, River Gambia, River Niger or even the River Volta in the Gold Coast. All the inland waterways are comparatively small; nevertheless, they carried an appreciable volume of traffic when high flows and tidal effects made them satisfactory for navigation (Sesay, 1967). Similar to the other colonies, documentary evidence and statistics on the nature and volume of inland water transport in Sierra Leone is difficult to obtain. However, observational discussions and comments indicate that an appreciable volume of trade occurred on the rivers in Sierra Leone. When consistent and comparable statistics emerged in the post-1900 era, the impression was supportive of utility of the inland water transport system in the colony. That water-borne transport conveyed about 70.61 per cent (21,477 tons) of the major export commodity - palm kernels - in 1906 may be redolent of the influence of this means of transport. In fact, the lion's share of the palm kernels was traded by water-borne routes until 1913, when railways became sufficiently prominent to carry 50.38% (24,787 tons), an upgrade from 29.39% (8,926tons) in 1906 (Kaniki, 1972). From these initial discussions pertaining to the existence, description and use of inland waterways, attention is turned to discussing the role of all forms of water transportation, including sea transport, in the evolution of internal trade.

In terms of internal trade in West Africa, it seems that river and water transportation was the main means of transportation of traded goods for the westbound sea-borne trade heading to Northern Nigeria in the period prior to 1911. The River Niger and River Benue were used in transporting kola from the south to the northern parts of Nigeria. Similarly, the sea-borne westward trade to Gambia and French territories was sustained by the River Gambia and water transport even in the post First World War era. As can be seen from both [Figure 2.2](#) and [Figure 2.6](#) (page 389 and 391 respectively), depicting both inter-territorial trade and general internal trade in West Africa, we have already suggested reasons for the declining trade trends in the last two decades of the 19th century¹²¹. Altogether, the primary observation for the last two decades of the 19th century is the near absence of wheel-propelled land-based transportation in most territories in West Africa. By the middle of the first decade of the 20th century, on the westbound sea-borne internal trade, the River Niger and River Benue connected both the Southern and Northern Protectorate from the port of Lagos on the coastal south. With the observed rise in intra-BWA trade prior to the rail connection between Kano and Lagos in Nigeria, the instrumental role of the river-borne trade, at least in this period, in sustaining these declining region-wide patterns may have to be acknowledged.

¹²¹ We signaled the potential effects of differences in inter-BWA and FWA tariffs and extensions of colonial territories as possible contributors to the trend in this period.

Furthermore, kola-led sea-borne regional trade from Sierra Leone to French Senegal and British Gambia, which were the consuming markets, received sustaining support from major rivers. To a very large extent, this trade was sustained by the use of the two main navigable rivers (River Gambia and River Senegal) which watered the interiors of these two territories. The largely navigable River Gambia joins the Atlantic Ocean at the port in Gambia from its interior, serving as the means of accessing the hinterlands. This connectivity ensured that all goods from Sierra Leone that disembarked at the port were easily transferred to the interior by means of the River Gambia. The utility of the river for onward internal trade can easily be appreciated if consideration is given to the fact that it travels into the interiors of French Senegal as well, since Gambia is almost geographically circumscribed by Senegal. The only hindrance to the full value of the River Gambia for inter-territorial trade was the manifest effect of artificial restrictions seen in the form of customs barriers (to be discussed in Chapter Three) and transport innovation in subsequent years. Specifically, the construction of the railway line that connected Port Dakar (Senegal) and the River Niger by the mid-1920s was thought to have undercut the significant role of the River Gambia, since the line ran almost parallel to the river and only some 30 miles distant from it (Colonial Office, *Economic Survey*, 1951:7). Similarly, the River Senegal watered Senegal's interior only to terminate at the port in St. Louis on the Atlantic Ocean coast. The distance and navigability of most parts of these rivers are indicative of their contribution to inter-territorial trade in the period prior to the emergence of land-based transportation in the region.

In terms of the regional context, it may seem clear that two systems of trading routes pertained in the early stages; land-borne caravan routes and the navigable waterways. Mainly forest produce was conveyed to the ports of trade by both river and land-based caravans as well as head portage. As a system, these routes were functionally integrated, but not in any sense of a network. It seems that the nature of the operation on the water bodies in the early period may have contributed to the persistent issue of the virtual absence of statistical records for all the colonies. Prior to the entry of colonial governments, which was rather in the post-1900 era, records of traded commodities using vessels operated by private operators are hardly available, if kept at all. Even the records of the governments, wherever they exist, would still provide an incomplete overview of the trade by water routes since commodities and passengers ferried by private companies were most likely not included. Unfortunately, there are no readily available records to statistically gauge the contribution of long-distance water-borne trade in the region. Despite that, the essential role these rivers may have played in sustaining even this declining trade in the pre-1900 era, should be less in doubt.

3.2.1.a Land-based Transportation

We have previously intimated that the predominance of waterways for internal trade was challenged and overtaken by improved land-based transportation. However, as late as 1926, Lord Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made a striking observation when he said “in British West Africa, there is still too much of obsolete and expensive forms of transport. I refer to the wide use of head portage” (Ormsby-

Gore, 1926:29). This was almost 30 years after the first railway constructions in the region began in Sierra Leone and Lagos. To the pressing question of why land-based transportation development (technology) appeared so late and was so delayed in West Africa, some important answers have been proffered. McPhee (1971), while noting the limited availability of wheeled transport along the coastal plains of West Africa, argued that the ecological constraints imposed by the presence of the *Trypanosoma* (tsetse-fly) in the forest belt conspired to ensure that no wheeled transport was developed. In specific terms, he suggested, draught animals could not survive in the forest and thus any attempt to pursue such a line of action would prove inefficient and totally uneconomical. Hopkins (1973) seems to have accepted this view, but emphasized the sheer cost of attempting to construct roads and railways in the dense forests of West Africa as a major economic disincentive for undertaking such a venture. Placed in the context of limited centralized states (Herbst, 2000) in the region, the fiscal capability of states to shoulder the burden may be even more appreciated. Importantly, the question relating to why there was non-adoption, not development, of railway transportation technology by African states has also been addressed¹²². Furthermore, the current concept of roads, as utilized by motorized vehicles, were nowhere in existence on the West Coast until the second decade of the 20th century. The nature of 'roads'

¹²² See Chaves, Engerman, and Robinson (2014) for a discussion. The authors present estimate to suggest that the social rate of returns on capital was very high. In the area of railways, they argue that amongst others, plain blockade by potential colonizers (in the case of Ashanti), the apprehension that railways would hasten colonization (in the case of Ethiopia) and the limited centralized states, which presents a divergence of private and social cost and benefits.

was essentially tracks and footpaths, frequently at the mercy of the natural growth of weeds and even trees, created and loosely maintained for trading and sometimes military purposes (Colonial Office, *Economic Agriculture*, 1889:32). The combined effect of these situations is that neither of the two main forms of land-based transportation, rail and road, were in a relative better state prior to the 20th century. To fully understand the influence of land-borne transportation, and its takeover from mainly water-facilitated trade in the early part of the 20th century, a detailed account of its evolution is presented. This is followed by a comparison with internal trade to infer a relationship.

3.2.2.a.i Railway Development and Internal Trade

In proceeding to the discussion on railway development, we are minded to present a snapshot of the prevailing understanding of the links between railways and trade. A review of literature, as so usual with these topical issues, suggests two main strands of opinions, though not necessarily opposing. These views are that railways:

- stimulated both internal and external trade, (McPhee, 1971); and
- have very little impact on internal trade, and are largely instrumental in promoting intercontinental export trade sectors of cocoa and mining beneficiaries (Howard, 1976);

To some extent, the above views are indicative of the linkages (forward and backward) that railway development in West Africa portended to offer the national economies. When set against the backdrop of a regional integration as conceived by this study, it seems the question that naturally arises is whether railways can be

expected to provide similar forward and backward linkages for regional trade integration. As an attempt to answer this question, some key observations are highlighted to provide some needed backdrop. First, to expect a 'direct' regional contribution would be to assume a conscious construction of railway networks seeking regional integration as a desirable outcome. An observation (see Maps 3 and 4) of the nature and direction of railway evolution, as pertained in the West African region, suggests no overt or covert attempt to achieve regional integration to that effect on the back of an integrative network of rails. Generally, and unlike French West Africa¹²³, railways in BWA were intra-territorial and did not cross political boundaries. This is probably due to the absence of geographical contiguity of BWA colonies, given the interspersing presence of other political territories. As will be seen later, a key feature of the BWA railway lines, which are coast-originating and north-designated, was that they attempted to connect the coast with other producing spheres either in the forest or savanna zones. In all likelihood, it is these observations that motivates others to suspect that railway construction in West Africa was a channel for colonial exploitation. By this process of connecting ecological zones, the railways in BWA offered an influential direct platform for integrating distinct socio-ecological spheres in a territory rather than between territories. In some measure, this manifestation of railway construction reinforces our conviction to consider domestic long-distance trade as a key component of the internal trade of

¹²³ Aside from other objectives, the administrative configuration of FWA, which governed clustered territories as a unit, seems to have afforded a much more cross-territorial construction of railways.

the region. The full implication of the nature, pattern and purpose of railway construction in BWA suggests that the role of railways in internal trade is restricted to their direct role in domestic intra-territorial trade as well as their facilitating role in the inter-territorial trade of the region. From these qualifications, we re-assert our persuasion that the nature, extent and pattern of internal trade in the region was closely associated with the development of railways. To ascertain the possible effects, we will attempt to juxtapose our findings on the evolution of internal trade and railway development to infer a relationship. Furthermore, 'soft' statistics on the volume of commodity traffic on railways will be presented to back up the initial inference on the extent of trade that must have occurred, but without proper recording as asserted in Chapter Two.

3.2.2.a.ii Railways and Inter-territorial Trade

On the whole, a matching of the trends and evolution of regional inter-territorial trade and railways suggests a positive correlation. As intimated previously, rivers and waterways appear to have sustained much of the trade within and between territories of the region up until the early 20th century. The trade with French Senegal in the pre-1900 period must have benefited from the completion of the rail connections to the ports of Dakar and St. Louis from 1883 to 1885, especially as the River Senegal, which runs deep into the interior of Senegal, terminates at the port in St. Louis. While trade is observed to be declining, primarily sustained by water transport, one cannot but sense the effect of the extremely limited presence of a wheel-propelled land-based transport network. As a demonstration, [MAP 4](#) on page 403 (not drawn to

scale) has been prepared to illustrate the extent of railway development in the colonies of BWA up to 1900.

The main idea conveyed by this map is that the extent of coverage by railways in British colonies by 1900 was, at best, in its nascent stage, considering that actual construction commenced in Lagos (Nigeria) and Sierra Leone in 1896, only to begin two years later in the Gold Coast. From this period, railway construction commenced from the main prevailing sea ports in the territories. In specific terms, by 30th September 1899 the railway line, with a gauge of 3 feet 6 inches, costing £398,725 and linking Lagos and Ibadan, a distance of approximately 60 miles, was open to traffic. In Sierra Leone, railways had reached Songo Town by 1st May 1899, a distance of 32 miles from Freetown, and was formally opened to traffic. By 1900, the extension to Rotifunk (a distance of approximately 23 miles) had also been partially opened to traffic (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1900:36). With respect to the Gold Coast, only 40 miles of rail had been constructed from the port city of Sekondi to the mining town of Tarkwa by 1900. Admittedly, this extent of rail construction may in itself hold no stronger and direct explanatory power to the evolution of internal trade as seen in [Figure 2.2](#) and [Figure 2.6](#) (page 389 and 391 respectively), prior to 1900. Despite that, the suspicion that the limited railways in the pre-1900 period may have something to say about the extent of internal trade still persists. At the risk of propping up a case for the counterfactual argument, the potential contribution of railways in probably spurring on production and trade may not be easily ruled out.

In step with our suspicions of railways having a stimulating effect on inter-territorial trade, the ensuing two decades from 1900 presents a drastically changed pattern for internal trade. In [Figure 2.2](#), [Figure 2.5](#) and [Figure 2.6](#) (page 389, 391 respectively), dramatic positive changes in the patterns and proportions of all forms of trade within the West African region is unambiguous. As can be seen from [MAP 5](#) (page 404, not drawn to scale), the extent of development of railways in particular (although other forms of transportation are also depicted) across the terrain of West Africa from the eve of the WWI in 1913 to the Second World War was equally phenomenal¹²⁴. That the observed marked difference in the extent of railways from 1900 and beyond is equally matched with marked changes in the patterns of trade, especially for the period 1900 to 1920, is suggestive of the potential effects of railways in stimulating inter-territorial trade. We register our alertness to the reality that mere assertions of obvious correlations may not be sufficient to support our claim of improved degree of economic unity offered by the emergence of the railways in West Africa. Thus, a more detailed examination of the nature and timing of the linkages is presented. We stress that our main concern is to respond to the question concerning the extent to which the timing and expansion of the rail network and commodity traffic of inter-territorial trade commodities were equally yoked. It is also useful to highlight the fact

¹²⁴ From approximately less than 200 miles of rail network by 1900, West African territories possessed a little over 5,000 miles of railways lines by the Second World War.

that this analysis will be restricted to the post-1900 era, as railway development in West Africa is largely a 20th century occurrence.

Our statistical evaluation of inter-territorial trade for the post-1900 era, based on 'hard statistics', suggests a marked but fluctuating growth of kola-led regional trade from 1900-1915. Specifically, there is a rise in inter-territorial trade to West African destinations from almost 5% in 1900 to 10% by 1915. A similar pattern is observed for trade within the BWA region for the same period, rising from 4% to 8%. In the specific instance of kola, as seen in [Table 3.1](#) (page 374), the absolute changes in the value of trade from West Africa around the periods 1880-1900 to 1900-1913 were very significant. The most obvious view is the substantial increases in kola trade from 1900 to 1913.

There were increases in both the east and westbound sea-borne kola-led trade. Total trade into Nigeria increased from £298,098 to £1,070,096, representing almost a 360% improvement. Conversely, trade from Sierra Leone, to mainly FWA and Gambia increased 374% and 167% respectively. Whereas we have previously intimated that almost all inter-territorial trade, especially for this period, was undertaken on sea routes, the key role played by railway is discernable and not insignificant. The influence of the rail network on inter-territorial trade must have been felt through both the real and signaling effect it offered for producers and merchants.

In terms of signal, the combination of increased demand, facilitated by improving transportation, mostly rail, could be expected to have incentivized producers to increase cultivation and collection. This signal is manifested in the corresponding emergence of kola cultivation along railway routes. Between 1900 and 1905, kola cultivation had spread to Abeokuta Province in Nigeria. Thus by 1910, the cultivation of the crop was becoming widespread in Ijebu areas of Nigeria (Agiri, 1977). It is within this same period of expanding frontiers of cultivation that railways reached and connected the consuming markets in the Northern Protectorate and beyond from the Southern Protectorate. In addition, late production areas in the Gold Coast, such as Akim Abuakwa, were partly inspired by the expectation of the railway network being extended (Abaka, 2005). It seems reasonable to suppose that the emergence of the railways must have had a signaling effect on producers. Aside from the effect of transportation cost, the signaling possibility may be more visible if consideration is given to the potential presence of merchants due to the emergence of the railways. A review of extant records suggests that the merchants responded and followed the headlights of the rails as a guide into the dark interior of colonies. The merchants, recognizing that the emerging railways could be helpful in easing transportation constraints may be expected to boost their activities (in terms of distance and cost) especially between Lagos and the demand regions in Northern Nigeria and beyond. In fact, increasing demand, facilitated by improving railways, was acknowledged by colonial officials. For instance, Governor Merewether of Sierra Leone colony in July 1914 noted the spread of a spirit of commercial enterprise, which was typified by the

activities of substantial traders along new branch line of the railway, by an increase in the number of Syrian traders in the Karene District, and by the numerous petty traders and trading centers which existed along the railways, as well as the general increase of hawkers' licenses (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1913:33). Similarly, Tsey (1986) has discussed and demonstrated the fact that the spatial diffusion of merchants (European and African) and traders into the interior of the Gold Coast was directly attributable to the emergence of the railways.

On the other hand, the real influence of the railways on inter-territorial trade must also be reflected in the actual railing of goods to and from the ports of trade to the main consuming markets. In this context, the question that arises is how much trade in commodities was carried out using the constructed railways in the period from 1900-1915. An evaluation of railway goods traffic would have been the most accurate means of measuring the influence of the railways. However, and as has been raised repeatedly, domestic long-distance trade statistics received much less coverage from administrators. Where they were recorded, their utility is whittled down by the absence of the prices of recorded volumes of trade thus making them 'soft' statistics for this study. This prevailing challenge requires that other means of assessment be found or devised. As a consequence, and in addition to highlighting observational commentaries and eye-witness accounts, we have compiled and thus present railed volumes of goods. In doing so, we may be in good stead to provide compelling, yet suggestive, insight into the role and influence of railways in the

internal trade for the period under review. Given the importance of time trends to this discussion, and to facilitate the adopted approach, an account of the development of railways across the colonies would be helpful in mapping out the suggested influence.

The construction of the railways in Nigeria from Lagos (coastal zone) to the Northern Protectorates (mainly savanna), after some initial interruption between 1900-1905, had travelled 250 miles deep into the interior and reached Ilorin by 1906 at a cost of £2,000,000 (Egerton, Letter to Elgin, 1907). Three years later, the construction touched the base of the River Niger at Jebba and travelled further to reach Minna in 1911 (about 400 miles from Lagos). From here, a transportation event of historic dimensions occurred. The connection between Minna and Kano in Northern Nigeria was completed with the linking of the Baro to Kano line to the Lagos service, which had terminated in Minna. As a consequence, in June 1911, 711 miles of railways connected Lagos (on the coast) and Kano (in the savanna north) and was opened to traffic. Symbolically, this was the first land-based development that somewhat joined both Northern and Southern Nigeria; providing added impetus to the eventual amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914.

In respect of inter-territorial trade and railways, it is important to stress that 'hard' statistics indicate kola was the main driver. It is understood that this commodity was imported into Lagos and taken by overland routes, i.e., Lagos-Abeokuta-Iseyin-Saki

to Ilorin and Lagos-Ikorodu-Sagamu-Ibadan-Ilorin. From Ilorin it went to Hausaland in the Northern Protectorate. The land routes became very important after 1886 when the Royal Niger Company excluded all noncompany officials from trade on the river (Flint, 1960)¹²⁵. Importantly, this period, as can be seen from the account above, witnessed the laying of the Lagos-Kano railways. With respect to goods traffic through the railways from Lagos to the savanna regions of the north and beyond, there are no consistently reliable statistics prior to 1916 for Nigeria¹²⁶, partly due to the delayed unification of the administration of the railway lines¹²⁷. Fortunately, the impact of the absence of hard and soft statistics is ameliorated by the existence of descriptive evidence in this regard. Thus, we rely on commentary in colonial administrative reports linking railway development and inter-territorial trade, especially kola. For instance, the author of the 1905 *Annual Colonial Report* for the Southern Nigeria Protectorate, attributed the increases in the kola trade imported from the Gold Coast to improvements in transportation offered by the rail lines, which allowed native traders to take the goods up the Niger River for sale in Northern Nigeria (Southern Nigeria, *ACR*, 1905:16). Further, it is understood that kola transported by railways reached 1,099 tons in 1913, a positive change of 150% from the previous year¹²⁸. We have good reason to believe that this rail transportation of

¹²⁵ This event partly actuated the sudden interest of the colonial government in participating in the provision of a water transport service in the post-1900 era, after it took over the administration of the Northern Protectorate in 1900.

¹²⁶ A compilation of 'soft' trade statistics in tonnage of railway goods traffic for Nigeria from 1916-1937 will be presented under domestic long-distance trade.

¹²⁷ The unification of the Lagos, Baro-Kano, and Bauchi Railways in 1913 resulted in the Nigerian Railways in 1913.

¹²⁸ For 1913, see *Nigeria Railway Report*, 1913.

kola must have been enormous in this period, given the observed increases in imported volumes. In fact, the trade in kola seems to have been so visible¹²⁹ that the Nigerian Railways authorities, from 1912 to WWII and beyond, dedicated one express train a week in service of the kola trade. This was accompanied by three coaches for passengers in recognition of the merchants and traders undertaking such trade from the early 1912 to even 1938¹³⁰.

In terms of the east-bound inter-territorial trade from Sierra Leone, some insights are also obtainable. We acknowledge that the socio-economic impact of road and railways in Sierra Leone have been extensively discussed elsewhere by Sesay (1967). In this paper, we are concerned with the changes that occurred in the period of our study and how that facilitates our understanding of internal trade within the region. We note that Sierra Leone was the first colony in BWA to have a mile of railway line. Commencing in 1895, and heading to the palm-producing zones in the eastern part of the colony, rails reached Bo (a distance of 136 miles) in 1903, and 220 miles was added to connect Balima two years later. From here, a distance of approximately 227 miles, Pendembu was joined to the rail network in 1908. To connect Bauya and Mekení, a branch railway of a distance of 83 miles was completed in 1915. However, there are no consistent and reliable statistics on the goods traffic on railways. Therefore, we resort to the official narrative that is

¹²⁹ We use the word visible to highlight the fact that on the Gold Coast Railways, whenever kola transported by rail was not enough to fill the coaches, they were treated as miscellaneous according to Abaka, (2005), p.52. The implication thereof is that our recorded soft statistics is an underestimation as pointed out in Chapter Two.

¹³⁰ For 1913, see *Nigeria Railway Report*, 1913, p.59. See also *Annual Colonial Report*, 1938, Nigeria, p.43.

consistently suggestive of the role of railways in this inter-territorial trade. As an instance, in 1913, Acting Colonial Secretary, Mr. Evelyn, in preparing the Annual Colonial Report for Sierra Leone inferred the role of the railway by suggesting that its extension into the interior had contributed to the increase in kola trade from £276,530 (1,652 tons) to £328,003 (1,865 tons) (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1913:11).

In terms of the railways and inter-territorial trade, the available account, though without statistics, is suggestive of the influential role of railways in connecting the ports of entry to the consuming markets. To a large extent, it can be argued that the construction of the rails was effectively a key cog in the observed increases in the inter-territorial regional trade for the first two decades of the 20th century. The railways which had emerged served to link the producers and consumers in different territories by connecting terminal sea ports on the coast with the forested or savanna interior. From this appreciation, focus is now turned to the connections between railways and intra-territorial trade.

3.2.2.a. iii Railways and Intra-Territorial Trade

Our discussion on the construction of railways has highlighted their potential direct effect on intra-territorial trade. In this section, an effort is made to account for the role of railways in facilitating domestic long-distance trade within the colonies of BWA. We emphasize that the extant statistics on the rail transport of commodities are of the 'soft' nature and do not readily lend themselves to value-based analysis. The sources of information for this discussion are primarily from Railway Administrative

Reports from railway-using colonies. These reports tended to be interested in the freight receipts and volumes of goods transported rather than the value of goods on board. To some extent, only visible and principal commodities were captured as having been railed either to the coast or into the interior. Accordingly, a compilation of the obtainable statistics for commodities transported by the railways in respective colonies is presented prior to a synthesis of the regional situation. In [Table 3.2 \(page 374\)](#), the principal items involved in railway transportation in Nigeria are presented. In the tradition of connecting socio-ecological spheres, the railways transported a disproportionate amount of coastbound commodities designated primarily for intercontinental markets. Whereas groundnuts were produced in the savanna north and transported mostly from Kano, palm products (oil and kernels), as well as cocoa, originated from the forest belt, south of the savanna.

There is also an unmistakable increasing trend in the rail transport of kola heading for the savanna regions of Nigeria. Between 1916 and 1940, a commutation of 202,000 tons of kola were railed¹³¹. This kola was mostly imported from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. However, as Agiri (1977) has shown, increases in Nigerian kola cultivation and trade, the contribution of kola cultivation from the forest regions of southern Nigeria, must be acknowledged and accommodated. Equally important is the fact that most of the imported merchandise from intercontinental regions would have been transported by the rail network, although statistics are not readily

¹³¹ An extensive discussion of this intra-territorial trade will be offered in Chapter Four

available. In the case of Sierra Leone, [Table 3.3 \(page 375\)](#) presents a similar situation of coastal-bound traded commodities outweighing interior-bound trade. Sustained drastic changes, mostly in the direction of an increase, in coast-bound railed export commodities is accompanied by fluctuating increases in northbound imports.

Conspicuously missing from the basket of goods railed in the Sierra Leone are kola and mineral commodities. We have previously highlighted the role of the emergent railways in the colony's kola trade. Perhaps the clearest indication that railways continued to be used for the inter-territorial trade of kola, even in the 1930s, was offered in correspondence relating to the need to review tariffs in 1931. In a description of the difficulties facing the kola trade at the time, the Governor, who appeared to have been at his wit's end, argues that "the serious position of the trade was not overlooked by government and to assist the trade, the railways freight from the growing centers to Freetown was reduced by £4-15-10 a ton. (Hudson, Letter to Fiddian, 1932) In spite of this, there are no elaborate records on kola traffic readily available in the accessible railway statistics. The failure to include kola, which was the second most exported commodity for a long time in the territory, is a further sign of the unrecorded nature of domestic long-distance trade and indicative of the softness of the statistics in this category.

Equally endowed with gold, diamonds and chrome deposits, it is striking that minerals do not constitute a principal part of railway traffic. Instructively, these mining

areas were within the catchment areas of the railways. Curiously, the statistics also reveal high values of exported mineral commodities for Sierra Leone. For instance, according to the *Trade Reports*, there was 22,733 and 33,316 ounces of gold valued at £140,483 and £225,423 recorded for 1934 and 1935, respectively. The absence of minerals on rail freight is suggestive not only of the under-recorded nature of domestic long-distance trade but also a suspicion of competition between railways and other means of transport (water and road) in that territory¹³². The absence of minerals on railways has been also attributed to the recognition of minerals in Sierra Leone as having a high-value and less bulky quality (Kaniki, 1972), and this is reinforced by mineral finds even in recent times¹³³. The absence of mineral commodities on railway freight leads to questions concerning the financial health of the Sierra Leone Railways. In contrast to the cases of both the Gold Coast and Nigeria, where rail were extensively used and supportive of the revenue position of the railways management, that was not the situation in Sierra Leone. Another peculiar observation in Sierra Leone is the sudden recording of sustained increases in foodstuffs trade from 1924, with a surge in the post-Depression era of 1931. A possible interpretation could be the effect of the rise of the mining industry from 1929 to the early 1930s and the potential for drawing indigenes out of agriculture.

In respect of the railway operation in the Gold Coast, [Table 3.4d \(page 379\)](#) has been prepared based on [Table 3.4a](#) (page 376). [Table 3.4d \(page 379\)](#), we present

¹³² This suspected competition will be extensively discussed in the succeeding section on road transport.

¹³³ See: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39289749> for media news of a 706-carat diamond worth £51 million reportedly found in the Kono District of Sierra Leone in March 2017.

three identifiable groupings (coastbound exports, forest-bound imports and domestically traded goods) in the traffic of commodities (in tonnage) transported by railways between 1905 and 1940 in the Gold Coast. These have been broadly grouped as inter- and intra-territorial commodities. As can be seen from [Table 3.4a](#) (page 376), domestic trade traffic included local foodstuffs, fish, sawn timber and firewood. Import traffic comprised coal, machinery, building materials, food staples, spirits, cotton goods, salt. Coastbound traffic was made up of cocoa, timber, manganese ore and small quantities of rubber, palm produce and kola. We clarify that, whereas all the other export commodities were mostly intercontinental designated, kola was predominantly bound for West Africa. Indeed, between 1924 and 1927, the mean tonnage of kola railed from Ashanti heading to Lagos was 2,400 tons, though it dropped to 650tons around 1927-1930, as land-borne trade reemerged¹³⁴.

We indicate our conceptual interest in domestic intra-territorial trade traffic and railways under this section and thus will focus on that in relation to the other categories. A detailed examination of domestic commodities suggests that the commodity traffic can be periodized into three separate phases: pre-1911 slow growth, 1911 and 1921 high growth, and post-1921 depression. The pre-1911 era saw a slow use of railways for domestic goods traffic. In proportionate terms, it was

¹³⁴ Miles, (1931), p.5.

approximately 5% of total tonnage on rails per annum. In absolute terms, a paltry 3,066 tons of traffic on the railways was domestic goods annually. However, the decade of 1911-1921 seems to have been a 'golden age' for domestic traffic. Whereas at some point it accounted for 54% of railway freight, on average it represented about 42%, almost 122,372.7 tons per annum, of railed traffic in this golden period. The post-1921 situation is a case of sustained decline interrupted by a post-1930 surge and gradual decline. Altogether on an annual basis, in proportionate and absolute terms, domestic long-distance traded goods using the railways dropped to 16% and 113,365.2 tons in the post-1921 era.

3.2.2.a.iv Internal Trade & Railways Development: Towards a Synthesis

In discussing the relationship between railways and internal trade evolution in West Africa, we argue that the most direct effect of railways on internal trade in West Africa could be felt through the use of rail to transport intra-territorial commodities, since there was no inter-territorial connectivity of railways in BWA. We suggest that inter-territorial regional trade received a facilitating boost from the emergence of railways, once commodities were lodged at the designated sea-ports. On a colony basis, we have assembled and presented the composition of soft trade statistics relating to traffic of goods on railways. Our presentation was conducted against the conception of railways connecting socio-ecological spheres. We have carefully categorized the goods transported by rail along the notions of destination to imply its direct effect on regional trade. We have specifically grouped commodities understood to be sourced or bound for intercontinental destinations. All this was done in the expectation that

we can ascertain the real amounts of commodities that were carried by railways towards regional trade, as far as data allows. To this end, [Table 3.4c \(page 378\)](#) has been prepared to present a regionalized impression of the 'direct' role of railways in internal trade as seen from an intra-territorial trade perspective. As previously noted, these are soft data in volumes of goods, rather than values and as such not included in the revealed statistical examination in Chapter Two. Thus, to every extent, this data is indicative of what we know to have occurred but was unrecorded and it supports our estimation of the extent of internal trade.

From Table 3.4C, [Figure 3.2 \(page 396\)](#), an illustration of the proportion of domestic goods transported in BWA railways from 1905 to 1940 has been developed. Largely influenced by the relative availability of data from the Gold Coast, the pattern is closely matched to the previously discussed situation in that colony. Specifically, there is limited accommodation for intra-territorial bound commodities in the period up to 1910. Thereafter, there is a spike and a fluctuating increase of such commodities on the railways from 1911-1918. This is followed by a decline in the inter-war period.

In retrospect, taking aside the period of 1911-1919 and probably up to 1922 (29%), the proportion of regional-bound commodity on rail in BWA, was somewhat lower. However, and revealingly, the volume of domestic goods transported by rail over the 36 years (1905 to 1940) for which railway data is available suggest that, on average,

approximately 19% of total goods were intra-BWA commodities. In effect, the impression is that railways, which fundamentally facilitated the global integration of West Africa, inadvertently allowed some 19% of its capacity to carry local- and regional-bound goods that facilitated local and regional integration.

On the other hand, it seems that an average of about 71% of goods, mostly sourced from and bound for intercontinental markets, were carried by railways in BWA. This spate of intercontinental bound commodity rail transport received impetus from mainly the transportation of coastbound exports of primary cash crops and mineral commodities, such as cocoa, palm products, groundnuts, tin ore, and manganese. Domestic long-distance traded commodities included kola, local produce (foodstuffs, fish) sawn timber and firewood (fuelwood)¹³⁵. We stress that our records of domestic railed goods do not reflect the trade in known large livestock between the intra-territorial spheres in the region. Additionally, the cycle of domestic goods on rail could be partly explained by global and regional events affecting production and trade in the region. The import restrictions on coal and petrol during the war precipitated an increase in the procurement and use of fuelwood, while the export restriction on cocoa and other commodities (also during the war) ensured that other native produce would increasingly be carried by the railways. In the post-war era, the boom in the cocoa as well as mineral commodity business, accompanied by

¹³⁵ It is important to clarify that firewood carried by rail was used by the mining sector in replacement for the importation of coal in the Gold Coast, largely for cost reasons.

improvements in road and motor transport, must have successfully checked the place of domestic and regional-bound goods on the rails.

From here, other implications of this railway commodity traffic evaluation are discernable. First, the findings reinforce the existing notion that railways in BWA were mostly a channel for intercontinental trade, although they must also have stimulated domestic intra-territorial trade. As a uniting force for local and regional economies, railways were fundamental in connecting distinct socio-ecological spheres within the region. The trade in commodities across intra-territorial spheres (coast, forest and savanna) through the railways can neither be underestimated nor overlooked. Assuming that these statistics were hard, rather than soft, by permitting their inclusion in the statistical evaluation presented in Chapter Two, there is the real possibility that the internal trade of West Africa would be much more substantial than revealed and subsequently the estimation undertaken would also be affected. Thus, the evolution of the railways, and the attendant soft nature of records is much more insightful of the extent of internal trade that was known to have occurred but remained unrecorded. This also bolsters our estimates to a larger extent. In a sense, the combination of the real and signaling effects of the railways on internal trade in the entire region may be appropriately summed up in the words of the acting Governor, who stated, "Railway development of the country has had a very great effect on the internal trade and the commercial intercourse between Northern and Southern Nigeria, but it is not possible at the present time to reduce that effect to

accurate statistics.” (Northern Nigeria, *ACR*, 1911:9). From this railway discussion, focus is now turned to the role of road transport in understanding the outcome of the statistical evaluation presented in Chapter Two.

3.2.3. Road Transport and Internal Trade

Despite its trading heritage, at least from the era of legitimate commerce, with the outside world, there seems to have been little or no attempt to consciously develop and maintain roads in any of the colonies of BWA. Part of the explanation, especially despite the 19th century expansion in ‘legitimate’ commerce with Western countries, may be found in the fact that commercial activities were confined mostly to the coastal and riverine portions of the West Coast. In effect therefore, and in a similar manner to railways, road transportation was largely a 20th century phenomenon in BWA. Auspiciously, the history of the development of road transportation in Sierra Leone (Sesay, 1967), the Gold Coast (Heap, 1990), and Nigeria (Hay, 1971) have been treated sufficiently by other researchers. On the basis of these previous studies, and for the purposes of this section, we will only be restricted to highlighting the role of road transportation development in the observed patterns and extent of internal trade. Thus, we will be concerned mostly with how road construction and motor vehicle adoption facilitated long-distance trade within and between territories in terms of both recorded and unrecorded statistics.

On the regional scale, it seems that a combination of factors motivated the development of road transport. Following the extension of administration into the interior, mostly from the mid-1890s, the need as well as efforts to extend roads and

other transportation became apparent. Generally, from the 1890s to the early 1900s (around 1908), administration and strategy-driven maintenance of tracks and development of roads pertained. However, as the need to connect the producing interiors to the external markets intensified, so did the desire to foster road transportation. Broadly, the main features of the relationship between road transport and internal trade were manifested in the feeder road concept, expanded development and maintenance of roads amidst increased adoption of motorized vehicles, as well as the prevalence of key long-distance roads typified in this study as 'link roads' within colonies of the region. The subsequent sections are dedicated to elaborating on these manifest relationships.

3.2.3.a Feeder Roads Concept

In terms of internal trade of the region, the first form of roads facilitating trade were the feeder roads. The feeder roads concept was envisaged by colonial governments across the region as a coordinated approach to the railway and road network. In Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Gambia, roads were initially constructed, not in parallel, but as feeders to the existing means of transportation such as railways and waterways. Feeder roads were mostly designed to offer both passengers and commodity traffic to the evolving railways in the hope of supporting the recovery of the huge investments. Thus, feeder road transportation was conceived mostly as complementary, and in most instances ascribed subordinated roles, to existing modes of transport, especially for railways. It must be stressed that the timing and use of these feeder roads were not uniform. In [Table 3.5](#) (page 380), an attempt is

made to present an impression of feeder roads constructed in support of prevailing railways for selected years in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone between 1905 and 1930.

Unsurprisingly, and seemingly in tow with the spate of rail developments, Nigeria and Sierra Leone took the lead in the feeder road construction frenzy resulting in appreciable coverage by the eve of WWI; only later was this followed by the Gold Coast. Specifically, in Nigeria, feeder roads from Ibadan to Oyo (33 miles), Oyo to Iseyin (27 miles), Oshogbo-Ogbomosho (37 miles), Bukuru-Ropp (22 miles) and Zaria-Maska (25 miles) ¹³⁶ were developed and managed by the Railway Departments in the first fifteen years of the 20th century. From 1920 to 1930, there were extensive developments in feeder roads in response to the boom in the agricultural and mineral commodity trade of the period.

In Sierra Leone, and as a demonstration of commitment, the government financially supported chiefs to improve feeder roads and bridges construction, mostly to the railway (Sierra Leone, *ACR*, 1907:44), around 1906. Several key feeder roads had emerged and been connected to the railheads and stations in the first two decades of the 20th century. By 1910, the key feeder roads included the Boajibu-Biama, Mando-Bo and Largo–Hangha roads, totaling approximately 340miles and terminating at railways stations. The extent of feeder road development was not visibly affected during the war period and thus expanded to include other areas. In

¹³⁶ *Blue Books*, Southern Nigeria, various years.

the decade up to 1920, some 640 miles of feeder roads had been constructed to connect the railways from the northernmost part to the southern riverine regions as the railways seemed to pass through the geographic center of the colony, heading eastwards to palm- and mineral-producing belts.

The enthusiasm for feeder road construction in the Gold Coast would only gather steam in the post-1914 period along the expanding frontiers of cocoa cultivation (Dickson, 1961). At its height, the hysteria for feeder roads was infectious to the extent that it was a completely normal occurrence for chiefs to organize free labour and farmers to elect to destroy parts of cocoa farms or buildings to provide passage for feeder roads¹³⁷. In respect of Gambia, feeder roads equally existed, but were mostly feeders to the River Gambia, which acted as the chief trading channel in the absence of a railway line. Given the seasonality (impassable in rainy seasons and open to traffic mostly only in dry seasons) of the feeder roads in Gambia, plans were afoot to construct all-weather feeder roads to the Gambia River in the 1950s (Colonial Office, *Economic Survey*, 1951:5).

In total, about 2400 miles of feeder roads had been constructed to serve the railways by 1920 across both Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Inevitably, these roads must have supported the carting of agricultural produce and mineral commodities from the interior while serving to convey imported commodities from the ports dotted along

¹³⁷ For example see *Annual Colonial Report*, 1912, Ashanti, p.20.

the coast and riverine areas. These feeder roads were jointly maintained by both the colonial governments and native chiefs. With the passage of time, the desired orchestration of a networked subsidiary relationship between roads and railways was altered to assume a different complexion. In the ensuing change, the limitations of parts of the original desire for subordinating road networks to rails were thoroughly exposed and officials were left reeling under its pressure. In effect, the conceived coordination of a road-rail transport network transformed into rivalrous and competing transportation modes in all colonies with differentiated effects but remarkably similar responses. A brief account of the emergent rivalry is offered to contextualize the development of intra- and inter-territorial link roads and their relationship with internal trade in the region. In a broad sense, this modal rivalry could reveal much more of the extent of unrecorded trade in the era of rivalry and beyond.

3.2.3.b Road-Rail Rivalry

Prior to the mid-1920s, almost all state-owned and state-run railway networks in the region held a virtual monopoly over domestic long-distance trade in the region as feeder roads expanded and obediently played a subservient role to the rail transport system. However, due principally to extensions and improvements in the condition of road networks as well as the increased availability of motor vehicles, road transport acquired a measure of independence and begun competing with the rail service. In addition to these general structural factors, some intrinsic and peculiar properties of motor transport offered a much stronger competitive edge. These

intrinsic properties are summed up in their flexibility (Heap, 1990). In the context of West Africa, where capital constrains the size and nature of trade, higher population densities were exceptions rather than the norm and commodity production was subject to global market price upheavals, the characteristic of flexibility and adaptability must have been of considerable significance. Specifically, motor vehicles possessed greater flexibility that permitted easy switches to perceived profitable routes, which could take goods away from the railways (ibid:26). In so doing, vehicles could also take on new untapped loads. Rates for passengers and freight could be easily changed to reflect the fluctuating seasonality of demand and production. 'House-to-house delivery' of goods could also easily be arranged (ibid: 26). The relatively small size of vehicles tolerated the carriage of even small loads on a profitable basis. Unlike railways, vehicles offered improved control over potential theft compared with the mostly congested long trains (ibid: 26). Another character of the flexibility of motor transport (lorries) for trading in West Africa is the possibility of drivers delaying the movement of a vehicle until the space or 'loading compartments' were fully utilized. Admittedly, these actions are time-insensitive, but they reflect positively on efficiency regarding fuel and distances. Another important dimension of the flexibility of motor and road transport was in respect of return cargo. Whereas the train stops were structurally pre-determined along long-distance routes, motor vehicles could stop at almost every trading center along the highway and improve the cargo and passenger situation. Obviously, trains did not possess such

flexibility and that rigidity must have placed a burden on the operational and financial health of the trains.

Largely induced by the success of the cocoa industry, as well as the combined efforts of colonial government and indigenous people, road and motor transport developed at a much faster rate in the Gold Coast than in the other colonies of the region. In fact, Colonial Under-Secretary, Ormsby-Gore, described the Gold Coast roads as “the best and most developed system of motorable roads in British Tropical Africa” (Ormsby-Gore, 1926:54). The cost of such a blessing in road transport improvement was the rather early emergence of the rail-road rivalry in the Gold Coast, accompanied by a loss of traffic to motor vehicles from 1924 and even beyond the Second World War. Due equally to improvements in intra-territorial road connections in Nigeria, rivalry between railways and roads emerged and assumed a different proportion of significance from about 1929, also lasting almost into the Second World War. A similar inter-modal competition ensued in Sierra Leone in the latter part of the 1920s through to the late 1930s, except that, in this instance, the competition was partially and ironically aided by the efforts of the colonial government to reduce rail dependency as result of the general railway strikes that almost crippled the economy in 1926 (Sesay, 1967).

That in all territories the rail-road competition lasted much longer than would reasonably have been hoped for was not due to the absence of will or effort on the part of colonial administrators. Rather, it was the poverty of results from adopted

efforts and measures. The dexterity and versatility of indigenous lorry owners in fully applying the embodied economic advantage of flexibility offered by their vehicles continued to elude the dragging nets of colonial policy intents and actions. Indeed, officialdom employed both orthodox and unorthodox policy responses to redirect traffic onto the rails. The concerns for saving the railways were largely energized by the reality that almost all the rail lines in the respective territories were state-owned and built with huge capital injections from the metropolis.

An important observation in the official responses to addressing this rail-road rivalry are the glaring similarities in the adopted measures. In almost all colonies, and following persistent dismal performance by railway operations, committees¹³⁸ were formed and sometimes re-appointed to investigate the recurrence of the rail-road rivalry on certain routes. In terms of adopted policies, traffic on specified roads were suddenly subjected to heavier taxation in all three colonies, while issuance of motor or lorry licenses were conditioned on non-use on certain roads. Specifically, whereas certain roads were deliberately left unmaintained in the Gold Coast (Heap, 1990), the cost of licenses was reviewed upwards for motor transport owners in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. In response, indigenous owners of motor transport responded by simply increasing fares and extending operations to areas not covered by the imposed duties and restrictions. In other instances, Officials in all colonies

¹³⁸ The Nigerian government set up a committee in 1933 and again in 1936 to examine the rail-road rivalry. In the Gold Coast, the first committee was set in 1932, with the second committee on the same subject established in 1945.

responded by doubling the tax on fuel, as seen in the Gold Coast in 1927, as a means to purposely disincentivize the patronage of lorries. On some occasions, the response of administrators was to enter an element of predatory pricing for charges on targeted commodities and on selected routes in favor of railways. In fact, governments openly subsidized¹³⁹ railway operations to attract goods and passenger traffic and also absorbed the fiscal deficits¹⁴⁰ that were accrued by the railways. In some instances, while the immediate effect of subsidies was felt in the initial favourable response from traders, as seen in Sierra Leone, their effectiveness was undermined by the generally deteriorating economic conditions of intercontinental trade and continuous re-adjustments by vehicle operators. In fact, the triumph of other modes of transport, especially the roads over railways, might have been much greater and wider had the directly targeted and protective policy support not been instituted in rescue of the railways.

Of course, the impact of this inter-transport modal rivalry was not equally felt in each of the territories. However, the responses (both from officialdom and natives) seemed widely similar. In the context of similarities in the underlying policy framework amidst similar geographic and ecological commonalities, these region-wide similarities may be viewed as unsurprising. In some respect, it appears that the

¹³⁹ To support the railways' efforts to attract freight, the Sierra Leone government paid £20,000 subsidy to the railway to enable it to lower palm kernel freight rates on the palm belt region. *Railway Report*, 1932, Sierra Leone,

¹⁴⁰ The Nigerian government continued to bear the annual deficits accruing from the operations of the railways. Sourced from the *Railway and Colliery Annual Colonial Report. Financial Year ending 31 March 1934*, p.11.

emergence and massive adoption of motor transport was invoked as part of the efforts to open up the interior of the region for further trade in minerals and agricultural commodities in the post-WW1 period. An unintended consequence was the improvement of roads which had hitherto served as feeders and their connection to other producing areas as well as to exporting ports, thus making them run more parallel to the railways. Indeed, a Railway Authority Manager must have read the situation well when he observed that “there seems to be something amiss with the economics of the matter The function of most of these lorries is to carry the traffic for which the railway was built from areas which that railway has developed. National motor roads to feed the national railway would produce a more coordinated transport and assist the government to meet the interest charges on its railway capitalization” (Nigeria, *Railway Report*, 1934:11). Unfortunately, this suggestion and recognition for improved coordination came too late in the day. The attempts to re-orientate the flow of traffic onto the railways were akin to shutting the stable door after the horse had already bolted. The architecture for such a rivalrous competition had been unconsciously designed, laid and nurtured in previous years, thus severely undermining any possibility of smooth re-coordination. The consequence of the emergent architecture was that traffic on the rails dropped significantly leading to losses¹⁴¹ in railway revenue, thus undermining the ability of the railways to recoup their investments.

¹⁴¹ The re-opening of the Nsawam-Accra road, after the reconstruction in 1928, led to a reduction in cocoa tonnages on that line from 77,358 to 50,139 in 1931 according to Kay and Hymer (1972) p.186. Additionally, Sessy (1967), p.93, also suggest a similar freight pirating by road, especially on the southern sections of the Sierra Leone railways.

It seems that two key factors broadly explain the rivalry that emerged. Specifically, improved vehicles produced in the Western world continued to be imported into the region amidst improving road conditions. At the same time, the extension of railways, on a regional scale, in the post-WWI era tended to be more moderate. The moderation in extension may probably be due to the 'long-depression' of BWA economies as observed by Martin (1989) from the post-1915 era. This moderation may be exemplified by the many unrealized propositions of rail extensions including the Ashanti and Northern Territories connection. In fact, the coincidental emergence and adoption of motor transport, mostly owned by private indigenous persons, seem to epitomize the transfer of part of the cost of transportation improvements in the colonies to private indigenous capital. Colonial officers must have smiled and heaved a sigh of relief at this development in motor transport acquisition, at least in the interim. They may have encouraged this development in the hope that further opening up of the interior for trade by motor transport would feed the railways. However, unbeknownst to them was the potential of the road transport developments to impair initial railway investments as, seen in the rail-road transport rivalry that only served to make road transport the major means of transportation in West Africa well after the colonial period.

To understand the evolution and changes in the positions of road and rail transport routes and their effect on internal trade, an account bordering on emergence of motorized vehicles and spread of roads across the territories of the region is provided.

Admittedly, a stronger case could have been made if there were 'hard' statistics on the volume and value of goods traffic on roads and by motorized vehicles. In their unfortunate absence, an effort has been made to present an impression that may be suggestive and redolent of the impact that road development and motorized transport had on the development of internal trade in region. We clarify that much of our discussion on the development of roads and motor vehicles will be centred on Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. This has been eventuated not solely by the availability of data but equally by the perceived role of roads in the trade of these territories. As was previously noted, road transport was not a key mode of transport in Gambia. Furthermore, we re-assert the fact that our discussion of domestic long-distance trade is framed on statistics obtained from both Nigeria and the Gold Coast for the period. Unlike railway construction, which never crossed borders between territories, there were some roads that supported more direct and pronounced inter-territorial land-borne trade. In this context, specific attention is paid to the development and nature of certain roads in the region

3.2.3.c Development of Road Networks

The development and spread of roads was naturally associated with improved connectivity and reduction in transactional cost. Roads are usually expected to facilitate trade especially in the face of increases in population and urbanization. In respect of the region, we have associated the changes in the extent of roads (see [Table 3.5](#),page 380) with the evolution of trade. To demonstrate the observed

relationship between changes in roads and the evolution of internal trade, we have compiled and presented available statistics in Table 3.6.

In [Table 3.6](#) (page 381), the emerging understanding is one of the increased extension of road networks across the three major road-using dependencies in BWA. We highlight the fact that our evaluation of internal trade revealed that there was a major surge in trade within BWA in the 1900-1915 period. We have previously indicated the emergence and extensive prevalence of feeder roads serving railways lines from 1900-1917. The effect of these feeder roads and railways was to facilitate both inter- and intra-territorial regional trade. A look at [Table 3.6](#) (page 381) reveals that there are few consistent and reliable statistics on the extent of long-distance roads except for the Gold Coast, which had more than doubled from 196 miles in 1903 to 322 miles in 1914. We draw attention to the fact that in the pre-war era, the figures in the table are reflective of the roads that were maintained by the colonial administration through the various Public Works Departments. Thus, the figures in the table are exclusive of the many roads that were under the maintenance of native chiefs and local authorities, which tended to be disproportionately larger. As an example, between 1914 and 1920, the entire mileage of roads maintained by local and native authorities was nearly 21,000 miles and 22,000 miles, and about 1,400 miles and 3,000 miles, respectively, in Northern and Southern Nigeria (Hay, 1971). By 1914, there were 1,361 miles of roads in the protectorate portion of Sierra Leone, (Sesay, 1967) most of which were under the management of native authorities. Prior

to WWI, in 1911, over 2,000 miles of bush roads were also being regularly cleaned by native authorities in the Gold Coast Colony. In Ashanti Protectorate, 85 miles of earth-surfaced roads were constructed in 1911, thus bringing the total length of such roads in the protectorate to 230 miles (Dickson, 1961). If the statistics on native-maintained roads across all territories (above) and the length of government-maintained roads in the Gold Coast are anything to consider, then it may seem reasonable to suggest that domestic long-distance trade would have been spurred on by this extensive network of roads that prevailed in the pre-war period.

As seen from [Table 3.6](#) (page 381), it seems obvious in the post-WWI era that the development of long-distance roads, mostly managed by the Public Works Departments for trading purposes, had been revolutionized. From 1920 to the eve of the Great Depression in 1929, road development across all BWA territories had increased phenomenally. Specifically, whereas the Gold Coast had increased its maintenance of 'trade' roads by 278%, Nigeria had extended maintenance of trade roads by 139% between 1924 and 1929, with Sierra Leone achieving a 509% increase from 1920-1930. The expansion in the maintenance of roads clearly had implications for the trends of, at least, domestic trade in the region. Furthermore, it appears, and understandably so, that the post-depression to 1940 era oversaw moderate increases in the maintenance of long-distance trade roads in the region. Part of the reason may be the effect of policies adopted by colonial administrators attempting to redirect passenger and goods traffic onto the railways following the

emergence of the rivalry. A related reason could also be the effect of the general economic malaise in the economy, thus stalling investments in roads. From this account on road development, it may be quite possible to note there are ramifications for the extent of trade in the region. This ultimately borders on the estimated extent of internal trade in the region as presented in Chapter Two. In this instance, the real character of 'unknown' statistics as explained in Chapter Two has been shown up. The data on road transport were probably never of interest to data recorders in the era and thus not captured. The non-recording of motor transport trade statistics is also partly a function of the private-sector domination of this type of transport. A synthesized implication of roads and vehicles will be presented to infer the suggested implication shortly. Prior to that, the focus is turned to discussing the adoption of motor vehicles.

3.2.3.d Motor Vehicles

The road 'revolution', as outlined above, had on its side a willing ally in the form of the increased adoption of motorized vehicles. On a regional scale, motor vehicles appeared on the transportation scene at different times prior to 1910. Specifically, whereas the first¹⁴² vehicle was imported into the Gold Coast in 1902, a lorry was first seen in Sierra Leone in 1910, while 1907 to 1909¹⁴³ was the period in which motor vehicles first appeared in Nigeria. We are interested in trade-facilitating motor vehicles that would have utilized the long-distance trade roads. In response to our

¹⁴² *Annual Colonial Report*, specified years, for all colonies.

¹⁴³ About 1,200 motor vehicles were imported into Nigeria according to the *Blue Book*, 1908 and 1909 Southern Nigeria.

interest, we have assembled available statistics that are indicative of the presence of trade-facilitating motor vehicles. In [Table 3.7 \(page 382\)](#), we present statistics on the registration of vehicles imported for commercial use in three colonies. In addition, some insights into the issuance of motor licenses by vehicle type is provided as supporting evidence.

To a very large extent, statistics on motor vehicles are not readily available in the pre-1920 period for most of the colonies. Only the Gold Coast possesses consistent information in this regard, and therefore initial attention is focused on it. There were two types of commercial vehicles that were thought to facilitate long-distance trade. These were the trailers and caravans on one side, as well as what was classified as 'goods vehicle' by the source documents. The important point of note is that there were consistent increases in the registration of both categories of vehicles from 1909 to 1922. Cumulatively, and barring damage and mechanical faults, there were about 667 'goods vehicles' registered for use in the Gold Coast from 1909 to just after the war in 1919, reflecting a 1331% increase. With respect to trailers and caravans, and assuming there were little or no operational mechanical challenges that may have rendered them unusable, there were 356 such means of transport registered to ply the long-distance trading routes of the Gold Coast from 1914 to 1919.

As with the roads, there were striking increases in the registration of these vehicles in the post-1919 era. From 1920-1922, 932 'goods vehicles' as well as 370 caravans and trailers were registered for the roads in the Gold Coast. Whereas the absence

of registration data in the post-1922 period is worryingly noted, we have had access to vehicular driving licenses issued. We intend to use them as a proxy for continued registration and use of long-distance trade-facilitating vehicles. From 1927 to the Great Depression in 1930, about 17,019 and 3,168 persons were issued with licenses for goods vehicles and trailers and caravans respectively. We take the view that most of the 'goods vehicles' and the caravans and trailers were used in support of both domestic and sometimes the inter-territorial trade of the region.

Regrettably, helpful statistics on commercial vehicle registration for Nigeria only emerged from 1929 to 1938 and have also been presented in [Table 3.7 \(page 382\)](#). The impression is one of sustained increases in vehicular registration resulting in the accumulation of some 22,762 recorded registrations over the decade. Indeed, these vehicles would have supported and sustained the long-distance trade across the vast expanse of Nigeria and sometimes over the frontiers into neighboring territories. In retrospect, the continued private procurement and registration of such trade-facilitating vehicles may not be considered a surprise given the performance of agricultural and mineral commodities in the inter-war period. We have only managed to assemble sparing statistics on importation of vehicles into Sierra Leone. Admittedly, these records do not highlight the type of imports to allow for a deduction of trade influences. However, the general increases in importation of vehicles in the post-WWI and pre-depression period may be suggestive. The boom in agriculture

for palm oil and palm kernels and the improvements in road conditions must have occasioned the use of lorries and long-distance road trade as well.

3.2.4 'Link Roads' of Long-Distance Trade

Aside from the numerous and several road developments within territories over the period that are believed to have fostered domestic long-distance trade, some major roads of inter-territorial significance equally supported internal trade. For the purposes of clarity, these types of roads are denoted as 'link roads' in an attempt to reflect their connective influence in the regional integration of trade. Even as the pre-1900 period was dominated by longer tracks and paths which were used for such inter-territorial regional trade, events in the post-1900 era propelled accompanying marked improvements in such types of territory-connecting routes. In the Gold Coast, where long-distance land-borne kola trade was predominant, the emergence of improved road conditions is closely associated with increased kola trade. This is demonstrated by the available statistics presented in [Figure 3.3 \(page 397\)](#) outlining the pattern of kola trade from the Gold Coast from 1924 to 1939.

[Figure 3.3](#) and from the year 1924, the quantity of the kola trade is seen to be increasing. In fact, it had increased from 2,086 tons to about 4,650 tons by the time of the Great Depression, indicating a more than 100% increase. Even when the depression and other factors must have caused a dip in commercial fortunes, trade revived from its low of 1,318 tons in 1931 to another high point of 4,039 tons by 1939. Judged against the context of a declining sea-borne trade in kola from 7,773 tons in

1924 to less than 594 tons by 1939, the performance of land-borne trade was truly remarkable. The visible ‘valley’ for overland kola trade between 1930 and 1932, according to the Acting Commission, Western Province of Ashanti, was thought to be a combination of the effects of taxation (potentially inducing smuggling, which will be discussed later) and a slump in kola demand in French territories (Acting Commissioner, Letter to Chief Commissioner, 1932)¹⁴⁴. The attenuation of demand must equally be a consequence of the locust plague that ravaged crops in the demand areas in adjoining French territories, thus reducing effective demand (ibid). We have previously suggested that the reorientation of the kola trade in this era was partly a function of saturation in the Nigeria market following the entrance of Sierra Leone¹⁴⁵ kola produce under the sustained influences of Lebanese merchants. While all these were important undergirding factors, the equal influence of the improvements in long-distance roads is also clear. Strikingly, the coincidence of the spike in long-distance land-borne trade and the improvements in road conditions is also noticeable for this period. In fact, the timing of the trade improvements and road improvements is extremely suggestive. Prior to 1919, no motorized commercial vehicle had ever been seen in any part of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. However, in April 1920, the “Great Northern Road¹⁴⁶” had connected Kumasi in the Ashanti Territories to Tamale in the Northern Territories permitting commercial traffic

¹⁴⁴ Letter Number 47/W.P.29/31

¹⁴⁵ Sierra Leone kola entered Nigeria in 1917 with 4 tons, reflecting 0.13% of Gold Coast exports. By 1924, its share had reached 11% of Gold Coast exports to Nigeria. This share further increased to almost 60% (approximately 1,651 tons) of kola exports from the Gold Coast by the time of the depression in 1929.

¹⁴⁶ See Ntewusu (2014) for a full discussion of the construction and impact of the road.

to ply the road. With the failure, although seriously contemplated, to extend railways from Ashanti to the Northern Territories, the completion of the Great Northern Road signaled the physical unification of the three political and roughly distinct ecological territories within the Gold Coast.

The direct significance of this road to intra and inter-territorial trade as well as the general regional economy could be seen not only in the reduction of travel time through increased use of motorized vehicles which were flexible and convenient, but also in the secured conditions of trade on the land. Furthermore, Ashanti was within geographical proximity of the markets in the Northern Territories and beyond. In this instance, we are largely able to present some direct soft statistics of trade volumes collected¹⁴⁷ by the Government of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast relating to the increased use of Great Northern Road. From [Figure 3.4](#) (page 397), it is seen that lorry-driven goods traffic diverges from head-loading from 1925-1932. The peak point of divergence is 1929, after which there was a slight depression in lorry-conveyed volumes of trade attributable to the depression of trade caused by the locust plague in the French territories. The key message is that the traders and merchants largely responded to the positive changes in the means of transportation following the construction of the road and the use of long-distance motorized vehicles. With the expansion of the cocoa industry, which employed labourers from

¹⁴⁷ The entire data were collected as goods traffic carried by the ferry on the Volta River at Yeji. By no means are these data reflective of the real volumes of trade on the road crossing the Volta. It is understood that goods passing at night were not recorded.

the Northern Territories and beyond, there was improved incentive to use the road, especially as the markets in other territories were equally good. The proximity of markets also ensured that deterioration of the nuts could be far reduced

It is worth pointing out that the growth in the volumes of goods traded on this road is observed in both its southward and northward direction. Whereas salt and kola together constituted about 85% of northbound goods, fowls and yams contributed 86% of southbound traffic. We emphasize that the much larger voluminous trade in livestock (cattle, sheep and goats) from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and beyond did not use motor vehicles and travelled southwards on hoof. In terms of the vehicles involved in this trade, as can be seen in [Figure 3.5](#) (page 398), lorries are seen to have a rising and dominant share of the carriage of goods on the road connecting the southern Gold Coast and its northern territories and beyond. Trailers follow as the most patronized motor vehicle for trade. The use of both lorries and trailers as the main means of motor transport may be suggestive of the bulky nature of the goods that passed the road and a good indicator of the long-distance nature of such trade.

Other link roads in the Gold Coast were the Senchi to Ho and from Adidome to Ho roads. The significance of these roads resides in their linking with Trans-Volta Togoland. The post-WWI partitioning of German Togoland bequeathed the railways to the French area (Dickson, 1961). These roads provided British Togoland with a

direct medium of communication with the rest of the Southern Gold Coast, including a trade outlet to the sea. It was to address this challenge that the two roads from Senchi and Adidome to Ho (ibid: 40) were built in the post- 1915 era, supporting the creation of what would later be largely known as the eastern frontier. The main import commodities of trade on these eastern frontier routes between the Gold Coast and French Togoland included dried fish, salt as well as livestock. In terms of exports, the main commodities consisted of copra and palm kernels as well as cocoa. While these eastern frontier roads improved trading connections, officials noted their effect on revenue mobilization. It tended to be the case that some firms supplied their branches in Togoland under the British Mandate with goods from the Gold Coast through these routes, instead of from French Togoland (Gold Coast, *Trade Report*, 1935:16). Another observed effect of these routes was the diversion of exports of cocoa from around 1928. Between 1928 and 1935, some 44,925 tons of cocoa, averaging 5,615 tons annually, were exported across the eastern frontier into French Togoland (Gold Coast, *Trade Report*, 1932:16; 1935:13). Colonial officials took the view that these cocoa exports ultimately found their way to France (Gold Coast, *Trade Report*, 1932:14). This was after they had been largely induced by the granting of 'home-grown' status to such cocoa imports in French Togoland and thus admitting them under a prevailing preferential tariff system for onward shipment to France. Similarly, across Nigeria, several important link roads emerged to facilitate land-borne trade. By 1923, the Western and Eastern Provinces of Southern Nigeria had been connected by a road passing through Asaba to Onitsha. Two years later, travel

by road from Ibadan to Port Harcourt, also in southern Nigeria, become a reality, although there were numerous ferries to be used on this journey (Hay, 1971). In the post-war era, around 1923, Keffi and Wamba were also connected to facilitate trade in rice, yams, cassava, sesame, egusi, groundnuts and cowpeas in the Northern Provinces. Crucially, two inter-territorial roads routes were constructed in Nigeria as well. An improved road was built around 1936 from Mamfe to Bamenda in the southern region of Cameroon (Nigeria, *ACR*, 1938:70). This road is believed to have fostered the land-borne trade with Cameroon. On a rather unfortunate note, there are no readily available statistics to suggest the direct effect of these link roads in Nigeria on internal trade. The Kano-to-Maradi road (Nigeria to Niger) saw massive improvements in the post-1930 era. Some have argued, although without any statistical force, that this road, together with the Great Northern Road in the Gold Coast, formed the only two significant road links between British and French colonies among West African roads (Crowder, 1968).

As in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, key link roads also prevailed in Sierra Leone. In the post-1920 period, improved roads were constructed to link the southern and northern regions for the first time in the history of the colony. This road begun from the port of Sulima in the south, through Bo and Makeni, prior to arriving in the northern town of Kabala and extending further to the border with Guinea. The effect of this road would certainly be the impetus it provided for intra-and inter territorial trade. Although there are no hard trade statistics to support this, colonial

observations are largely indicative (for example Sierra Leone, *Trade Report*, 1930). Prior to this period, and due largely to the importance of French Guinea markets for Sierra Leone land-borne kola-led trade, Pendambu and Kailahun had been connected at the railhead at Pendambu before 1910. This inter-territorial trade linking roads off the railway network reached French Guinea and facilitated land-borne trade from this period (Sesay, 1967). In Gambia, there was a connecting road maintained from Barra on the north bank of the River Gambia opposite Bathurst to the French frontier post of Karrang and thence to Dakar in Senegal (Colonial Office, *Economic Survey*, 1951:5). It was not until the late 1940s that a trans-Gambia road connecting the French frontier north of Feerafena to Ballingo and on the south bank from the wharf at Yellintenda to the French frontier at Masserra was constructed (ibid).

3.2.5. Overview of Road Transport Development and Internal Trade

The insights provided by the explanation on road transport development as seen through the feeder roads, the rail-road rivalry, and the development in long-distance as well as link roads in the region requires a synthesis of its role in the patterns and evolution of internal trade in West Africa. We have highlighted the factors that accounted for the development of roads and the associated increased use of motor vehicles for trading purposes, sometimes out-competing state-sponsored railways, in the region. An important perception is the expanding maintenance of trade roads within and across territories in the first three decades of the 20th century. Undoubtedly, this impression of an expanding maintenance of trade roads holds

some implications for the study of internal trade. Our statistical evaluation, based on 'hard' statistics, of the internal trade suggests a pattern of declining trade in the last two decades prior to the 20th century, a rising trend from 1900 to 1919 and a decline in trade in the subsequent two decades up to the WWII. In conducting this review, we have suggested that road transport development, in a similar manner to railways, was effectively a 20th century occurrence. Therefore, the influence of roads on internal trade can be observed in the four first decades of the 20th century for this study. To this end, we indicated that the major component of the rise in the internal trade between 1900 and 1919 was fueled by the availability of hard statistics on domestic long-distance trade within colonies, mostly in the Gold Coast and sometimes Nigeria. Unsurprisingly, the evolution of maintained roads equally suggests a 'road revolution' (343% from 1903-1920, at least for the Gold Coast) for the period 1900 to 1920 as seen in [Table 3.6 \(page 381\)](#). That the internal trade surge and road maintenance revolution share a degree of coincidence may be suggestive of their co-dependence. Considering that increasing trade integration seems positively correlated with road improvements in the first two decades of the 20th century is indicative of the orchestrated coincidence of the two phenomena. Here, the changes in road development and condition could be seen as partial evidence of the revealed extent of trade based on hard statistics.

Interestingly, and in terms of road transportation, the decade between 1920 and 1930 also witnessed continued positive changes, except that this time it was a

revolution on an industrial scale. Maintenance of trade roads within all territories underwent visible and substantial expansion as seen in [Table 3.6 \(page 381\)](#). On a partial note, we are inclined to acknowledge that some of the domestic traded goods might have been captured as commodity traffic previously presented in the volumes of trade railed to the ports. However, we suspect and speculate that, with the emerging rail-road rivalry, direct road transportation to the trading centers and ports of export over long-distances must have accounted for an appreciable amount of domestic trade in this period. Had there been recorded data on roads and the motor traffic of goods in the interwar period, the probability of the volumes and values would have been much higher. Yet, there are no consistent, reliable and useful statistics on the extent of domestic long-distance trade for this period. Part of the reason for this absence of consistent statistical data in this period may be related to very sparse manpower of the colonial administration¹⁴⁸, thus limiting the interest of administrators in these types of trade statistics.

In spite of the lack of statistics suffered in the inter-war period, we have little ground to accept that domestic long-distance trade had declined before the Great Depression. Several factors explain our suspicion. From post war to the Great Depression, relative peace prevailed and security of trading routes must have improved given the extensions in the maintenance of roads. There would have been

¹⁴⁸ In fact, even in 1932, there was no Customs Preventive Service in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. Furthermore, on the basis that Preventive Officers, excepting Collectors in charge of sections, were not trained customs officers, the Comptroller of Customs, Durham Mackenzie consistently cautioned on the reading of road-borne inter-territorial trade statistics from the Gold Coast. Sourced from *Trade Report*, 1932, Gold Coast, p.20.

increasing urbanization influenced by increases in population and economic activities. This view of increased economic activity, especially in non-farm economic activity, is largely predicated on the observed boom in the mining sector across the colonies in the inter-war period. A chief characteristic of mining operations is the propensity for increased trade in foodstuffs. Part of that situation is seen through the railways traffic in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast for this period. At the same time, we observed the re-birth of land-borne kola-led inter-territorial trade in the post-WWI era. We argue that the improvements in link roads between territories must have supported the rising share of voluminous trade in this period. The discernable implication thereof is that the amount of internal trade in the region would, at least, have been maintained if not increased. Specifically, we are inclined to speculate that internal trade must have been sustained, considering the influence of the improved maintenance of trade roads within the region. The fortunes of evolving internal trade may be only slightly tapered by the combined effects of the Great Depression and the ensuing economic challenges that occurred in the period leading up to the Second World War. Due to the impact of the depression and other economic challenges, incomes are likely to have deteriorated and thus have affected the rate of growth of internal trade. However, with increased population and improved roads, and without known drought or famine on a large scale, it can be expected that internal trade was sustained in this inter-war period as we have estimated. In essence, the development of roads and accompanying improvements in road condition can be seen in two phases in respect of the statistical evaluation presented

in Chapter Two. In the first two decades of the 20th century, the observed increases in road and motor transport is partial evidence of the role of this mode of transport in the extent of internal trade based on hard statistics. Additionally, and in the inter-war period, the continued increases in maintained roads and the adoption of motor transport is even more reinforcing of what we know to have occurred as internal trade but went unrecorded. The road transport situation in this inter-war era is supportive of both 'soft' and 'uncaptured' statistics adopted in estimating the extent of trade that draws us closer to the real levels of internal trade.

3.2.6. Summary of Transport and Internal Trade

In this section we have focused on the important roles of transport in bolstering internal trade integration in West Africa from 1880-1940. We have argued that the development of transportation is closely associated with the trends and patterns of internal trade development discussed in Chapter Two. Transport innovations in the period have been interpreted as a force supporting the growth of trade towards and regional economic unity. Admittedly, this focus is extremely unresponsive to other considerations such as sociological, political and military motivations for transport development. Amidst the findings, some key but general observations in relation to internal trade in West Africa are proffered to contextualize the emerging interpretation. These observations are primarily made possible by the reality that the factors driving the development of transportation systems and internal trade are mostly regional in nature, given the geographic, ecological and political commonalities. Geographically, there are ample similarities in the distribution of

population, relief, climate and economic activities across the territories of BWA. Furthermore, owing to somewhat closely related colonial policies pursued in respective territories by Britain, transportation systems, especially the railways and roads, displayed a similar regional patterns. A combination of these commonalities allows us to comment on the regional dynamic of transport and internal trade.

In broad terms, nowhere in BWA was there an existing integrated transport system that permitted informed and rational decisions of choosing one of the three principal modes of modern transports (water, railways and roads). That is, transport systems in the region were functionally integrated but not operationally interconnected in a rational manner. The effect of the limited and almost non-existent integration of transport services would also be seen in the traffic of internal domestic commodities. It seems clear that in developing modern means of transport, activities were geared towards meeting inter-continental trade. The effect was an improved ability to transport goods primarily between exporting ports and their immediate and active economic interiors. This was largely reflected in the construction of railways across the territories of BWA. The seismic shift in this occurred with the eventual development of road transportation. Roads and road transport were initially conceived as feeders to the railway system. With flexibility and adaptability to changing needs, road transport gained independence to the rival rail network in all railway using territories. Over time, they became the predominant mode of transport and conveyed a larger share of internally traded goods. Another important feature

of the development of the transport system in BWA is that there was a striking near-absence of means of transport at the borders, hence the lack of inter-territorial linkages. In effect, unlike FWA, where railways traversed the frontiers between administrative territories, there was no occurrence of this in BWA. Political coloration and geographic contiguity may hold some explanatory power for this. In addition to this intra-territorial orientation of transport service in BWA, sometimes circuitous routes, motivated for reasons other than regional integration, only served to negatively impact the efficiency of transport for regional trade integration in West Africa. More so, the modern transport modes that managed to cross ecological zones within territories were subject to the vagaries and adverse effects of the climate. Trans-ecological (means of transport that crossed ecological spheres) roads, rivers and railways were at the mercy of either heavy or limited rainfalls affecting the utility of rivers and roads and sometimes rendering them completely impassable for long periods. In the Gold Coast alone there were sixty-three derailments on a stretch of rail in 1904. This situation was somewhat worse in 1917 when a deluge washed away other railway lines, in addition to a twenty-foot bridge (Gold Coast, *ACR*, 1917:45). Rapid forest growth along with weak and poor soil quality increased the costs of construction and maintenance of land-based transport modes, eventually raising freight charges.

It is against this militating background that a reader must judge the efforts of the indigenous producers and traders in pursuing economic ends that offered a degree

of economic unity for the region, even under European domination. Without being in the forefront of the thoughts of transportation planners, and burdened with enormous constraints (both real and perceived), the statistical evaluation suggested an increase in internal trade alongside transport evolution. To a large extent, both railways and motor vehicles mitigated the persistent constraints of regional trade. The emergence of modern transportation, not only eased transportation constraints but performed an equally important function of containerization¹⁴⁹ of commodities that must have facilitated the large volumes of internal trade in this era. In many respects, this development is illustrative of the dynamism of indigenous forces to take advantage of economic and infrastructural innovations. By their efforts, transport development within the region, without having a regionalized orientation, performed functions that pervaded the regional economy and enabled the greater diffusion of trade as well as depending on the wider socio-economic and political horizon of West Africa in the sixty years prior to the Second World War.

3.3 The Significance of Land-borne Trade Networks

In this chapter we suggested the agency of local and regional merchant networks and their survival and development when railways were constructed and the infrastructure of rail-borne and road-borne trade were created.

Our approach has been to examine West Africa's integration through the statistical examination of trade, but it is important to relate it to another aspect of international economic integration, namely the import of capital. The establishment of Lagos as a

¹⁴⁹ For a full discussion of the containerization functions of transport innovations see Osborn (2017).

colonial city from the 1860s (Hopkins, 1964), and the construction of railways to connect it to the hinterland of Nigeria followed a typical pattern of economic penetration of European colonial powers; a combination of capital investment and the promotion of intercontinental trade. [Table 3.8](#) (page 383) outlines the inflow of capital from outside the region, almost all from Europe, which partly explains the persistent trade surplus on the part of West Africa for a certain period of time.

Our argument is that it was the development of local and regional merchant networks that sustained the rail traffic and, in so doing, sustained the transportation system in West Africa. Tables 3.1A-3.1D [Appendix 2](#) (in pages 332-333) as well as [Table 3.2 \(in page 374\)](#), [Table 3.3 \(page 375\)](#) and [Table 3.4a \(page 375\)](#) show the types of goods carried by railways, while the importance of 'return cargo' was highlighted when primary products such as cocoa began to be produced inland. Moreover, a complicated system of multilateral trade patterns linking overseas areas, coastlines, forest zones and the desert emerged, often transcending territorial boundaries and European imagination. The main organizers of land-borne trade in West Africa were non-European merchants, many of them working closely with European merchants but not usually directly connected to colonial rule.

3.4 Merchant Networks, Transport and Internal Trade: A Summary

In Chapter Three, our focus has been to argue the role of the network of merchants and traders as well as the transportation system in the evolution of internal trade in light of the statistical evaluation presented in Chapter Two. By adopting the

definitions of merchants and traders as were then known, we have argued that the spread of the network of regional and local merchants along and within main commodity producing areas is supportive of what the revealed extent of trade, informed by the hard statistics, indicated.

Additionally, a reliance on socio-cultural commonalities which largely resulted in 'informal' arrangements of credit, capital, and storage of commodities is redolent of the extent of trade that may have occurred but was not adequately captured by officials. By extension, the networks were mostly informal and thus sufficiently far removed from official interest to facilitate the recording of activities. Their extensive use of land-borne transport, especially in the inter-war period, carries along with it a greater possibility of limited recording of their activities. In this way, the merchants' situation had reinforced the notion of 'soft' and 'unknown' statistics that were adopted for the estimation.

In respect of the transportation system, the discussion suggests that the trends of internal trade as captured by hard statistics are supported by the development of the transport system. The three-phased predominance of transport by sea-borne, railway, and roads and motor routes offered indications in respect of the extent of trade. Specifically, the arrival and dominance of land-borne routes in the 20th century accentuates the situation of soft and unknown statistics as officials tended to be less interested in domestic long-distance trade. For the period that hard data exist, it has been shown that the timing and evolution of internal trade were closely associated

with the development of the transport system. Conversely, the phase where roads and motor transport rivaled and almost out-competed railways, during the inter-war period, is also the period in which hard and soft data on internal trade become almost non-existent. We have suggested that land-borne transport managers (railways and motor transport owners) were less interested in hard statistics. The rise of motor transport, dominated by private indigenous owners, translated into 'unknown' statistics as there were no incentives as well as practical difficulties associated with focusing on recording trade statistics. In this sense, it has been argued that it is not the absence of trade that occasioned the decline in the inter-war period but rather that there is a real possibility of the absence of trade data being a contributory cause. On an even more revealing note, the emergence and dominance of land-borne means of transportation and their extensive adoption by the network of local and regional merchants is insightful of the extent of internal trade that must have occurred on the 'blind side' of trade data recorders. In this light, the combination of the transport system development and network of merchants provides reasons that, to a considerable extent, explain the outcome of the statistical evaluation presented in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER FOUR EFFECTS OF CURRENCY, FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND TARIFF POLICIES

The previous chapter demonstrated that the agility of merchants and the emergence of modern transport positively affected internal trade, as discussed in Chapter Two. We are cognizant that trade is primarily transactional and thus necessitates the fundamental role of a medium of exchange. In this context, our intuition relates to the potential roles a medium that media of exchange, financial credit arrangements and fiscal policies can play in the evolution of internal trade. Therefore, in this part of the dissertation, we are impelled to consider the roles played in internal trade by innovations in monetary, financial and fiscal developments. Our framework for assessment, applied in the previous chapter, remains unchanged: examining what is known of these developments in the light of the evaluated extent of internal trade. This section attempts to refute both the revealed and estimated extent of trade suggested by this dissertation. Combining the use of some relevant statistics and observational accounts in primary sources, we argue that the innovations in the named sectors in the period 1880-1940 must have had profound effects on the trends in and patterns of internal trade. The discussion in this chapter will be presented in a themed manner as follows: currency and banking (monetary aspects), followed by tariff policies. This discussion, along with a brief recount of the intricate history of the emergent regional monetary and fiscal architecture will emphasize both chronological and geographical diversities pertaining to innovations within and amongst colonies while considering the regional scale of events.

4.1 Currency and Financial Development

On the whole, and to a considerable extent, the period 1880 to 1912 represents a significant period in the history of currency and financial development in British West Africa. From the global perspective, BWA was neither unique nor pioneering regarding the massive changes in its monetary arrangements during that period. Indeed, other parts of the developing¹⁵⁰ world, including Japan, Mexico, and Ceylon, also endured similar and at times even more dramatic systemic monetary makeovers in this period (Hopkins, 1970). For BWA, currency and financial developments in the last two decades of the 19th century can be described as provisional, considering the diverse and more permanent changes that were to occur in the succeeding years. The vast historical material related to the conditions and methods of exchange in pre-colonial West Africa has been reviewed and evaluated (see Sundström, 1965). In the period preceding the 1880s, trade in the region was by barter, gold and gold dust, strips of cloth, copper and iron rods as well as a sizeable volume of foreign currencies such as cowries, brass rods, manillas, French francs, Spanish dollars as well as British silver.¹⁵¹ By the turn of 20th century, barter trading had substantially subsided, though not disappeared, but other forms currency, mostly of European origin, were still in use in 1912 (Emmott Committee, 1912).

The Barbour Committee report and the minutes of 1899 provide insights into the geographical differentiation that prevailed in the use of these European provisional

¹⁵⁰ For a discussion in respect of South Asia, for example, see Huff (2003).

¹⁵¹ For a full discussion of pre-colonial currencies in West Africa in the 19th Century, see Johnson (1968, 1970); Hopkins (1966), Lovejoy (1974).

and transitional currencies. Whereas the minutes record the pervasive use of British Sterling silver (mostly shillings and florins) in both Nigeria and the Gold Coast, with moderate use in Sierra Leone and Gambia, the French franc is cited as enjoying similar circulation in the latter two territories. Instructively, the trends and directions of regional trade from these colonies, as seen from the outcome of the statistical evaluation in this study, supports that observation. During these last two decades of the 19th century, while much of the regional trade from Sierra Leone was oriented towards Gambia and FWA colonies, Senegal, the Gold Coast and Nigeria mostly experienced in stronger regional bilateral trading relations. Casual observation suggests that these trading patterns largely correlate with the prevailing dominance of these different European currencies in respective areas.

Indeed, the series of events that culminated in the creation of what may be called a monetary union, typified by the establishment of the West Africa Currency Board in 1912, afforded the British silver a leading role in the commerce of the West Coast from 1880 to 1912 and beyond. Simply put, by the late 1880s the two dominating currencies - cowries and Spanish dollars - were floundering. The cowries had depreciated and the overvaluation of the Spanish dollar had preceded and mostly precipitated the demonetization all foreign silver coins in the region. This demonetization must have produced significant losses for Africans, especially those who held much of their fortune in these forms of money (Helleiner, 2002). The real implication of the depreciation and demonetization, vis-à-vis the widening scale and

complexity of trade at the time, was that a return to centuries-old barter trading arrangements was not considered an option. In this context, British silver, bolstered by the expansion of British influence and penetration, filled the emerging currency void. More importantly, as the British silver coin exercised its dynamism to fulfil the needs of the trading and administrative community in the post-1890 years, the need to develop a more responsive medium and structure for exchange became all too obvious, as would be expected in such a mercantile economy, this will be illustrated below. The recognition for currency reforms was in no way accompanied by a corresponding degree of consensus in the approach towards the solution. Nonetheless, the manifest effect of the dynamism of the British silver coin was that between 1880 and the eve of the First World War, the coin had become the visible and most nimble medium of exchange in the trade of the region. The efforts to manage the leading currency manifested in the creation of what may be described as monetary union for the region.

In fact, the arrival of this monetary union was not only grounded on the need to address prevailing challenges to trade on the ground in West Africa. A crucial but non-West African-based consideration was also at play in establishing the BWA monetary union. The situation that propelled the rise and spread of British silver in the region, as in other regions of the world in this period, carried along a potential crisis for the entire 'home economy' in Britain. Specifically, its spread and increased use generated the frightening possibility of Britain being negatively affected in the event of an economic depression and currency depreciation, as well as inadvertent

political crises (Hopkins, 1970). The situation for West Africa was somewhat particularly worrisome because, unlike India, which tended to absorb more sterling from the British Empire, the region had a history of unloading redundant silver back into the home economy (ibid:106). In this regard, anticipated regular but unregulated repatriation of redundant silver coins into Britain was seen as carrying the threats of potentially depreciating the silver in circulation in Britain and causing price inflation. Thus, altogether, the demise of previously dominant currencies, the evolving dynamics of commerce and the view that unregulated circulation of British currency in West African could put the British Sterling regime in jeopardy motivated the systematization of a monetary system for BWA by 1912. The creation of the West African Currency Board and presence of modern and formal banking institutions were the symbols of completion.

From this position, we stress that the emergence of the banking industry in BWA was not quite as straightforward as it may appear from the reference above. Its evolution is full of confounding details¹⁵². In brief, the issuance of British silver (with benefits of seigniorage) and the roles of banks became intimate in the 1890s. The first¹⁵³ 'successful' commercial bank in the region, African Banking Corporation (ABC), was established in 1891. Three years later, in 1894, and after some teething

¹⁵² For more insights into the emergence of banking in BWA, see Hopkins (1970) p.108-117.

¹⁵³ An initial attempt had been made by an African, Dr. Africanus Horton in 1882, but the Bank collapsed on his demise a year later.

challenges and mercantile protestations, the Bank for British West Africa (BBWA)¹⁵⁴ was formed by a former director of ABC, only to subsume ABC that same year (Macmillan, 1968). With a privileged position conferred on it by an agreement with the establishment in London to supply currency for the region, BBWA extended to all the territories of BWA and enjoyed a near-monopoly over the supply of silver in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia by 1906, employing about 114 officers (Ibid). Thus, BBWA executed inter-colonial currency transfers in the region from this period to the arrival of the West African Currency Board. However, during its expansion, a new banking outfit, Bank of Nigeria, emerged in 1899 to rival and challenge this monopoly. Backed by expanding capital and reach¹⁵⁵, the new bank commenced a series of protests over the seemingly cozy and privileged treatment enjoyed by BBWA. A sequence of coordinated protests eventually achieved a sense of a policy shift at a meeting between the Colonial Office, Crown Agents, Royal Mint, and Governor of Southern Nigeria. Despite this agreement, Lord Crewe inexplicably decided to maintain the status quo, implying continuity of the privileged role being played by BBWA in the issuance of silver in BWA (Anderson, *Memorandum*, 1910). The impasse was only to be resolved in 1911, after Lord Crewe's retirement from active colonial service.

¹⁵⁴ The name BBWA was changed to the Bank of West Africa only in 1957. A further change of name would emerge when it merged with the Standard Bank Limited to become Standard Bank of West Africa in 1965. Four years later, in 1969, there was another merger, with Chartered Bank of India, to form what now known as the Standard Chartered Bank.

¹⁵⁵ Evidence of C. Edgar, 23rd July, 1907, PP (1909), Cd 4670, p.415-417.

In retrospect, the issuance of a regional territorial currency appears to have been the effect rather than the cause of the creation of the West African Currency Board. Convinced that Southern Nigeria was developed enough to introduce bank notes, Governor Egerton approached the Colonial Office in 1907 (Egerton, Letter to Elgin, 1907). It is important to highlight the fact that this was not the first attempt to demand the introduction of colonial currencies specifically for Nigeria. Governor McCallum¹⁵⁶, in 1897, broached the idea and received a favourable response from the Colonial Office, notwithstanding the expressed concerns of the Treasury. With a predisposition to the suggestion, a committee chaired by Sir David Barbour was instituted by Colonial Secretary Chamberlain to advise on its viability for the entire BWA¹⁵⁷. A circulation of the findings of the Barbour Report, submitted in 1900, to the then Governors of BWA territories failed to win undivided support, thus forcing the Colonial Office to look elsewhere on the subject (Chamberlain, Letter to Governor et al, 1902)¹⁵⁸.

In the decade that followed from these initial overtures, not much action was taken concerning the matter of currency except the issuance of lower denominated coins. The only related event occurred in 1908, when Governor Egerton of Southern Nigeria teamed-up with Governor Lugard of Northern Nigeria to experimentally issue 1d and one-tenth penny pieces for Nigeria (Egerton, Letter to Elgin, Feb, 1907). The

¹⁵⁶ According to Hopkins, both Governor McCallum and Egerton must have been motivated by their previous experience in Asia, where monetary development seemed relatively advanced.

¹⁵⁷ A key outcome of the Committee proceedings was the recommendation for the introduction of a colonial currency for BWA, though it was with some important qualifications.

¹⁵⁸ Some of the governors were openly hostile while others were indifferent with a few being supportive.

Gold Coast implemented a similar issuance shortly thereafter. Not only were these experiments aimed at furthering internal exchanges for the benefit of intercontinental trade, they were equally targeted at forcing out remnants of other forms of currencies such as cowries and manillas (Butler, *Memorandum*, 1907).

Probably activated by the outcome, Governor Egerton re-approached the Colonial Office regarding bank notes for Southern Nigeria in 1909 and these were subsequently issued that same year. In the ensuing discussion, the matter of currency issuance and management resurfaced. Expectedly, this development further stoked the existing rift between BBWA and Bank of Nigeria with both holding opposing views on the issuance and management of a currency for Southern Nigeria. Specifically, BBWA, then the sole importer and exporter of silver in the region, argued for allowing a further penetration of the interior by silver prior to the issuance of special currencies and bank notes for the colony (BBWA, Letter to C.O, 1909). Curiously, amongst the remaining territories of BWA, and as happened with the feedback on the Barbour Report in the previous decade, only the Gold Coast expressed interest in the issue of currency and bank notes (Roger, Letter to Crew, 1909)¹⁵⁹.

Coincidentally, and at this high point of colonialism and expanding trade, the circulation of silver in BWA rose to significant levels. The trouble was that as the

¹⁵⁹ Even with the Gold Coast, the decision was eventually taken to allow for a period to observe the outcome of the situation in Southern Nigeria.

demand for British silver increased around the rest of the empire, so did the Treasury's fear of threats of contagion to the 'home economy'. In real terms, between 1901 and 1910, the amount of silver issued for use in BWA was becoming alarmingly comparable to that in circulation in Britain. Specifically, there were £507,611 and £464,488 of British silver in circulation in Britain and BWA respectively¹⁶⁰ in the first decade of the 20th century. In proportionate terms, BWA was absorbing approximately 37% of all British silver issued to the empire, with roughly 41% remaining in Britain. Since these proportions had been 15% and 64% respectively in the preceding decade of 1891-1900, these developments must have been truly disconcerting for those that believed in the threat. For the Treasury, with long-standing suspicions of unregulated dumping of silver into the UK, the possibility of a threat was approaching a probability and therefore the die was cast for preventive action. Watching the proportions change markedly in those last years must have felt like a lifetime for those concerned in the Treasury. In what may have been a collective sigh of relief, Lord Crewe, who had been resolutely adamant regarding a reform of the currency arrangements in BWA, eventually retired in 1910, paving way for what must have been deemed a preventive scheme for a precarious situation.

Unsurprisingly, the decades-long arrangements permitting BBWA to supply silver in BWA was terminated by the successor to Lord Crewe, Lewis Harcourt in August 1911, leading to the eventual resolution of the protestation from the Bank of Nigeria

¹⁶⁰ These insights are obtained by arithmetically calculating the figures outlined in Appendix III of Parliamentary Paper, (1912) Cd 6426, p.20-22.

(Harcourt, Minutes on BBWA to C.O, 1911). In many respects, these developments and heightened concerns served to speed up the issue of regulating the issuance of currencies for BWA. The most concrete step from 1910 was the constitution of another committee, led by Lord Emmott in November 1911, to re-examine the currency matter. Within virtually six months, precisely in June 1912, the report was issued and adopted by government. As an off-shoot, the West African Currency Board (WACB) was born in November 1912 to manage the supply of currency and reserves as well as address convertibility challenges. The following year, WACB introduced new coins for BWA and subsequently issued premier bank notes in 1916, in the middle of WWI. By 1922, the sterling silver coin had all but ceased to circulate in the BWA (Clauson, 1944). Importantly, the issuance of the currency for the region was fully guaranteed by sterling, except that the backing was intrinsically conditioned by exports from the region in such a way that supply was almost exactly equivalent to demand for the currency (Hopkins, 1970). The implication from this scheme was the in-built floating and sinking of the fortunes of the West African currency and to a larger extent its trade with Sterling. It seems equally important to highlight the fact that West African currencies were interchangeable with British Sterling (Newlyn & Rowan, 1954), but of course, subject to remittance charges. To a large extent, completion of the currency and banking arrangements, which culminated in the monetization of economies, must arguably be the last ideological intrusion that marked the advent of British colonialism in West Africa.

In this somewhat brief rendition of the history of the monetary framework, displaying the intertwined nature of its banking and currency arrangements, it was hoped that a better context would emerge to foster the discussions to be presented shortly. However, even from here, some important issues can be noted. It may have become apparent that conditions in Nigeria¹⁶¹ always drove the banking and currency question in the region, albeit with some nonchalant prodding from the officialdom in Gold Coast. This may be a further reflection of the depth of the domestic potential of these economies for internal integration, as previously argued in this paper. Additionally, a crucial observation from the evolution of currency and banking in BWA is its reflection of intercontinental interest. The motivation for the eventual monetary architecture was energized by metropolitan self-interest in promoting intercontinental trade and warding-off any potential unintended consequence of such trading relations with the region. There was no explicit focus on developing a monetary system that may purposely serve the needs of local and regional economies. This would be fully elaborate on in later parts of this section. With these initial observations, attention is turned to understanding how the operations of the monetary system affect the statistical outcome of the evaluation of internal trade. This will be done through a scrutiny of the currencies in circulation and use of banking services, and their effect on internal trade.

¹⁶¹ The question of why Nigeria consistently drove the currency and financial development of the region may evoke insightful responses on any critical study of the issue in the immediate future. To an extent, it reveals the instrumentality of territorial demands for regional scale changes.

4.1.2 Currencies and Internal Trade

It has been previously intimated here that a variety of currencies prevailed in the territories of the region well into the first decade of the 20th century. To fully understand the effect of currency, a review of the trading trends in specie and bullion, mainly introduced by European merchants for intercontinental trade prior to 1912, as well as the circulation of 'official' currencies in the post-1912 era, seem quite important. Colonial correspondence, indicates that specie, bullion and coins were imported primarily for the purchase of agricultural produce in the period of interest. The amount imported was primarily determined by the volume and price of the main export crops. On the other hand, the re-export of specie, typically to intercontinental destinations (mainly to the UK), was for payments for imported goods, remittances made by the government, and also to transfer the redundant off-season funds back. In the later stages, with the arrival of the West African Currency Board, currencies were also exported to Britain when deemed to have been worn out or were being replaced with newly designed denominations. An inference to be drawn from this cyclical arrangement is that net imports (imports minus re-exports of these currencies) meant a retention of the currencies in the domestic economy. To a very large extent, their absorption/retention may symbolize a continued deepening of trade (increases in transactions) and an extension of the frontiers of monetization of the economy. We make this connection being fully conscious of the "quantity theory of money" which suggests that money supply multiplied by velocity of circulation will equate the levels of prices multiplied by the levels of transaction ($MV=PT$). In this

understanding, the level of transaction (T) in the economy is related to money supply (M), velocity of circulation (V) as well as the level of prices (P). Although the direction of effect in the above specified relationship is unclear, the increase and intensification of market transactions results in a higher demand for currency and the spate of monetized transactions translates into the need for an increased money supply. The net import could represent the money supply¹⁶² in the respective territories and at the regional scale. The level of prices is best denoted by the consumer price index over the period, which is not consistently available to allow for any attempt at establishing transactional levels. A related issue is how quickly money in circulation changes hands (velocity of money). Here, the suggestions from Mayhew (1995) in respect of 18th century England that rising velocity is by no means a normal and healthy development within an expanding and commercializing economy is duly noted. In fact, for pre-1880 West Africa, where diverse currencies prevailed from several sources and carrying alone the possibility of interchangeability in different contexts, the ethos of the quantity theory of money may have been less realized. However, in colonial West Africa, as noted previously, where there was largely a monetary regime for an extensive period, the effect of the money supply on transactions and economic growth may have received a more pronounced impetus. In fact, the growing supply of money facilitates the trend toward greater specialization of labor, increasing integration of the factors of production, and

¹⁶² We note that the provision of credit in forms other than cash has the propensity to increase money supply and affect the velocity of money as well.

greater net product, which are all associated with economic growth (Webb Jr, 1982). From this perspective, our interpretation is that much of the absorption of currency would be indicative of the flourishing nature of regional and local commerce and economy. This understanding leads us to re-examine the extent to which retained currencies negate or validate our assessed extent of internal trade. Prior to the re-examination, an attempt has been made to understand the dynamics of specie and bullion as currencies and presented in [Table 4.1](#) (page 384).

[Table 4.1](#) (page 384) presents a review of imports, re-exports and net imports (labelled as a 'balance') of currencies into the territories of BWA for the fifty years from 1880-1930 on both regional and territorial levels to reflect both the potential on inter- and intra-territorial trade. From the table, and in regard to Nigeria, whereas 1894 remained the only year in the pre-1900 period when exports markedly exceeded imports of specie, there was a net import of specie of £851,146. Crucially, these retained currencies also were not uniform in spread; they tended to follow the direction of trade in the hinterlands. Specifically, an estimated £200,000 stay within the coastal regions of Lagos with the remainder (about £650,000) suspected to have been fostering domestic trade further into the forested palm-growing areas and parts of the savanna interior¹⁶³. Further to the demonetization of the dollar and the decline of the cowrie, specie was imported into Nigeria on a large scale in the 1880s. Despite

¹⁶³ Colonial Office Correspondence, 31st July 1901, C.O.147/1560 -; about £55,010 was imported by the Colonial Government between 1889 and 1894.

these large importations, we understand from descriptive sources that shortages were common and frequent by the 1890s as monetization deepened at the expense of trade by barter. These shortages were partially occasioned by the arrival of several new firms, which traded on a purely cash basis, and partly by the growing demand for British silver in the interior of Nigeria, mainly through its trading ties with the Niger Region and Yorubalands, and other parts of what became known as Southern Nigeria¹⁶⁴. Granted that the relationship between the absorption of currency and domestic trade is sustained, this would imply that the thirteen years from 1900 up to the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 was phenomenal for domestic trade. In that time, examination of the trends in specie and currency trade suggest that the amount of retained currency simply remarkable. From the accumulated position of £851,146 in the last two decades of the 19th century, the subsequent thirteen years saw £3,656,885 in specie retained, reflecting a 430% increase in Nigeria. This expanded absorptive capacity for increasing currency can be appreciated when we recall that there had been a revolution in domestic transportation through the construction of railways and maintenance of roads which facilitated the unification of the markets of northern and southern Nigeria. In actual fact, from 1900 to the end of WWI in 1918, the imports of specie always exceeded exports, except in 1915, when exports exceeded imports by £675,814. It is understand that this blip conditioned by the repatriation of worn Victorian coins (Nigeria, *ACR*, 1919:5). In the five years from the administrative unification of Nigeria in 1914 to 1919, the absorption was rose

¹⁶⁴ According to the Colonial Office correspondence C.O.147/71; 1889 and 147/75; 1890.

exceptionally to £3,465,075, inclusive of currency notes. From 1920-1930, there were three instances of exports exceeding imports, in 1921, 1922 and 1930. Even with these episodes, the net retain currency was valued at £4,031,994. Considering that usable statistics on domestic long-distance trade from Nigeria were not readily obtained, especially from 1913, this phenomenal rate of increases in the absorption of currency in the post-unification and pre-Great Depression era has supportive implications for volume of long-distance domestic trade which influences our understanding of extent of estimated internal trade.

A similar situation for currency absorption prevailed in the Gold Coast between 1880-1919. During that period, a net import of £7,240,117 in species remained within the domestic economy; 87% of this occurring from 1900 to 1919. As seen from [Table 4.1](#) (page 384) the instances of excess exports over imports occurred in 1886, 1905, 1908, 1917 and 1918. The net exports for 1917 and 1918 was most likely the effect of the restrictions imposed on the import and export of commodities across the region during WWI. This occurrence in the Gold Coast, with no identical situation in Nigeria, reflects the difference in the effect of war-induced trading policies concerning cocoa and palm kernels in the Gold Coast and Nigeria respectively. The Steel-Maitland Committee¹⁶⁵ of 1916 recommended differential tariffs on palm kernels traded outside the empire, especially as the kernel-crushing industry in Britain emerged, to capture and retain palm produce markets from Germany. The acceptance of these

¹⁶⁵ Maitland Committee, (1916), *Report on Oils & Vegetable*, p. 22-24.

recommendations and active prosecution of the objectives resulted in a sustained trade of palm kernels that must have warranted the continued absorption of currencies in Nigeria, whereas cocoa exports from the Gold Coast were somewhat restrained during the war. However, from 1920-1930, the net absorption in Gold Coast was much higher than in the previous four decades and amounted to £7,563,306, as 1930 marked a period of excess exports over imports of specie. The trends in of currency retention in this period is equally be suggestive of the extent of increased trading transactions within the economy of the territory, which could not be revealed in the statistical analysis because they may not have been recorded.

Of all the territories, Sierra Leone displays an unusual trend for currency retention. However, and despite a consistent but comparatively smaller volumes of net exports from 1880-1903, followed by occasions of intermittent net exports between 1905 and 1920, the territory achieved a net import of species valued at £1,170,338 by 1930. Instructively, about 97% of this net import was recorded between the end of WWI and 1930. In Gambia, a total net import position amounting to £2,717,440 was recorded for the fifty years up to 1930. Although 1887, 1888, 1919 and 1924 experienced net export position, 75% of the net imports occurred between 1920 and 1930. The combined effect of this significant amount of currency absorption in 1920 and 1930 in both Sierra Leone and Gambia provides reinforcements for our estimates of internal trade given the marked absence of trade statistics in those territories. Collectively, a review of the retention of currency in these four territories

appears supportive of the revealed and estimated extent of internal trade for this period. In spite of the instances, as Wrangham (1999) recounts, where natives were seen to be using some of the coins for other purposes, such as ornaments and jewelry, gambling counters and washers for galvanized iron roofing, we take the view that the overwhelming majority of the absorbed currencies must have been used in aid of expanding domestic trade in conformity with the prospects of the quantity theory of money. At this point, attention is drawn to the potential connections between the absorbed currencies and the previous remarks of colonial administrators, as highlighted in Chapter Two, pertaining to reported significant levels of unrecorded and voluminous domestic trade within this period.

The statistical review for the entire BWA region suggests an overwhelming net import of specie over the long term, punctuated by four periods (1886, 1894, 1921 and 1930) in which re-exports markedly exceeded imports. Two of these occurred in the pre-1900 period; 1886 and 1894. Placing the species analysis in chronological phased trends in the internal trade is somewhat revealing. Whereas the last two decades of the 19th century accounted for 6% of total retained currencies, the period of 1900-1920 suggests a net retention rate of 56%. The effect of the depression must have been acute in 1930 and 1931 thus prompting net exports. Juxtaposing these currency developments and the revealed extent of internal trade along the same periodized patterns suggests a sense of correlation. The period 1900 to 1920 represents the high growth points of internal trade in BWA with the preceding twenty

years denoting a period of very slow and fluctuating growth. To a considerable extent, the revealed retention of currencies buttresses our expectation that the availability of statistics would have substantially influenced the revealed extent of internal trade.

From here, focus is turned to events of the decade immediately before the WWII. To provide a regionalized context and reinvigorate our understanding of the extent of internal trade, we have compiled statistics on the circulation of currency in BWA for this last decade. The author of the source document indicates that the increased nature of inter-territorial movements of coins and currency notes, partially reflecting a further monetary integration, made it impossible to ascertain the circulation of currency on a territorial level. Drawn from the compiled statistics, [Figure 4.1](#) (page 399) indicates a general upward trend in total currency circulation in BWA in the post-1930 era. At almost a stable rate from 1931 to 1935, circulation is seen to rise from 1936, with a peak at 1937 and a decline in 1938. The 1938 net export, was mainly due to the re-shipment of old coins withdrawn from circulation as a result of the introduction of the new issue of alloy coinage (Nigeria, *ACR*, 1938:52). The circulating currencies were composed of silver coins, alloy coins, nickel and bronze as well as currency notes. These currencies were also uneven within this period, although their rates of dominance seem to have been sustained over the period. Of the four currencies, alloy coins were overwhelmingly dominant, constituting approximately 72% of the currencies in circulation. This was followed by silver and currency notes, comprising 12% and 10% respectively. The revelation that British

silver coins constituted the second most widely used currency in the region suggests that the observation by Clausen (1944) that silver was almost extinct from the region by 1920s was inaccurate.

The review of currency in circulation in the entire BWA between 1930 and 1940, in a large measure, is suggestive and supportive of our estimate of internal trade, and may at least be maintained, if not increased. The obtainable impression suggests that the recorded decline in internal trade, even if it is not illusory, resulting from the absence of statistical records on internal trade, could not be a function of any negative changes that occurred regarding the circulation of currencies. In fact, the relative steadiness and increases in currencies in the inter-war period for both the entire region, coupled with the net retention and absorption of currencies (compared to the pre-war era) fortifies our suspicion that the extent of estimated internal trade will at least be maintained and that the revealed decline is the handiwork of the absence of statistics on domestic long- distance trade. Ultimately, combining the absorptive capacity for currency in the domestic economies of territories as well as at the regional level provides an important point of interpretation. The corresponding rise of trade and increases in currency circulation in the region partially, if not wholly, support our estimation of internal trade as they shed more light on the potential increases in the number of economic transactions that must have been missed by the data recorders. Importantly, a point of note is that a decline in currency absorption over the long term could easily have been interpreted to fit the quantity

theory of money expectation. In the revealed outcome of the increased absorption of currency, the reverse may hold sway.

4.1.3 Banking Services and Internal Trade

Respecting banking services, the key issue for this dissertation concerns their effect on the evaluated dynamics of both inter and intra-territorial long-distance trade in the region. As may be readily admitted, banking services play the role of easing credit and capital constrains for trading activities, while providing supportive services in the form of authorized transfers of payments between and amongst trading partners. In this context, it would be reasonable to suspect that the banking institutions that emerged would have provided opportunities for saving towards the mobilization of trading capital and/or offered credit in the form of loan advances as well as allied services to merchants and traders engaged in internal trade in the region. Based on this view, the question becomes whether or not these banks provided these services effectively.

The statistics are too scanty and unreliable to offer quantified insights into the effect of banking services. We note here that in terms of banking services and internal trade, there exist hardly any statistics to substantiate a quantitative and direct effect. This may not only be the outcome of the history of the banking services being largely European/intercontinental in focus but also the fact that banking records are usually treated with a high degree of confidentiality¹⁶⁶. In remedy of this situation, prevailing

¹⁶⁶ London Metropolitan Archives (LMC) hosts records on the Bank for British West Africa (BBWA). A visit to and further correspondence with LMC produced no record of indigenous regional merchants on the credit service

literature and administrative sources are employed to advance the argument of the observed role of these banks. In generic terms, the realizable impression suggests that the emergent banks were less than enthusiastic about delivering direct credit and capital to indigenous and regional merchants. Savings mobilization from natives was negligible for the reason that banks tended to be located mostly along the coast, while the majority of the indigenous people resided in the producing interior (Miracle, 1971). From the indigenous standpoint too, there was the real fear that unscrupulous bank officials may exercise indiscretion by divulging bank balances of savings to known relatives (Bauer, 1954). Even though some of the banking policies, such as savings and deposit limits, tended to exclude natives (Austin, 1993), bank officials pointed to the transactional cost in service administration and repayment challenges to justify their focus on the intercontinental trade (Miracle, 1971).

With regards to credit advances, a study has characterized West Africa's credit landscape during the colonial period as one dominated by outside suppliers (Austin, 1993). The implication is that credit provision was prevalent but provided largely by non-West Africans. These outsiders were mainly European and Levantine merchants as well as European banks. Much of this foreigner-supplied credit was not directly provided by the European banks to regional merchants, since these banks preferred rather to engage European and Levantine merchants, who were rivals in general to indigenous merchants (ibid:135) in the region. There is almost no

register. The closest to something of a customer list were samples of signatures and very little on dealings and background. See for example, 'signature book' CLC/B/207/MS28608/001 for 1901-1920 in the catalogue.

reason to suspect that that situation would have been any different for merchants who were particularly and specifically engaged in inter-territorial trade in the region. This lack of willingness to directly service the activities of natives and indigenous merchants induced some notable Africans to venture into formal banking services¹⁶⁷. The modus operandi of these foreign banks developed into a type of relay capitalization and credit advance system for trade in the region, especially those engaged in domestic long-distance trade. It tended to be the case that, as previously illustrated under the discussion of merchants and traders, the Europeans and Levantine merchants, in turn, offered credit advances mostly secured from European banks to their indigenous trading partners in the colonies. From here, a sense of the effect of the banking services on domestic long-distance trade can be observed. In fact, the full effect of this relayed easing of credit and capital constraints comes into full force when the phenomenon described as 'Gold Coasting' is brought into the equation. By 'Gold Coasting', reference is made to the process through which European capital and credit advances were used to finance trade in local foodstuffs and in petty retailing of imported goods (Bauer, 1954) by indigenous trading partners in the interior of the west coast. Thus the commodities offered on credit and financial advances by European merchants served to deepen both the credit and capital

¹⁶⁷ For a full discussion of these adventures, see Austin (1993, 135-136). In summary, the first attempt commenced in 1882 with the establishment of banks with branches in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone by Africanus Horton. These efforts were buried with the death of the promoter a year later. Again, Winifrid Tete-Ansa failed to sustain the operations of a bank in Nigeria and the Gold Coast around 1929. It is thought that the failure of these native attempts is mostly related to the circumstance of limited capital of the promoters, who then conspired to engage in practices deemed dangerous by customers and competitors. It was only in 1933 that associates in Nigeria formed the National Bank of Nigeria Limited, which was to become the first successful indigenous bank in British West Africa.

market by increasing potential money lenders (Miracle, 1971). Whereas 'Gold Coasting' was in itself a demonstration of indigenous response, its effect on domestic long-distance trade may be less obvious to the eye. However, we are inclined to suggest that a combination of relay capital and credit support, especially from the early 1900s, must have spurred on the growth of domestic long-distance trade with a ripple effect on the size of the regional economy. We have previously suggested that competitive commercial banking in the region emerged around 1899 with the arrival of the Bank of Nigeria leading to a series of events that culminated in the establishment of the West African Currency Board in 1912. Thus, competitive banking leading to a spread in coverage and services were chiefly a 20th century phenomenon. More instructively, our evaluation of domestic long-distance trade is seen to take a striking upward trajectory from 1900 to 1919. Accordingly, we are interested in highlighting this correlation being displayed in domestic long-distance trade.

However, and quite apart from access to credit and capital, there were other services which the banks offered directly in support of domestic trade. To substantiate the supportive role of the other services of the banks for domestic trade, we rely on commentary from colonial administrative reports. A key service the prevailing banks provided for domestic trade was the provision of currency exchange services and payment platforms. Whereas there are several sentiments in relation to these services, we intend to highlight just a few. A manager of the BBWA in 1912, in noting the dependence of trade on the amount of cash disbursed by the bank during the

produce season, observed that the most important increase in currency services was in the growth in dried fish trade (which was a commodity of internal long-distance trade in the Gold Coast). He stressed that the remittances received from these traders were consistently increasing on those of the previous years and suggested further improvements were expected (Ashanti, *ACR*, 1912:8). There are also similar comments that correlate the growth of domestic trade with the confidence the natives had in the operations of the bank in 1913 and 1914. From these observational accounts, there are indications that the natives had adopted the services of the bank for the furtherance of their trade through the payment systems offered. Thus, we argue that the maintenance of these banking services (credit through foreigners, currency exchanges and payment platforms to traders), must have appreciably lubricated the prosperity of domestic long-distance trade in this period.

As regards inter-territorial trade in the region, we refer to our previous discussion on the capital and credit mobilization arrangements as operated by the migrant merchants involved in the regional trade. We re-assert the fact that our statistical evaluation of inter-territorial trade in the region revealed a kola- and cattle-led trade. We have clarified that the Lebanese and Syrians engaged in regional inter-territorial trade were mostly beneficiaries of the credit services of the European banks. We suggested that most of these indigenous regional migrant merchants had capital of historical origins in the earlier decades prior to the 1880s and relied on the landlord system to access trading credit in their trading endeavors. Here, we are inclined to

reiterate the observation that too few banking records are available to allow for detailed statistical examination. However, and in every respect, the relationship between these regional indigenous merchants and emergent banks still requires some answers.

Therefore, we fall on documented observational accounts gleaned from administrative reports. Fortunately, we have instances where regional merchants were cited as using other banking services for the pursuit of their trading goals. A reading of the administrative report for Ashanti Protectorate provides ample guidance on the adoption of banking financial services for the pursuit of this long-distance trade. These administrative remarks are offered from 1911 to 1916. It is our view that a rehash of some of these observations will enhance the appreciation of the facilitating role served by the bank. As an instance, a bank official in 1912 noted that the “exchange of gold and dollar (currencies) nearly doubled that of the previous year. The supply has been well financed, and both cattle trade and native from the Northern Territories have taken advantage of these facilities.”(Ashanti, *ACR*, 1912:8) The report continued by stating, “Kola traders transacted considerable business through the bank’s Southern Nigeria branches.” In this account, there is the observance of both kola and cattle traders using the networked nature of BBWA to facilitate the regional trade in these commodities.

In the following year, the manager of BBWA commented favourably about the bank’s role in facilitating the increased provision of French five-franc and gold for the cattle

dealers. In terms of kola, the manager noted that “the kola dealers also find the Bank of increasing usefulness as they receive their remittance by draft on the Bank, from Nigeria.” (Ashanti, *ACR*, 1913:7) Similar trends in developments were reported for 1914, except that the bank bemoaned its inability to maintain a regular supply of French coins and gold required by the Hausa cattle traders in the early months of the war. There was however a re-assurance that a speedy resolution to that incident returned trade to its normal level (Ashanti, *ACR*, 1914:8). Commentary to the effect that the kola and cattle trade were increasing with the support of BBWA’s services were also repeated in 1915 and 1916.

The understanding from these observational standpoints is perceptive of the nature and forms of support internal trade received from the operating banks. In terms of both domestic long-distance and inter-territorial trade, the bank is seen to be supportive of its evolution. The crucial point of note is that the utilization of these service coincided with the highpoint of internal trade in the region (1900 to 1919). Even more telling is the observed used of words such as “doubled”, “increased”, “considerable” and “maintained” as well as “confidence” and “usefulness” in describing the outcome of BBWA’s relations with regional merchants and local traders. In retrospect, the adoption of remittance and draft services provided by the bank speaks of merchants’ attempts to avoid potential theft and other attendant risks in carrying currency over such long distances and across frontiers between territories.

The use of these services must have been supported by the expanding reach of the available banks in the region. As of 1912, BBWA operated branches located Accra, Cape Coast, Sekondi, Axim, Tarkwa, Saltpond, and Winneba, all along the coast, and in Tarkwa and Kumasi (in the forest belt) (Ashanti, *ACR*, 1912:8). We are interested in highlighting the fact that our discussion of sea-borne trade in kola noted the presence of regional merchants in almost all these Gold Coast locations. Furthermore, the increase in banking institutions (especially from 1917 with the entry of Barclays) and the spread of banking branches to many of the trading centers must have facilitated added willingness to adopt the services, even at a commission. In the inter-war period, banking increased and spread further into the interior with the establishment of new branches. A further extension of banking location is observed in the Gold Coast around 1939, especially as the Colonial Bank (Barclays Bank) had entered the market around 1917. Specifically, BBWA and Barclays Bank both had branches at Accra, Dunkwa, Koforidua, Kumasi, Sekondi, Takoradi, Tarkwa and Winneba. The BBWA branches had added branches in Keta (east of the River Volta) and Oda (in the forest interior) to the previous stations, and there were agencies at Obuasi and Bogosu (both in the forested zone) for BBWA and Barclays Bank respectively. In fact, these banking extensions occurred in two other territories, but not in Gambia, (Gambia, *ACR*, 1937:51) where BBWA still held a monopoly, attended by its operation of a Savings Bank for small depositors in 1937. As may be suspected, the spread of banking services was even greater for the 'home of banking' in BWA – Nigeria. Around 1933, BBWA and Barclays Bank, respectively, operated

twenty and nine branches established throughout Nigeria and the latter bank had a branch in the Cameroons territory under British Mandate. In addition to these foreign banks, some indigenously-owned institutions had sprung up to meet the increasing market demand for banking services. These banks were the Nigerian Mercantile Bank and the National Bank of Nigeria Limited, both of which were incorporated in Nigeria and had offices there. In this recount we have suggested that banking institutions increased and spread across the territory in response to demand.

4.1.4 Currency, Financial Development and Internal Trade

We have raised the fact that monetization of the local and regional economy was fully installed with the creation of the WACB and the appearance of the financial institutions in the post-1913 period. Prior to this, British silver had played a leading role in fostering exchanges alongside a declining use of other forms of currency, especially the Spanish dollar and cowries. We have argued that the timing of these currency and financial changes are associated with the observed patterns of internal trade. We attribute, in part, the observed upward trend in BWA trade from 1880-1900 to the predominance and penetration of silver. We associate the surge in intra-BWA trade from 1900-1919 with the increased use of more generally agreeable forms of currency and the spread of financial services across the region following the institution of the monetary union. We highlighted the indirect support from the banking sector to domestic long-distance trade through the use of foreign merchants. Instances of regional and local merchants and traders directly using payment

platforms and exchange services of the banks have been cited as evidence of the indigenous response to the emergence of financial institutions.

What we have not discussed is the potential effect of the currency and banking services on our revealed and estimated statistical analysis. There is a real tendency to interpret the effect of the absence of a regionalized currency in the pre-1900 era as negatively affecting the estimated extent of trade, due largely to the absence of a regionalized and or territorially dominant currency. In fact, this constraining effect would be uneven for both domestic and foreign trade in the region. Indeed, the many forms of currencies circulating in that era were not uniform geographically. Thus, whereas cowries were current in Ashanti in this period, European silver predominated the coastal areas of the Gold Coast. Similarly, whereas manillas were popular in southeastern Nigeria, their acceptability as a means of exchange in southwestern Nigeria was greatly questioned. In the most likely situation, domestic long-distance trade may appear to have been particularly and adversely affected as traders could only trade in agreeable and familiar forms of currency.

In spite of all these circumstances, we indicate that we are inclined to look hard at the actual operations of traders and trading transactions. When there was no coin money, and barter prevailed in the last two decades, trade was occurring. Thus, any bartered commodity means the obvious absence of records, as it does not show in official exchanges of European currency. From the early 1890s when British silver

became nimble across the region, trade was even more facilitated. The nature of long-distance trade, as mentioned, suggests that traders and merchants relied on local landlords, who mostly arranged credit and transport. These landlords would be expected to handle much of the currency exchange requirements, wherever the need arose. In this situation, it was rather the local merchants, landlord traders and middlemen traders, who bolstered the spread of currencies into the wider interior. Their proximity to the point of trade in the interior made them the most crucial vehicle for penetrating region with British silver as the currency. From this perspective, the overwhelming presence of silver in this period, on account of the industry of the traders and merchants, is revealing of the extent of trade estimated.

On the other hand, the introduction of 'agreeable' currency and the extension of administration into the interior in the post-1896 era can be expected to certainly redeem this situation and increase the value and volume of recorded trade. It therefore seems unsurprising that the post-1900 era, with the institution of the modern monetary system of currency and banking services, also witnessed remarkable increases in recorded internal trade for the first two decades. In terms of the inter-war period, it appears that the extensive and increasing absorption of currencies in circulation within the entire region and in territories is suggestive of bustling economic and commercial engagement, especially for domestic long-distance trade prior to the depression in 1929-1930. In between the depression and the Second World War, the observed steadiness of currency in circulation and the

spread of financial services, amidst an episode of epidemiological re-occurrences, as seen in rinderpest and the locust plague in 1935/1936, fosters our assumption that, at the very least, monetary innovation will sustain our estimated extent of internal trade. The decline in revealed trade results from the lack of records on domestic long-distance trade, partly as a function of local production of inter-territorially traded commodities and the limited focus on recording land-borne trade.

Ultimately, we interpret the adoption of currencies in circulation and financial services as an apt response of indigenous trading forces to innovations under western impact. Further, this swift response seems to have been largely unanticipated if consideration is given to the consultations that heralded the invention of the monetary innovation. A striking revelation was the non-consultation of any West African indigene in the officially constituted committees (Hopkins, 1970) that were meant to design the architecture in both 1899 (Barbour Committee) and 1912 (Emmott Committee). In effect, some European merchants and administrators invited to these committee meetings took turns to speculate on the likelihood of the indigenes to favourably respond to these proposed monetary changes. Many of these conjectures proved, over time, to be unwarranted. While some suggested it might take a hundred years to phase out cowries,¹⁶⁸ others characterized the natives

¹⁶⁸ The Barbour Committee (1899) meeting with between Sir George Taubman Goldie, speaking on behalf of the Royal Niger Company, provides an insight on what a prominent European thought of how natives would respond to any attempt to eliminate cowries by introducing coin money. This conversation ensued:

Committee: Do you think there is any insuperable difficulty in the way of the introduction of the coin money?

Witness: No, I do think it will be a very simple thing, only that it will take time. I do not think the cowrie will disappear for perhaps another 20 years – it might possibly be a hundred years.

as inordinately obstinate¹⁶⁹ and perpetually opposed to change. As it turned out, the cowrie had disappeared in less than 20 years and the natives had quickly adopted the new currency in circulation. Oddly, a reading of the minutes of the two committees indicates that it was rather some Europeans who were in opposition to the changes being considered, which can be noted through their continued clamour for the retention of the status quo. We indicate that we are alive to the potential question of why natives abandoned the centuries-old use of barter and cowries to adopt these currency and financial innovations. It seems that the predilection of indigenous trading forces to the monetary changes may be found in the advantages offered by currencies over the previous systems such as barter and cowries. By their nature, cowries were bulky and possessed an inherent cost of transportation for every additional mile travelled¹⁷⁰. The bulkiness and continuous travelling made them more prone to value deterioration and depreciation as breakages were bound to occur. Barter also had the challenges of receiving commensurate value for exchange and delayed consummation of transaction. In effect, local trading forces noted how less supportive these forms of currency had been. They must have recognized that the continuous use of cowries and barter in the hope of expanding economic gains, especially as trade was expanding, was counterproductive. To their potential benefit, the resultant currencies and financial arrangements held the

¹⁶⁹ At the Emmott Committee meeting in 1911, this discussion occurred between a member of the committee, Mr. Moore, and **Mr. Peterson**, representing the BBWA. Mr. Moore: Perhaps you can tell the committee how very difficult it is to get at the reason at the bottom of the black man's mind? **Mr. Peterson**: It is very difficult indeed, you do not know why. It simply just is so. Mr. Moore: And even with the more intelligent men you will not get an intelligible reason out of them in many cases. Well, I do not know that they know themselves.

¹⁷⁰ Lugard, 1899, *Minutes to Barbour Committee*. *ibid*

promise of the rare freedom to conveniently consume different and varied types of long-distance goods, especially as exports of cash crops continued to expand with commensurate improvements in income. Thus, the responsiveness of these local and regional trading forces to these changes is another illustration of the importance of economic incentives that nudge indigenous actors into a sense of efficiency for economic development.

4.2 TARIFFS AND TAXATION POLICIES

Tariffs and taxation policies are generally believed to have net effects on trade.¹⁷¹ Whereas tariffs are usually concerned with inter-territorial-bound trade, other forms of taxation may be instituted to induce or suppress trade in domestic economies. For a region like West Africa, with its political history of territorial dominance by the French¹⁷² and English, who held and practiced ideologically opposing stances regarding free trade, the potential effects of these two artificial barriers to trade may seem obvious. Our interest in the intra-territorial and cross-territorial trade in the region, means that we are unable to ignore the need to examine the potential explanatory role of tariff and taxation regimes to the observed patterns and extent of trade. Therefore, in this part of the dissertation, we present an evaluation of what the situation of tariff and taxation regimes would reveal about in internal trade for the period. We argue that the imposition of tariffs on certain regional commodities altered the course of trade evolution and partially explains the nature of the observed evolution of regional trade integration. From the perspective of BWA and FWA territories, as competing trading blocs, we will show that a traditional view suggesting trade was 'free' and unencumbered by tariffs within the British region is absolutely inaccurate, as imposition of tariffs within BWA against trade from member colonies successfully checked trade in commodities. By observing the coincidence of tariff and taxation policies vis-à-vis internal trade, we draw out the relationships. These

¹⁷¹ For discussion of the effect of tariffs on economic development, see Bairoch, P. (1972). For a discussion on tariffs and growth, see O'Rourke, K.H. (2000).

¹⁷² Using commercial statistics, Nye (1991) has argued that average French tariff levels were consistently below those of Britain for most of the 19th century.

relationships are supported and supplemented with the observational commentaries of officialdom. Tariffs are explored prior to discussion of the role of taxation.

4.2.1 Tariffs and Inter-Territorial Trade

From around 1885 onward in late 19th century, the recognizable political administrative spheres in West Africa were British West Africa, French West Africa, German West Africa¹⁷³ and Portuguese West Africa.¹⁷⁴ Noting the pre-eminence of both BWA and FWA in the internal trade of the region, [Figure 4.2 \(page 399\)](#) has been produced from statistical examination to highlight the extent of trade integration across both regions and within BWA.

The key understanding from [Figure 4.2 \(page 399\)](#) is the rapid decline of BWA trade with FWA territories in the pre-1900 period, followed by a steadier period of much lower inter-territorial trade through to 1940. Conversely, there is an uneven rise of intra-BWA trade, especially from 1895 to 1919. Intra-BWA pattern, in this case, is composed of both inter- and intra-territorial trade within and amongst territories of BWA. The rapid decline in inter-BWA and FWA trade, especially between 1885 and 1900, is a function of both differential tariff regimes and extension of administrative controls into the interior of BWA. Therefore, to further understand the exchange trends across these distinct political divides, the effects of the partitioning and the concomitant tariff impositions is discussed.

¹⁷³ Germany ceased to hold any territory in the region after WWI.

¹⁷⁴ We re-emphasize our point that this study is undertaken from the perspective of BWA trade statistics and therefore the evaluation reflects only BWA trade with all these other territories.

Broadly, the reasons for the partitioning of West Africa have been thoroughly debated with no consensus on a single-factor justification (Hargreaves, 1969). Aside from political and cultural reasons, some historians (for instance Hopkins, 1973; Gallagher & Robinson, 1953; C. W. Newbury and Kanya-Forstner, 1969) have rightly inferred and persuasively argued the role of economic motives in the eventual partitioning. From this standpoint, the timing and nature of the conquest by Europeans would be equally expected have broader implications for the prospects and direction of trade within and outside the region. This is not to suggest that European competition was new in the region. Rather, the border creation exercise was a new variation that probably presaged various complicated socio-political and economic consequences within and outside the region. It is speculated that the partitioning must have affected the evolution of internal trade mainly through two mechanisms. The first is the most obvious outcome of the conquest – the map creation and flag hoisting with attendant demarcated borders. The manifest effect of this is the extension and completion of colonial administration in the region. The extension took the form of penetration of the vast interiors of the colonies and territories of the region. The last two decades of the 19th century exemplified a phase of heightened territorial claims resulting in expanded spheres of influence for the contending Europeans in the region, Britain and France. In specific terms, Britain added Ashanti and Northern Territories (both in the Gold Coast) between 1896 and 1901, the interior of Sierra Leone as a Protectorate in 1896, as well as Northern

Nigeria¹⁷⁵ in 1900, having taken over from the Royal Niger Company, which had previously administered this area. France also captured most of its territories from the early 1880s (Port Novo in 1883) and added Timbuctu (presently in Mali) in 1893 prior to the successful federation of its territories in 1895¹⁷⁶.

As can be seen from [Figure 4.2 \(page 399\)](#), from around 1880 to just about when Joseph Chamberlain became Colonial Secretary in 1895, much of British West African regional trade was with French West Africa. Our statistical evaluation revealed that total BWA trade with FWA had declined from £3,672,862 (1880-1895) to £611,184 in the quinquennial that followed. This reflects a drastic change in the growth of annualized trade from £229,554 in the previous fifteen years to an annual increase of £122,237 in the five years to 1900. In a classic reversal of fortunes, intra-BWA trade, which averaged £100,206 annually from 1880-1895, achieved a decisive improvement with an annual increase of £277,232 in the remaining period of that decade. In proportionate terms, there was a 188% decline in trade with FWA while there was a 277% increase in intra-BWA trade from 1880-1900. Obviously, part of the explanation for the initial sustaining of inter-territorial trade with FWA, especially in the period of 1880-1895, must have been the almost complete hemming-in of BWA colonies by FWA colonies in terms of geography. However, to understand the

¹⁷⁵ It was not until 1903 that the Emirs of Kontogora, Kano and Sokoto (all in Northern Nigeria) eventually became part of British rule.

¹⁷⁶ Table 1, (in Chapter One, p28.) refers.

change in direction of trade, some other occurrences of the time seem equally important.

First, and by cursory observation, the coincidence of the timing of the emergent reversal of fortunes in 1895-1896 is too curious to be ignored. As previously intimated, the broader penetration of the interiors of West Africa seem to have intensified around 1895 to 1896; 1895 (for FWA) and 1896-1900 for BWA. The larger implication of this administrative change would obviously result in improved statistical capture capabilities of both colonizers. This was manifested with the creation of several inland toll points and customs frontiers that collected and collated trade records in the British sphere. The benefit of this increased statistical capability would be seen in the improvements in domestic trade statistics in both the 1895-1900 and post-1900 periods. Unsurprisingly, the recorded domestic long-distance trade of the previous five years from 1896-1900 (£122,979) was almost equal to the records of trade in the fifteen years before that (£140,139). Yet, a mere hoisting of flags and demarcation of borders as well as improved statistical capability cannot sufficiently explain away such a substantial shift in the direction of trade across the region. The remaining part of that explanation must be found elsewhere, and it is for this reason that we suspect the influence of differential tariffs, to which our attention is now turned.

The formalization and extension of colonial rule into the interior as well as the imposition of differentiated tariffs to meet the fiscal objectives of such administrative

expansions moved in tandem. By 1889, differential tariffs had been instituted in most French territories including Ivory Coast and Dahomey. Within the BWA, Sierra Leone increased customs rates in 1886 in advance of the eventual annexation of the interior a decade later (Rowe, Letter to Granville, December, 1886). Gambia undertook similar customs alterations in the same year to offset dependence on aid-in-grant from London.

In many respects, the differentiated tariffs amidst the demarcation of borders, must have had impacts on the direction of trade. At the close of the 19th century, and despite long periods of engagement, heavy differential tariffs rated at almost 15% ad valorem on goods of foreign origin prevailed in Senegal. However, the tariff situation in both the Ivory Coast and Dahomey bore a semblance with the rates prevailing in the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The emerging question therefore relates to what effect these tariff impositions that accompanied the scramble for territories had on internal trading. It seems that there is a correlation between the trading patterns and tariff policies.

The main anchor of BWA's trade with FWA in the pre-20th century period was both re-exports of goods of European origin and £241,071 worth of kola. A review of the re-export situation makes for interesting findings. Whereas intra-BWA re-exports had doubled from 5% to 11% between 1880 and 1895, re-exports to FWA had fallen from its pinnacle of 48% in 1885, having risen from 26% in 1880 to reach 28% in 1895. Despite this, by the end of this declining era in 1900, recorded trade indicates that

trade to and from French West African territories had remained the main driver of internal trade with a rate of 6% annually, double the size of intra-BWA trade.

As a point of interpretation, two possible reasons may be proffered for the declining trade with FWA. It is possible to suggest that the prevalence of differentiated tariffs across the region, with FWA traditionally imposing relatively higher rates in its largest markets, must have had a signaling effect. As was noted, it was not until somewhere around 1898 that most of FWA tariffs begun to draw closer to the BWA situation. Thus, the influence of the perception and signaling must have persisted for much of the period. Indeed, the signaling effect was rightly and accurately perceived by Captain Hay, the then acting Governor of Gambia (Hay, Memo to Knutsford, 1889)¹⁷⁷. Just a year later, the fears of Governor Hay were confirmed. (Herbert, Letter to F.O. 1890). Furthermore, and even more pertinently¹⁷⁸, is the suggested relationship of these differential tariffs in the penetration of the interior of West Africa. Newbury (1969) has extensively discussed¹⁷⁹ the tariff factor in partitioning to suggest that the imposition of tariffs in West African markets formed a major cog in the territorial demarcations, thus pointing to a fusion of both elements. To a considerable extent,

¹⁷⁷ In the memo he states “The French Government, whilst admitting our right to freedom of trade, will probably at once take advantage of their protectorate over (the Fouta Djallon) to impose prohibitory duties not only on British manufactures, but also on the products of the country which may be sent to this place from Foutah or which may have to pass through it, and in these circumstances we shall find the substance of our commercial interest with Foutah Djallon destroyed.”

¹⁷⁸ Hopkins (1973) suggested that the changing fortunes of both British and French trading companies may have conditioned the reorientation of the intercontinental trade in the region. However, in the context of internal trade integration, this is less persuasive as it seems to overlook the complexities of tariff and border creation.

¹⁷⁹ Newbury (1969) in ‘Tariff factor in West African Partition’ argues that tariff policy uncertainty between Britain and France coincided with decreased trade resulting in reduced revenues amidst the inclination not to further seek parliamentary grants (for BWA). The ensuing outcome was the extension further into the interior of West Africa to satisfy its trading needs.

the fusion between efforts at reforming the tariff situation and penetration into the interior seem fundamental. These tariff-infused territorial extensions led to the creation of new markets in the interior as the delimitation exercise progressed away from the exhausted frontiers along the coast. It tended to be that case that Britain emerged somewhat 'victorious' by securing potentially prosperous and populated areas in the region. The new areas of British rule predominated in population and emerged largely economically viable, thus benefiting directly from intercontinental trade engagement. These new areas appear to equally enjoy relatively close propinquity to the coast and thus benefited partially by offsetting the binding constraints of transportation cost for domestic long-distance trade. The combined outcome of tariff-infused interior extension and the associated favorable characteristics of the new British acquisitions must have contributed profoundly to the reorientation of the direction of trade within the region in this period and beyond. Thus, prevailing higher tariffs in FWA, in the face of more favourable interior markets in BWA areas, served to redirect trade inwards.

From the above, the suggestion by Newbury (1969:257) that tariff policies and colonial trade patterns are correlated is visible. In that study, it was argued that prior to 1890, British trade with its possessions on the coast was far less than its trade with non-British territories. This situation was reversed as the border creation exercise progressed. Newbury's observation has a striking similarity with the emerging findings of this study as seen from [Figure 4.2 \(page 399\)](#) and discussed above. The point of departure, however, is that this study shows that the change in

direction was not only towards intercontinental markets, but that these reorientations also occurred within the regionalized markets. It is readily admit that this reorientation of trade, especially in the 20th century, may not have been the effect of the differentiated tariffs alone. Other factors such as marked improvements in transportation, favourable intercontinental trade, improved capture of trade statistics, adoption of currency and financial innovations and the entrepreneurial acumen of local and regional trading forces account for some appreciable proportions of this seismic shift in the direction of trade in the post-1900 period. Nevertheless, the contribution of the differential tariff regimes, especially in the pre-1899 period, may not be easily dismissed. For the understanding of the effects of the differences in tariffs across the two politically differentiated territories, attention is now focused on BWA.

4.2.3 BWA Tariff Structure

The extension of administrative control into the interior of the territories of BWA entailed an ironic consequence. Whereas the extensions were partially predicated on protecting and promoting trade, the cost of maintaining these objectives require the full support of trade by way of tariff and taxation. With the establishment in London seemingly disinterested in territorial extensions (Hemming, Minutes on F.O to C.O, 1890)¹⁸⁰, and thus willing to give only limited financial support, local revenue mobilization assumed prominence. Tariffs on traded items, through customs duties, therefore become the cornerstone of revenue mobilization. In fact, across BWA

¹⁸⁰ This correspondence reveals some of the Colonial Office's misgivings about further interior penetration.

colonies, customs revenue produced a disproportionate share of total revenue practically from the late 19th century to the First World War and remained same for the interwar period (Clifford Committee, *Trade and Taxation Report*, 1922:9). The realization that customs duties constituted the lion's share of revenue implied the need for administrators to continually tend to the structure of tariffs in service of fiscal ends rather than commercial needs.

In general in the pre-1895 period, and in all BWA territories, tariffs tended to be more ad valorem in nature with some specific duties on selected commodities. With time and increasing need to forestall the perceived evasion of duties in order to meet increasing governmental commitments from around 1895, more specific duties were imposed across the territories. In some colonies, for instance Southern Nigeria, all commodities had been stripped of ad valorem duty status except cotton goods¹⁸¹ by 1911. Alongside these reforms, rates continued to be reviewed upward on both types of duties over time. There were increases in the rate of both ad valorem and specific duties in all other territories. In Sierra Leone, ad valorem duty, which was 7.5% in 1895, was suddenly revised to 10%, while specific duties had been raised from 3s per ton to 8s all in the year in which the interior was formally added to the colony in 1896. Indeed, prior to WWI, a uniform ad valorem rate of 10% prevailed in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, with Gambia charging 5% (Clifford Committee, *Trade and Taxation Report*, 1922:11). The delay in the alteration was fitfully

¹⁸¹ The exemption prevailed not as a protectionist measure but rather in the absence of agreement on operationalizing it according to Source: Memo. by Anderson, 8th Feb., 1911, with Egerton to Harcourt, 20th March, 1911, C.O. 520/1010 Egerton to Crewe, 16th Nov., 1909, C.O. 520/830.

accompanied by a continuous rationalization of the free list of articles exempted from import duty in all territories as exemplified by a reduction of the list from 97 to 33 in the Gold Coast (Gold Coast, *ACR*, 1898:17). As expected, the war conditions demanded that adjustments and revisions occur. *Ad valorem* duties remained rated at 10% from 1901 until end of WWI and reached 15% in 1922, having moved from 12.5% during the war, in 1916. By 1922, tariffs on goods and the variety of dutiable commodities had increased remarkably. Sierra Leone increased *ad valorem* charges to 15% in 1915 only to undertake a double review in 1921. Specifically, from January to July 1921, rates changed from 20% to 25%. In respect of Gambia, *ad valorem* rates reached 7.5% during the war, in 1916, while 10% was levied on cotton goods in 1920. This was also in the context that specific duties were increased on a regular and frequent basis in this period in all territories, with the largest increases affecting spirits (alcoholic beverages)¹⁸² and manufactured tobacco. Specific duties on motor spirits such as petrol were introduced in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone in 1921 as the importation of vehicles rose.

The rampant and somewhat rapid changes in the structure of import duties was incomparable to the situation of export duties across the region. To some extent, export duties were late in arriving on the scene, thus making import duties the main drivers of government revenue in period. Aside from Gambia, which had charged export duty on groundnuts since 1899, the remaining territories seem to have been

¹⁸² With some humanitarian protestations, the importation and sale of spirits was outlawed throughout the British West African Colonies in 1919, with conspicuous negative impacts on this source of revenue.

forced to introduce excise duties by the vagaries of WWI. Export duties on produce were first imposed in Nigeria and in the Gold Coast in October 1916, and in Sierra Leone in January 1918 (Clifford Committee, *Trade and Taxation Report*, 1922:31). These were followed by regular upward reviews. For instance, and as a proportion of accrued revenue, export duties averaged 30%, 25%, 20% and 15% of accrued revenue in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, respectively, in 1919 and 1920 (the year of unprecedented exports from the region). It may be reasonable to speculate that the late implementation of export duties was, in part, an attempt not to drive exports away into the adjoining FWA territories, which already had preferential duties for major export commodities, more especially as the situation regarding frontier and border controls were far from effective policing. The timing of the execution of export duties and the presence of improved transportation infrastructure in the form of railways into these producing areas may in itself be an added reason for the delayed pursuit of export duties. Based on this synoptic review, it may be seen that the fiscal intent of tariffs dictated its structure and composition within a framework anchored on the hallmarks of free trade. From this understanding, the emergent question naturally remains whether these structural and sometime rapid reforms of the tariff situation had any effect on the extent and pattern of trade within the BWA sub-region.

4.2.4. Tariffs and Intra-BWA trade

Writing from Gambia in the throes of the depression in 1931, Governor Hudson made an emotive reference to the guiding principle of British Imperial trade when he said,

“Free trade, as opposed to protection, is one of the main planks of His Majesty’s government (Hodgson, Letter to Passfield, 1931). In many respects, it remains fairly consistent to argue that trade within BWA was generally free in comparison to neighboring FWA. However, there are two important qualifications to this general impression between 1880 and 1940 in respect of the West Coast. The first qualification relates to the situation when the Royal Niger Company employed its charter granted in 1886 by the British government to impose a system of tariff regulations and licenses which restricted many other competitors from its operational area.¹⁸³ The Royal Niger Company levied, from 1897 onwards, a tax on the staple of trade of 15 per cent (Northern Nigeria, *ACR*, 1902:55). The second qualification is that, contrary to the espoused character of British Empire free trade, tariffs were imposed on exports from other British territories in the region. The occurrence of this event serves as a useful insight into the susceptibility of export expansion and an ample demonstration of the triumph of economic and fiscal survivability over empire solidarity in the face of abundant resources. The sub-section is dedicated to discussing these qualifications and observed effects.

The suggestion that sea-borne kola-led trade from the Gold Coast through Lagos to Northern Nigeria took place in the late 1890s has been previously advanced. According to our statistical analysis, imports of kola into Nigeria had seen phenomenal changes in the thirty years from 1880. Whereas recorded kola trade

¹⁸³For a full discussion of the situation see Pearson (1971). For the full effect of company tariffs on regional merchants see Agiri (1977), p.5. The British government withdrew the charter in 1899 and took over thereafter.

had only managed to increase from £1,392 to £1,702 from in 1880 to 1890, the trade had been sustained and revolutionized from 1892. In that year (1892), imports into Lagos were unprecedented and valued at £7,406. This was continually superseded and reached £34,060 in 1902. By 1910, recorded imports of kola into Lagos from the region were valued at £89,943, almost 4% of total imports for the Protectorate. In terms of volume, about 6,259,086.85 lbs had been imported in 1910 as against 1,912,858.001 lbs in 1902. Over 98.6% of these imports were from the Gold Coast. In the spirit of free trade and within the confines of empire solidarity, this must have been a good development as colonies were trading on their comparative strengths. However, in the first of a series of departures, the seeming unfettered movements of free trade were confronted just into the 20th century. Probably energized by the rising levels of imports vis-à-vis ongoing transportation development and abundant cultivable land in the forest belt, the government of Southern Nigeria imposed an import tariff of 2s per 100 lbs on imported kola 1904. Without due regard to protests from kola merchants, the import duty was revised upwards to 4s per 100 lbs in 1908 (Egerton, letter to Crewe, 1908). It was explained, in a rather flagrant manner, that the imposition and upward revision of the import duty was meant to induce the cultivation of the very variety of kola - *cola nitida*¹⁸⁴ - usually imported from the Gold Coast. Based on this reasoning, not only did the government not change its tariff position, it entered into a coordinated programme of overtly supporting the cultivation

¹⁸⁴ Agiri (1977) has exhaustively discussed the origins and spread of *cola nitida* in Southern Nigeria.

of the specified variety of kola. With a view to offering guided insight, an outline informed by Agiri (1977), is presented here. In putting its money where its mouth was, the government of Southern Nigeria, with some irony, secured *cola nitida* seedlings from the Gold Coast in 1903, immediately after the imposition of tariffs. Between 1904 and 1905, some 71,250 seedlings had been planted, with cultivation spreading from Ota and Agege areas to Abeokuta and beyond Ibadan between 1910 and 1918¹⁸⁵. Despite these efforts, imports into Nigeria continually rose, especially through the facilitating role of the railway that connected Lagos and Kano by 1912. It may be obvious by now that the government was embarking on a serious regional import substitution drive, mainly targeting a sister colony. In fact, Agiri (1977) argues that by 1917, the kola industry in Nigeria was producing commercial quantities for the local market. Part of the explanation for the delayed effect of the substitution policy through tariffs was that the new kola cultivation took approximately a decade to mature (Harrison, 1957). That same year (1917), Nigeria attempted to introduce non-tariff barriers in the form of kola packaging. On advice of the Customs Comptroller, the Governor issued directives that sought to indicate the acceptable quantities of packaged kola as well as loading of kola using the customs warehouse. Upon protest from merchants, the Gold Coast Government intervened and the perceived non-tariff barriers were removed. Although there were meagre supplies of

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

kola from Sierra Leone, competitive quantities begun to arrive in Nigeria also in 1917. In spite of the tariff barriers, imports of kola continued to rise well into the 1920s.

From the perspective of internal trade, the key question relates to the extent to which the tariff-infused regional import substitution policy was successful. In respect of this thesis, the main focus is to demonstrate the effect this tariff had on propelling the regionalized import substitution policy on both intra- and inter-territorial trade in the region. To effectively respond to this question, statistics on production, trade, and consumption of *cola nitida* and kola in general would be instrumental. The closest to useful available secondary statistics on production and trade are outlined in Agiri's work, which focused on the period up to 1920. Domestic trade statistics also have little to offer in the way of substantive support in this direction. Therefore, we are resigned to attempting an inferred estimation based on secondary knowledge and primary statistics collected on the importation of kola in to Nigeria. In pursuit of this, the volumes and value of imported kola have been compiled and are presented in [Table 4.3](#) (page 386).

[Table 4.3](#) (in page 386) provides an impression of the market situation for kola trade for sixteen years prior to the Second World War. The information outlined in the table is broadly grouped into imports and local production. The main origins of imports were the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, although there were some recorded infinitesimal imports from other sources, predominately from neighboring FWA territories. All imported values are taken and compiled from the *Blue Books* of Nigeria

for the stated years. The presentation of the import volumes is partially meant to illustrate the size of the local market in Nigeria, while the values have been included to gauge the average CIF price fluctuations for the imported kola. Trends of imported volumes rose throughout the decades to peak at approximately 8,535 tons in 1924. Between 1924 and 1928, there was an observed fluctuation and muted decline. In all these periods, the Gold Coast continued to be the main supplier with Sierra Leone gradually catching up. The effect of the 1929/1930 depression may be seen on the changes that occurred in both average CIF prices and the quantity of imports from 1929. Volumes declined from 6,267 tons in 1928 to as low as 55 tons in 1934. From there, a timid rise is seen until WWII. Instructively, Sierra Leone became the main supplier in 1931, after 67% of imports having been provided from the Gold Coast¹⁸⁶ in 1929.

To really understand the market for kola in Nigeria, we resort to our previous compilation of the volumes of kola railed in Nigeria as reported by the Nigerian Railway Authorities in [Table 3.2 \(in page 374\)](#). Our view is that the subtraction of the imported volumes of kola from the recorded railings of kola represents the volume of local production in Nigeria. The results of the subtraction have been described as the estimated local production in the [Table 4.3](#) (page 386). It remains an estimate because we are of the view that a sizeable volume of kola must have used motor

¹⁸⁶ The falling off of the Gold Coast kola trade was result of a redirection of trade toward other markets in and beyond the Northern Territory of the Gold Coast, such as Upper Volta and Mali, as demonstrated under the discussion of road transportation. The rise in land-borne trade from 1931 partly accounts for the decline in sea-borne kola, which landed in Lagos.

transport, which was not captured by the railway authority. The impression of the estimated local production is revealing of several issues. The first point of note is that by 1929, local production had successfully checked importation of kola. Bauer (1954) previously suggested that local production of kola, which was centred on Agege (near Lagos), had become sufficient to cause declines in imported volumes in the late 1920s. The effect of this assessment is that annually, between 1922 and 1937, about 8,759 tons of kola were produced locally in Nigeria. Unfortunately, local prices of kola are not readily available to help the conversion of locally-produced kola. For analytical purposes, we are inclined to assume that this local production was imported and thus apply the calculated average CIF price. The motivation is to gauge the value of domestic long-distance trade. The estimation resulted in relatively higher values of locally-produced and traded kola. For over almost a decade from 1929, the value and volume of local kola production was much higher than recorded imports from other West African territories. The production was largely undertaken in the forest regions and transported into mainly the savanna zones of Northern Nigeria. By the inter-war period, as demonstrated previously, roads and motor vehicles had become common and accessible. There was ease in trading transactions considering the rate of currency absorption in Nigeria. The population continued to grow. The effect of global economic turbulence in the first half of the 1930s may not have been very strong on the consumption of local kola, since the cost of transportation and deterioration of nuts would be markedly reduced as compared with imported kola. Whereas the cost of imported kola included an export

duty of £4.13.4 (in Sierra Leone), ocean freight of £6.15 and £3.10 in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, and suffered an import tariff of £14 from all sources as well as harbor charges¹⁸⁷, locally produced kola was exempted. The only visible costs to be borne were transportation and loading. In the face of these trade tariff and non-tariff barriers, it seems plausible to speculate that kola merchants, who were themselves mostly Nigerians, would substitute locally produced kola for regional imports, especially as production tended to increase to assure supply over time. Only supplementary imports were to be entertained. The nature of kola as a cultivated plant also suggest that it continued to bear fruits over the long term and therefore, once cultivated, will produce even more with improved farm management techniques. Considering that by 1964 about 54,000 tons of kola reached the northern parts from Southern Nigeria (Hopkins, 1973:248), it could be argued that our estimates are rather conservative.

The recount of these development is meant to illustrate the depth of the market for kola in Nigeria. From the [Table 4.3](#) (page 386), we have illustrated that by 1929, local production had successfully edged out imported kola in Nigeria. A review¹⁸⁸ of the import duties on kola suggests that it had moved from 10s. per 100 lbs in 1915 to 12s.6d per 100 lbs in 1920. This rate prevailed to the eve of WWII in 1937. Around the same inter-war period, kola was subject to an excise duty of approximately £4.13s in both the Gold Coast (from 1921) and Sierra Leone (from 1918). The

¹⁸⁷ See GH/PRAAD (Kumasi), ARG/12/36: p.12.

¹⁸⁸ *Blue Books*, Nigeria, 1915, 1920-1937.

inverse relationship between tariff hikes, from 2s per 100 lbs in 1904 to 12s.6d per 100lbs in 1937, and general declining imports with the corresponding increase in local production of kola prompts us to make certain inferences. It seems that importers, in this period, began to feel the full effect of the imposition of tariffs. With increased production and improved transportation, importation of kola through Lagos began to fall off around 1927 was overtaken by local production in 1929. The rise in local production meant that kola merchants who were mostly of Nigerian extraction had more reason to look inward, with limited complementary supplies from outside. The policy intent conceived in 1902, had been actualized after almost two decades. The government confirmed this situation when it boasted that “a few years ago the nuts consumed in Nigeria were all imported from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. Kola planting was, however, advocated and stimulated by the Agricultural Department in the south-western part of Nigeria some years ago, and now, so far as can be ascertained, the local production supplies more than half the Nigerian demand” (Nigeria, *ACR*, 1938:42-43). As an assurance of production, ongoing extensions of planting into other parts of Southern Nigeria were cited. Officials stated that “there is every reason to believe that it will eventually become very considerable, for this is one of the few crops that seems to thrive even on the very poor soil that covers the major part of those provinces” (ibid).

At this stage favourable ecological and environmental factor conditions, vigorous protection and promotion of the kola industry with the tariff and the improvements in transportation had conspired to occasion regional import substitution in the largest

market. Thus, to an extent, the import substitution policy in respect of kola succeeded in checking the inter-territorial trade of kola and rather bolstered domestic long-distance trade between the forest areas of Southern Nigeria and the savanna belt in the northern regions of Nigeria. Seen from this point, there are potential implications of this situation for our understanding of the revealed and estimated extent of internal trade in the region to which we shall return shortly.

4.2.5 Diverse Responses to Import Substitutions in Nigeria Markets

The effective substitution of imports of kola were not evenly felt in both Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. This diversity in effects enlisted correspondingly different responses from the then main suppliers. An insight into the reaction of both merchants and officialdom, especially with respect to tariffs is hereby provided.

4.2.5.a The Gold Coast: tariffs, kola and cocoa

In the inter-war period, kola trading towards the Nigerian market through the sea borne route was beginning to wane. Indeed, the continued fall of the sea-borne trade from around 1924 gave cause for concern within the Gold Coast Government. To fully understand the situation, investigations were launched in 1928-1929¹⁸⁹ and 1930¹⁹⁰. A key revelation was the re-emergence of the northbound land-borne trade as the leading medium of kola trade. By implication, the response of merchants in the Gold Coast to the market saturation in Nigeria was to redirect the trading routes to land-borne routes and access markets which had relative proximity to the main

¹⁸⁹ This survey was undertaken on the kola producing areas of Western Ashanti.

¹⁹⁰ This was carried out in eastern areas of Ashanti and also offered a general overview of the Gold Coast Kola Industry.

producing areas in the territory. For a government, probably caught in the distress of an unfolding depression, this was an avenue to boost the fiscal situation. The result was a proposed imposition of export duty on overland kola. In September 1931, correspondence conveying the Secretary of State's approval of sixpence (6 pence) on every twenty (20) pound weight of land-borne kola exported from Ashanti to and through the Northern Territories was announced and circulated. This was after kola was levied at 1/2d. per pound in 1922.

However, doubts and concerns suddenly emerged on whether the imposed taxes were being effectively collected considering the limited nature of the returns being made. Pointing to hear-say stories on smuggling in 1931, an out-going Commissioner, Mr. Duncan Johnston of Northern Territories, suggested that owing to the limited staff strength at the frontiers, much of the land-borne trade must be evading the tax. As consequence, a series of letters eventually led to the request for export duty returns on kola from all existing stations in January 1932. This was subsequently followed by designation of approved trading routes for kola leaving Ashanti by road and heading northwards in February 1932. As an added remedy, charges were to be levied while goods were about to board the ferries¹⁹¹ across the Volta River (Rake, Letter to Colonial Secretary, 1932). Thus by 1931, export duties had been instated for kola on land with 'approved' trading routes firmly in place. Coincidentally, the only down-turn in overland trade occurred in 1931. Within the

¹⁹¹The records as presented in Fig.3.3 (p.207) indicated that the overland kola trade that continued from Ashanti was sustained between 1924 and 1939.

same period, authorities in the adjoining markets in French territories, hiked up their charges on imports from non-FWA territories, probably having observed the increasing imports of overland kola, (Acting Commissioner, Letter to Chief Commissioner, 1932)¹⁹². As an instance and on a specific note, in 1929, a much higher import duty of £2.6 pence per lb prevailed in the French territory of Upper Volta (currently Burkina Faso) (Colonial Secretary, Letter to Chief Commissioner, Ashanti, 1932). While desirable consistent data on tariffs in FWA cannot be presented to allow for the tracking of changes, there is no reason to suspect a reduction in this tariff in the ensuing years. Amidst all these tariff escalations, and if official reports are to be taken into serious account, a locust plague and famine also occurred in these FWA markets (ibid). That trade rebounded immediately after these tariff upswings is suggestive only of the potential immediate signaling effect of the tariff announcement. The real effect must have fused with the epidemiological conditions and produced a depression in trade as seen in [Figure 3.3 \(on page 397\)](#). Recalling that global market prices for groundnuts, the main export commodities from these FWA colonies, had negatively affected by 1931 would also suggest a reduced role for the tariffs. Thus, the potential effect of the excise tariffs must have been immediate, short-lived and bearable on the trade over the long term from 1930 to the Second World War.

¹⁹² Letter Number, 3399/319/21.

It may seem clear that trading forces re-oriented the direction of trade to other FWA territories within its reach as local production gained market control in Nigeria. This is curious considering that there were higher tariffs in these FWA markets, reflecting the pursuit of an import substitution policy as the Ivory Coast, a member of FWA, equally produced kola. Squeezed by economic conditions, the Gold Coast Government also pursued revenue-seeking measures on the trade of kola. As the overland trade rose and was sustained in the interwar period amidst these tariff walls, maritime export of kola, as seen in [Figure 3.3 \(on page 397\)](#), struggled. By no means is this a suggestion that the re-birth of the land route was the direct cause the decline. Rather, it may seem that this was the effect of the changes that occurred in the sea-borne route market. In fact, the general health of the kola production industry in the Gold Coast seemed to be experiencing a malaise with symptoms showing up in reduced outputs. A comparison of the tonnage of exports over a period is supportive of this view. Whereas exported outputs for 1923-1924 was 9,743 tons, this traded volume had declined to 1,768 tons as of 1929-1930, never to regain its boisterous stature of old. The emergent question would be what forces conditioned the state of the kola industry in 1930s in the Gold Coast. The depression in incomes of consuming markets, in the face of increasing tariffs and succeeding import substitutions, may interlock and have an effect. The full effect of these discomforts may be seen in a shift of producers to other commodities of reasonable higher value. It may be important to signal the fact that a substitutable commodity, cocoa, of intercontinental prominence was incidentally 'taking-off' according to Austin, (2014b).

Both kola and cocoa were forest products brought within the reach of effective demand due to improved transportation. It would not be out of place to speculate that the attraction of the cocoa boom, especially in the non-Ashanti areas, which are thought to have taken off in 1930s, must have somewhat checked the desire to continue to produce kola (Mile, *Cola Survey*, 1931). After all, both crops shared similar agronomic characteristics and thus allowed transferability of inputs and skills. At this time, tariff-facilitating import substitution policies were dictating market terms for kola in Nigeria. The southern-most portions of the forest zone, south of the Ashanti territory in the Gold Coast, which could also produce cocoa, were those that were most likely to also actively adopt sea-borne trade. Therefore, the farmers who were far removed from the then relatively profitable markets of the Northern Territories and beyond, unlike those in and around Ashanti, reserved the inalienable economic right to adopt cocoa for exploitation¹⁹³.

4.2.5.b Sierra Leone Kola Trade and Tariff

We reiterate the fact that in terms of tariffs and trade commodities, kola produced and traded in the region was targeted and taxed. Under the section on merchants and transportation, offered insights into the journey of the kola-led trade from Sierra Leone was offered. [Table 4.4 \(page 387\)](#) was presented to demonstrate both the effects of tariffs in the general dynamics of exports of kola from Sierra Leone. Export statistics for major markets in BWA as well as FWA (Senegal and French Guinea)

¹⁹³ It would be interesting indeed to research into the shifting fortunes of both cocoa and kola in the forest belts in the region to determine the driving considerations for these suspected influences. This may explain how ecology and economics combined to make kola effectively less known and leave cocoa to reign.

have been compiled. Under the impetus of the Lebanese, the market was diversified to include Nigeria just before the end of WWI. Therefore, the BWA figures presented here include exports to both Nigeria and Gambia as the main markets.

The image formed from the Table 4.4 (page 387) is one in which trade within the BWA region is consistently higher from 1920 to 1937. Not only did exports to FWA lose the lead from 1919, they witnessed fluctuating declines of huge proportions. The only revival comparable to the pre-1919 exports occurred in what must have been the bumper harvest year for kola in 1927. Whereas exports in 1930 to FWA were less than 20% of the situation immediately after the war, exports into BWA markets had achieved an almost 150% increment in the same period. The implication was that trade towards FWA was losing ground, and rapidly too. The key issue of interest is to plausibly explain the changing fortunes of trade with FWA in terms of the kola export and how that informs us of the extent of internal trade. A review of the available information allows us to associate the changing patterns to the presence and differences in tariffs in these two blocs of markets. As illustrated in [Table 4.4 \(page 387\)](#) there had been a downward trend in the FWA-bound kola trade from BWA. The trend can be seen as a reflection of the regional import substitution policy of the FWA government. From the export situation, it dawned on the government in Sierra Leone around 1929 that their access to Senegal kola market was heavily under siege from imports from Grand Bassam¹⁹⁴ (currently in the Ivory

¹⁹⁴ Unfortunately, we are unable to present intra-FWA trade statistics in this dissertation.

Coast), and that trade in that direction was bound to be extremely devitalized, even if it survived the onslaught (Sierra Leone, *Trade Report*, 1929:10). This policy of substituting imports for 'local' production of kola was manifest and willfully backed by the use of tariffs. In periods prior to 1929, the protective cover of tariffs rose, especially in the largest market of Senegal, to the detriment and benefit of non-FWA and FWA members, respectively (ibid). By 1932, import duty charged on kola from non-French territory was rated at 295 francs per 110 lbs. On the other hand, Senegal charged an import duty of 35 francs per 110 lbs on FWA-originating kola. The rate for 1932 was thought to be a result of a further increase from 50 francs in preceding years (Colonial Office, *Condition of Kola Trade*, 1932). Coincidentally, by 1932, export of kola from Grand Bassam into Senegal was subject to 15 francs per 110 lbs (ibid). Export duties leviable on kola in all FWA territories were 30 francs per 100 kilos. Net (Clifford Committee, *Trade and Taxation*, 1922:71). The impression is that there seems to have been, in a spiraling order, an inverse relationship between the tariff rate for goods emanating from BWA and FWA territories into the Senegal market. In effect, import duty on kola from Grand Bassam was almost 12% of the rate charged on same commodity of equal weight from nearby Sierra Leone. Considering this arrangement may indicate that anchoring and diversion of trade to BWA had become firmly entrenched, especially when demand could be assured and transport costs could be accommodated. In fact, as [Table 4.4 \(page 387\)](#) illustrates, trade remained anchored in the BWA for almost the entire inter-war period. To a large extent, the tariff-facilitating import substitution policy had contributed by

diverting trade and reducing effective markets in FWA for kola produced in Sierra Leone.

It is also crucial to recall that in terms of tariffs, BWA markets were not homogenous in spite of the passage of the Ottawa Agreement in 1932, which granted preference to members of the empire. Additionally, for reasons of physical separation and transportation costs to trade, exports into BWA ought to be disaggregated. Since we have previously constructed [Table 4.4 \(page 387\)](#), we are able to extract the exports to the Nigeria market to deduce trade designated for Gambia in BWA¹⁹⁵. Of the exports to BWA in 1929 and 1930, approximately 70-74% were imported into Nigeria, having been 37% in 1923. Clearly there is shift in trade towards the Nigeria market from 1924 until 1933, when it constituted 47%. A sharper decline occurred in the succeeding four years with exports to Nigeria averaging 6%, sometimes as low as 1%. In part, the effect of tariffs within the BWA market sphere can be observed. By 1922, the import duty on kola levied in Gambia had reached 4d per lb, having been 3d per lb the previous year (Colonial Office, *Condition of Kola Trade*, 1932). As already mentioned, import duty on kola remained stable at 12s. 6d. per 100 lbs in Nigeria with a tariff levied on imports into Gambia rated at £1.16s.8d per 110 lbs in 1931 (we shall return to an insightful discussion on this rate shortly). The marked difference in tariffs between Nigeria and Gambia must have profoundly contributed in diverting the kola trade back to Gambia after 1933, especially following the

¹⁹⁵ Export statistics in Sierra Leone *Blue Books* were lumped together under "British Possessions in West Africa".

depression in 1929. As the demand markets were instituting tariffs on imported kola, the Sierra Leonean government, also for fiscal reasons, charged an export duty of 4s.7d per 110 lbs. In many respects, these frequent and somewhat substantial changes in tariffs hold some explanatory power in the direction of kola trade and are suggestive of the understanding pertaining to evolution of internal trade. At one level and from decades of practice, the proximity of Sierra Leone and French Guinea meant that the markets in Guinea were accessible by land-borne trade. The improvements in roads connecting the two territories suggest that land-borne trade would increase. A look at [Table 4.4 \(page 387\)](#) reveals a resurgence of kola trade with FWA from 1934. This resurging trade will eventually regain market leadership from BWA markets in 1938. Unfortunately, the recorded data does not allow disaggregation to know the destination within FWA. However, given the historically higher tariffs in Senegal and the proximity of French Guinea to Sierra Leone, facilitated by land-borne means of transport, there is some basis to speculate that that trade would be re-routed towards French Guinea. That would have been mostly through land-borne trade. The implication is that much of this land-borne trade with French Guinea, especially in the interwar period replete with tariff walls, may not have been captured. Improvements in capture may only have occurred with the pressing need for more revenue in the challenging times of the 1930s. Conversely, the accessibility by land-borne means and tariff regulations had the tendency to motivate traders towards smuggling, as signaled by Governor Hudson in respect of Gambia and Senegal kola trade in 1932. The potential for both smuggling and the

limited capture of land-borne trade brings to live our expectation and estimation of internal long-distance trade.

4.2.6. Empire Solidarity Questioned

The imposition of import duties rated at £1.16s.8d per 110 lbs in 1931 on kola bound for Gambia was seen in bad taste by the authorities in Sierra Leone. They must have increasingly felt the squeeze in the market both in Gambia and FWA markets. Therefore, efforts commenced towards fighting back what was then thought of, at least by the government of Sierra Leone, as an anomaly. To address the hike in FWA import levies, a private letter hinting at possible reciprocity, was sent to London to seek a resolution with the French government (Hudson, letter to Passfield, May, 1931). Further to that, and probably believing that Gambia was a smaller and a sister colony, Governor Hudson dispatched a letter to Gambia seeking either an abolition or reduction of the tariff on kola from Sierra Leone. The reply from Governor Palmer of Gambia must have surprised his colleagues on the other side. In his response, it was made clear that Gambia was in no position to give up any of the £24,000 estimated (about 13.6% of anticipated revenue for the year) import levy revenue on kola then, especially as Sierra Leone itself was charging an export duty on the same commodity. Additionally, Gambia viewed kola as a luxury commodity whose consumption did not depend on price but on prosperity. In receipt of this feedback, Sierra Leone administrators knew better than to re-approach Gambia directly and thus sought the intervention of the convening power of the Colonial Office in London. In the correspondence to London, an important argument was raised. Sierra Leone

admitted that the execution of the levy would lead to a loss of trade and revenue. However, they argued that Gambia will equally have to contend with smuggling from neighboring Senegal or imports from Grand Bassam at a rate much nearer the Senegal rate of 35 Francs than the existing rate of £1.16s.8d levied on kola from Sierra Leone. The broader interpretation was that no one could emerge a clear winner in this tariff dispute. The intervention of the Colonial Office through Mr. Fiddian did not yield recognizable results. In response to the recommendation from Mr. Fiddian, Governor Hudson of Sierra Leone in December 1932 was emphatic when he stated, "On the assumption that the Government of Gambia could not afford to reduce the import duty, a reduction of the comparatively small Sierra Leone export duty would not materially assist the trade" (Hudson, letter to Fiddian, Dec, 1932). The emerging and sudden contestation on tariffs on kola in Gambia seems strange in the regional and historical context. From the historical viewpoint, tariffs on kola in Gambia were not new and had existed since 1888. In fact, the administrative reports confirm that "there has been no alteration in the tariff during the year, but the additional duty of a farthing a pound on kola nuts, first imposed in 1888 for one year, and continued then for another year, was made permanent by Ordinance No. 5 of 1890." (Gambia, *ACR*, 1890:3) Seen from here, the kola tariff in Gambia was even older than the import duty in Nigeria, which commenced in 1902. From the later part of the last two decades of the 19th century to 1930, Gambia had been the market for Sierra Leone kola without any record of an attempt to negotiate tariffs. However, in the 1930s, there was a real need to engage the tariff issue. It seems that the tariff

barriers in Senegal and Nigeria around the same time had had a huge effect on the fiscal situation and the health of the kola industry in Sierra Leone and therefore desperate actions were required. Secondly, it is instructive that there were no similar efforts towards reviewing the import duty hikes in Nigeria around the same time. Additionally, the Gold Coast remained largely accommodating of the tariffs on kola without needing to seek intervention. It appears that Sierra Leone viewed the tariff imposition as hugely detrimental to its trade and revenue in the period of the depression. The authorities must really have feared smuggling and the possibility of economically induced upheaval, especially as production continued. As a strategy to seek markets for the industry, given the continued production of kola, letters were dispatched to the Colonial Office seeking information on the prospects of developing trade in kola with Europe¹⁹⁶.

The occurrence of these exchanges on tariffs is revealing of a number of key points. The first is the revenue-enhancing orientation of tariff imposition in BWA. That Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast continued to tax kola even as demand markets imposed levies speaks volumes of the financial and fiscal value of tariffs to the colonies at the time. The resultant effect of this position is even more significant. In many ways, it is illustrative of the triumph of economic survivability over empire trade solidarity anchored on the ideological principles of free-trade. It reflects the reality that when

¹⁹⁶ Subsequent letters were sent to British Foreign Offices in Europe for *Annual Colonial Report*. The response from Germany indicated a steady market for kola which was used in the manufacture of medicinal wines, malt extracts, chocolates and baby foods. The *Annual Colonial Report* attach a list of German manufacturers who used kola. The very outcome of these overtures still remains unclear, as kola exports to Europe appear not to have happened.

push comes to shove, economics trumps socio-cultural ties even within the same 'household'.

4.2.7 Tariff-facilitating Import Substitution Policy and Statistical Estimation

In this section we have demonstrated that a leading regional commodity was subject to tariffs that produced substitutive effects. The two main markets for kola were in the FWA and BWA sub-regions of West Africa. Within the main BWA market in Nigeria, in addition to direct policy support, tariffs had inspired the local production of kola to effectively reduce imports from other BWA producing areas. Ultimately, this led to the decline in inter-territorial trade within the sub-region. Our statistical analysis displays a rapid decline of internal trade from the interwar period. Incidentally, local kola production in the forest belts of Nigeria was believed to have substantially checked imports around the same time. We reiterate our conception of domestic long-distance trade as trade that united distinct local economies. The success of the import substitution policy in Nigeria is a unique example of a trade that unified local economies in a single political territory. Kola produced in Southern Nigeria was traded over long distances into the savanna interiors of the north. Roads and railways had been instrumental in this economic unity. Prevalence of an 'agreeable' and flexible medium of exchange had played a crucial role. Thus, in effect, what was lost as inter-territorial trade within BWA was still gained in the form of intra-territorial trade in the BWA market. The net effect was that internal trade of a leading commodity would, at least, be sustained at the pre-war levels. Unfortunately, there are no consistent and reliable statistics to back the extent of local production and

trade in Nigeria to substantiate our evaluation. We have only attempted to provide a sense of the market at a more conservative rate devoid of kola transported by motor transport within Nigeria.

On the other side of the inter-territorial trade with FWA, the import substitution policy of the FWA regime is believed to have effectively and drastically reduced inter-BWA-FWA kola trade. The rise of the kola trade from Grand Bassam signified the fall of the kola trade from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. Here too, the net effect was that kola trade in the entire West Africa would be sustained and probably increased in the inter-war years. It has been indicated that this study is undertaken from the perspective of BWA statistics and thus are unable to provide intra-FWA trade statistics to augment the revealed and estimated extent of trade. However, available secondary evidence from even primary sources are indicative of the successful outcome of the import substitution policies of the FWA regime. In the end, events within FWA suggest that intra-FWA trade must have, at least, been sustained between 1920 and 1940. That dimension also complements our understanding of the effect of the domestic long-distance trade in kola that ensued in the inter-war period. Like a vehicle crossing against the course of a river, the tariff-induced import substitution policies (ISP) practiced within both governments in both FWA and BWA had simply disturbed and disrupted the flow. That moment of crossing was the inter-war period. The splashed water was the disruption of the statistics collecting framework, which was predominantly predisposed to inter-territorial trade. On its safe and successful crossing, as in the case of ISP pursuits in the region, the course

and level of water would be expected to return to the pre-crossing period. Indeed, the sheer absence of statistics is troubling, but only to an extent. In addition, the corresponding changes in the direction of trade, largely enforced by differences in tariffs, is suggestive of the immediate outcome revealed by the statistical evaluation. Taken together, the conditions that prevailed in respect of tariffs in the period leads us to the expectation that the extent of internal trade in the region in the sixty years prior to the Second World War will be sustained.

4.2.8 Regional Import Substitution and De-regionalization

In the session immediately preceding this, an interpretation of the role of tariff regimes and the corresponding responses of trading forces was offered. The aim has been to analyze West Africa's integration through the examination of its trade. Nonetheless, it seems important to relate it to another aspect of global integration policies, namely the import substitution policies. The imperial policy context of such an import substitution policy was the overarching need for colonies to vigorously mobilize revenue for local administration as the metropole economy was less willing and able to send financial support to the colonies. Traditional literature has tended to situate import substitution policies in the context of the 'core' and the 'peripheral' economies. Specifically, the core of the contention has been that imperfect market mechanisms make it difficult for the peripheral developing economies to 'take off'. The continued increases in tariffs and the coordinated efforts at developing local industry in Nigeria from 1903 marked a typical path of industrial policy towards disintegration. The occurrence of similar processes in FWA is another demonstration

towards de-regionalization. Our interpretation here is that these forms of import substitution policies need to be interpreted differently, given that they tend to have the effect of disintegrating regional and local economies. On one level, these periphery-periphery import substitution policies signal, and actually involve, disengagement with regional integration. However, a closer examination would suggest that these policies could strengthen linkages of local and regional economies in other ways. The outcome of such regional import substitution policies, as illustrated by the Nigerian case, is the invigoration and deepening of local, and potentially regional, markets. As a consequence, an elaborate pattern of trade, in which indigenous forces were fully at work, emerged to link ecological zones within and across the frontiers of political territories. Equally important is that these policies facilitated the exploitation of socio-ecological knowledge and perceptions of indigenous actors for economic development potentiality through the most abundant resource endowment. Indeed, it can be argued, especially reading from the work Agiri (1977), that the expansion of new varieties of kola to new producing areas in that colony were following pre-colonial patterns where regional and local actors had previously experimented the potential of the ecology to sustain the cultivation of kola.

4.2.9 Taxation and Internal Trade

As may have been noted, our discussion on tariffs tended, not unnaturally, to center on inter-territorial trade commodities. This attempted to illustrate how the extent and patterns of goods traded across territories, mostly by sea, were shaped with their imposition. In this section, we focus on the types of taxes that were targeted towards

commodities and trading efforts over long distances, mostly over land frontiers within territories and occasionally between them. By this, reference is made not only to the taxes that affected trade within the territories of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, but also that which sometimes crossed frontiers, mostly the northern frontiers of these colonies. The aim is to suggest that the imposition of such taxes had an effect on the dynamics of internal trade over the period.

Previously, we suggest that the idea of taxing the colonized was pervasive in all parts of the region. The need to enforce this was predicated on the view that relationships, at least financial, between the metropole and the dominated territories incorporated a mechanism that offered a higher degree of fiscal self-sufficiency (Suret-Canale, 1971). In effect, dominions and territories were expected to pay their way even into colonization. However, this financial and economic consideration for the imposition of taxes belies both the political and instrumental value of the imposition of taxes¹⁹⁷.

Based on these understandings, several forms of direct and indirect taxes were introduced by administrators between 1880 and 1940. They sometimes differed in space and time but in most instances were similar in character. Others (Frankema, 2010, 2012) have discussed the general role and nature of taxation in colonialism and subsequent economic development. We reiterate our interest in focusing on internal trade facilitating or impeding taxes in this dissertation. We proceed forthwith

¹⁹⁷Lt. Col. Henry Northcott, then of the Northern Territories of Gold Coast, viewed the imposition of direct taxation as a “convincing proof of paramountcy” of the British presence. Source GH/PRAAD, (Accra), Northcott, *Report on Administration 1898-99*, p.183.

to focus on this aspect. In respect of domestic long-distance trade, two distinct types of taxes are identifiable in the BWA region. These are the transit trade and commodity specific taxes that emerged with the advance of interior penetration.

4.2.10 Transit Trade Taxes/Tolls

The extension of colonial tentacles in the interior spheres of the region in the late 1890s was attended by the imposition of transit trade taxes in both Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Taxes targeting the caravan trade that transited across the ecological zones of these two colonies were introduced and administered in the early part of the 20th century, only to be abolished before the war. The use of the term 'transit tax' in this context is meant to reflect the mobility-indexed nature of these taxes that pertained, and also to bring into sharp focus the long-distance nature of such trade. In both colonies, caravan taxes were introduced in the northern regions that were mostly south of FWA and north of the forest and savanna zones. Introduced in 1898 and 1902 in the Gold Coast and Northern Nigeria, respectively, levies on caravans were abolished in 1907 in both territories. Rather than being a novelty, these announced tolls on caravans were mostly building on older practices and seeking to enhance their operations. Prior to the interior spread of European rule, the taxing of caravans was a prominent feature of long-distance trade in the region. In those days, general insecurity on routes impelled traders to travel *en bloc* as insurance for protection. Grouping and congregating for trade inadvertently made them identifiable and subject to uneven and sometimes unscrupulous exploitation by the overlords of transit territories (Lugard, *Taxation of Natives*, 1907:19). The institution of colonial

administration in the vast interior implied improved security and conditions of trading routes. Therefore, the imposition of these tolls was viewed by administrators as compensation for the aforementioned improvements. Authorities took concrete steps towards forestalling potential ramifications of these toll announcements. To erase semblances of arbitrariness and to induce local cooperation, as well as to assure their position, local religious leaders, rather than chiefs, were consulted (Northcott, *Report on Administration*, 1899). Additionally, representatives of the traders were consulted in the determination of the toll points and rates as part of efforts avoid inhibiting trade prospects (ibid). In replacement of the tolls charged by native chiefs, both colonies operationalized different approaches in implementing the scheme. In Northern Nigeria, tolls consisted of a fixed levy on goods of 5%, *ad valorem* in each province travelled by a caravan up to a maximum of 15 per cent, implying that the upper limit for the toll was 15% (Lugard, *Taxation of Native*, 1907). The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast adopted a more specific approach (ibid).

In the Gold Coast, the caravan, consisting of both south and northbound trade was dominated by Moshie merchants of Upper Volta extraction. Towards the south, livestock predominated while Moshie native cloth and salt were also featured. Although the trade in native cloth was not very significant, the consistency with which it came suggests it was an item in vogue (Balstone, *Report on Trade*, June, 1911). Kola and salt constituted the commodities that headed northwards (north and northeast) to territories such as Upper Volta, northern German Togoland and Northern Nigeria. A similar pattern of commodity trade was carried by the caravan

trade in northern Nigeria as well. It is clarified that European and local cotton formed part of northbound goods while potash was included in southbound commodity traffic. Even as the new forms of revenues were accruing, these levies had effects on the trends and extent of trade. In the rather short period of operation, it was possible that these tolls must have improved long-distance trade. Clearly, and compared to the pre-colonial system, these new forms were somewhat transparent and simplified for the caravan traders. The restructuring would also have resulted in a reduction of designated places for toll payments. Official reports from both colonies suggest that traders valued and appreciated these innovations in tolling systems in this period¹⁹⁸. That traders were not noted to have revolted or even agitated, as occurred with the introduction of other taxes in other territories,¹⁹⁹ may corroborate this official viewpoint. For both governments, this was a public finance success and an ideological victory. In terms of real trade, there is very little to compare it with. The tolls being the first attempt leaves us stirring into the face of the counterfactual. Recorded trade over the period of its existence indicates an upward trend of trade. The trends in recorded volumes of trade in respect of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast presented in Tables 3.1A -3.1D in [Appendix 2](#) (page 332-333) is illustrative of this. In respect of Northern Nigeria, the trade records on caravan trade, in the years for which information is available, shows a consistent and upward

¹⁹⁸ Lugard (1907), p20; *Annual Colonial Report*, Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, 1898.

¹⁹⁹ The Hut Tax in Sierra Leone was cited as part of the basis of the uprising in 1898.

movement. Specifically, caravan trade rose from £48,844 to £227,692 in the period 1903 to 1904 and peaked at £261,259 in 1905.

If the above positive account is accepted, then the remaining question relates to why the caravan tax was so short-lived across these territories. The introduction and implementation of caravan tolls in Northern Nigeria elicited rancorous exchanges between the administration, the merchants and the Colonial Office²⁰⁰. These commenced with European merchants complaining of the tolls as being a form of 'double taxation' and highlighted their inhibiting effect of the penetration of European goods into the Northern Protectorate. The expression was made in reference to the fact that imported goods being carried into the North were already taxed at the port of entry in the south while locally manufactured clothes were not subject to import duties. Accepting the notional and abstract value of the merchants' point, the Governor explained that until the amalgamation of both Northern and Southern Nigeria, which will create a fiscal unity, their investment in improving roads and routes would need to be recouped. Merchants, with no statistical evidence, made references to reductions in caravans trading to the coast. Governor Lugard dismissed the claims as spurious and pointed to the evolving influence of the 'monetization', suggesting that caravans no longer have the need to arrive in Lagos to exchange currency. Pointing primarily to money order returns to Lagos, which had increased from £435 in 1904 to £6,488 in 1906, he argued that these transfers are

²⁰⁰ The account following from here is taken from readings in the *Annual Colonial Reports* and correspondences between 1902 and 1906.

supportive of his views. As an initial compromise, rates were reduced and export-bound goods were toll exempted. In the end, seven full years even before unification of Nigeria, the caravan tolls were repealed in Nigeria. The significance of the merchants' victory can be seen in the extent to which perceptions of the toll affected domestic long-distance trade. However, the absence of concrete and distinct data make it difficult to gauge the veracity of such a view. In the Gold Coast, levies on caravan trade were seen to be driving merchants and goods into the welcoming arms of the Germans in Togoland (Northern Territories, *ACR*, 1908). From this standpoint, an important inference could be deduced. Whereas the recorded trade statistics showed an increasing trend, observational accounts indicated to administrators that tolls were having both signaling and real effects on the route choices of merchants. The extension of this understanding could imply that even the statistics as recorded during the lifetime of the tolls were an underestimation of trade on this long-distance route. Accounting for improvements in road condition and population increases in the periods following the abolition of the tolls suggests that the observations relating to trade diversion must have been fairly accurate. Data is scanty, but for 1913 the amount of cattle on the southbound journey had more than doubled. In the end, the real value of the caravan tolls on internal trade must be the creation of a platform that offers important insights into the extent of internal trade.

4.2.11 Participation Taxes and Potential Impact on Trade

There were other forms of taxation with prospects of inducing economic participation.

These types of taxes have been termed 'participation taxes'. They were levied

directly on those indigenes who were deemed capable of making an economic contribution. They usually took the form of a hut tax, poll tax, or village tax. Whereas a hut tax stipulated that hut owners paid a predetermined value of money per year, poll or head taxes required adults to pay a fixed amount annually. In the Gold Coast colony and Ashanti territory, the potential resistance was so large that the colonial administration did not even suggest the implementation of a head or poll tax (Frankema, 2010). Meanwhile, a tax in the nature of town taxes had been introduced in the Northern Territory of the Gold Coast by Governor Northcott in 1899, which yielded £900 instead of £875²⁰¹. This tax, which was payable by towns, was abolished in 1907 and was replaced with a compulsory labour arrangement. The means of payment of this tax was strictly British currency (Northcott, Report on Northern Territories, 1899:181), which had to be found. Thomas (1973) has also discussed how, between 1906 and 1920s, the Northern Territories Protectorate served as a 'labour reserve' for the Gold Coast, especially in the mining sector and government programmes such as construction (Thomas, 1973).

In Nigeria, a direct Income Tax Ordinance was passed in 1927. The implementation of the ordinance resulted in the unsettling of many natives and led to protest in mostly the southeastern part of Nigeria. A key feature of these anti-tax upheavals was the predominance of women. The official interpretation suggests that disturbances arose from tax reassessments in certain districts involving the counting of women, thus

²⁰¹ For a full discussion of taxation in the Northern Territory of the Gold Coast, see Maasole, (2017).

encouraging the erroneous belief that women were to be taxed (Nigeria, *ACR*, 1928: 8)²⁰². Four years after taxing the incomes of indigenous persons, non-indigenous persons were required to pay income tax in 1931. A law against tax evasion was also enacted in 1936 for the whole of Nigeria. This was followed by the passage of the Income Tax Ordinance (No.3) in 1940, which was an attempt at a progressive income tax regime. However, Northern Nigeria, as with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, has a long history of participatory taxation. Indeed, the evolution of participatory and civic taxes in Nigeria may be directly connected to the fiscal developments in Northern Nigeria under Governor Lugard. The relatively advanced state of taxation in Northern Nigeria has been linked to sustained Islamic influence on the Hausa Kingdoms of previous centuries (Hailey, 1957). Between 1904²⁰³ and 1906²⁰⁴, taxation-related laws were passed to formalize and improve previous fiscal frameworks prior to European rule in the protectorate. A commodity-specific taxation on cattle was also in force in Northern Nigeria. The nature and contribution of these taxes to territorial finances has been studied by Adebayo, (1995). Payments of these taxes—were also expected to be made in British currency. In Sierra Leone, the introduction of a hut tax in 1898 led to an insurrection. Following the restoration of calm on the intervention of the imperial army, the hut tax remained in force well into

²⁰² See also Martin, (1988), p.106-18.

²⁰³ Land Revenue Ordinance: Under this, chiefs continued to collect the taxes, and paid one-fourth to government.

²⁰⁴ Native Revenue Proclamation: This proclamation set aside part of the revenue for funding public projects.

the late 1930s. Instructively, the *Annual Colonial Report* (1900:10) noted that “nearly all house tax is paid in cash instead of produce”.

The implementation of this participatory and civic taxation had two potential effects. The first was the likelihood that the requirement to pay these taxes would induce more indigenous persons into economic participation, while the second was that the taxes could lead to increased mobilization of revenue to meet the—cost of administration. However, in British West Africa, these forms of taxes seem not to have been able to match other sources of revenue. Specifically, the hut tax in Sierra Leone accounted for approximately 6.3% in 1925 having reached 11.7% of government revenue in 1911. By the eve of WWII, participatory and civic taxes represented about 11.6% of total Nigerian revenue in 1937(Frankema, 2010:467). The limited role of these taxes may be explained by two factors. The first may relate to the political risk in intensifying the use of such tools for revenue mobilization. As seen in the instances of revolts and upheavals, administrators must have noted the potential for a more anarchic situation should this line of taxing be vigorously pursued. The other explanatory factor may relate to the seeming ability of trade-related taxes to hold together the public purse. The connection between the poor performance of participatory taxation and relatively successful direct trade taxation reflects the nature of colonial control in West Africa, especially the control of the most important and available factor of production. Unlike Southern and Eastern Africa, where native lands were effectively expropriated, West Africa managed to largely hold on to their land inheritance. Moreover, this was not the result of a lack of desire or attempt by

colonial governments²⁰⁵. That extensive alienation of indigenous people from land did not occur has been attributed to myriad factors beginning with what has been called “a fortuitous geological fact”²⁰⁶. It has been explained that West Africa was not comparatively well endowed with rich mineral resources. Additionally, the failure of European merchants to successfully establish plantations on the West Coast contributed to the land situation. Even more important as an explanation, however, was the reality that the indigenous trading forces demonstrated their ability to meet the export demands, mostly using their own modes and methods of production. Thus, it seems colonial governments decided that it was economically injudicious and politically too risky to alienate indigenes from large tracts of land.

4.2.12 Currency, Financial Development and Taxation: Links to Trade

In this chapter, we have suggested that the prevailing understanding of the general evolution of currency and banking development in the region is supportive of the estimates presented in Chapter Two. We have indicated the connections between these monetary and financial developments and the responses of merchants, including the adoption of land-borne trade routes to bolster our observation of interconnectedness of the factors. A key outcome of our review of the tariff situation, presented in this chapter, was the elucidation of the effective use of regional import substitutions policies, which affects our understanding of the extent of trade which is affected in turn by limited availability of captured trade statistics on domestic long-

²⁰⁵ For a detailed discussion of the land question across Africa, see Boahen (1985). p.173-177.

²⁰⁶ This was a phrase used by A.G. Hopkins and cited in Boahen (1985). p.177.

distance trade. With respect to the participatory taxes discussed here, it has been pointed out that their effect on revenue mobilization must have been relatively low as compared to direct trade taxes. Despite their limited contribution, it can be argued that the use of such taxes positively affected the extent of trade in the region. From the outset, the general requirement by colonial regimes across the region that indigenes pay these taxes in European currency (cash), rather than kind, could be expected to have stimulated the monetization of the local economy and thus led to a further spread of currency use. Aside from this, there was a visible tendency towards the intensification of internal trade, especially in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, where compulsory labour facilitated the seasonal southward movement of northerners. Their employment in mines and cocoa plantations can be expected to have improved production outputs. In terms of transportation, as discussed regarding land-borne trade, the use of returning migrant labour in long-distance transport of domestic trade commodities facilitated such trading relations. Thus, the steady spread of taxation reinforced the spread of currency, which tended to support the growth of economic transactions including trade. In this way, the use of tariffs and taxes complimented the spread of currency and financial development, eventually supporting the expansion of the operations of merchants in trade.

4.3 Politics and Ecology: A Note

A major part of the literature and official correspondence reveals that the colonizers placed limited interest in the environment, society and their potentialities for local and regional development. The extent of preparedness of officialdom for governance

is better appreciated if we consider that, the colonial state was largely imposed at the prompting of European merchants and capitalists. As others have said, colonial rule was won by the sword and so maintained (Boahen, 1985). The conquest of the region was executed within the dictates of the doctrines of *sphere of influence* and *effective occupation*, as respectively expressed in Acts 34 and 35 of the Berlin Act. Between 1885 and 1902, two key treaties of a political and military nature, were concluded. The first was the signing of treaties with West African states and between competing European powers. Amongst those treaties with Africans, one kind sought to address slave trade and foster commercial relations; the other was meant to offer political protection. Under the political treaties, leaders of indigenous states either reportedly surrendered sovereignty for protection or undertook not to sign any treaty with any other European contender, it was the first come first serve principle at work. During the period of 1885-1902, military campaigns were undertaken in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

The brief account above is rendered to sketch of the political, economic and diplomatic considerations that preceded the formalization of colonial rule in West Africa. A key observation regarding in the creation of mostly artificial boundaries and modern nation-states was the likely lack of conscious consideration of both social and ecological factors in the partitioning and their effect on regional development. This situation is also against the scenario where prior to colonialism, local and regional actors undertook internal trade most driven by their adaptability and their knowledge of socio-ecological complementarities. In fact, there seemed to have

been a rather limited understanding of the societies of BWA, and this reflected in some propositions that emerged. For instance, it was claimed that the Hausas of Northern Nigeria were the “quite the best native material” and that “if we could gradually substitute the Hausa’s for the low-type in coast natives there would be a great future for our West African Colonies”²⁰⁷. A review of the changing stance on slavery, from enforcement of the abolition of slavery to abolishing slave raiding between 1885 and 1927 is another mark of the limited understanding of the colonizers regarding the territories they were competing to partition²⁰⁸. With little understanding of land tenure systems, a report would suggest the training of native ‘petite culture’ to partner the management of large-scale European-owned plantations since “no European will think of starting a plantation unless he is able to find someone to take charge of it when he is obliged to leave the Colony for his health’s sake” (Colonial Office, *Report on Agriculture*, 1889:35).

Another crucial observation on the partitioning advances on the West Coast was the little role, if any, assigned to ecological factors and the prospects for territorial or regional development. The assumption seems to have been that once societies had existed prior to 1880s, they will continue to function even under colonialism. This view must have been reinforced by the appetite to induce and engage in intercontinental trade rather than local or regional trade. However, a cursory

²⁰⁷ *Memorandum on British Possessions in West Africa*, (1897).

²⁰⁸ The institution and extension of British colonialism was supposedly to enforce the abolition of slavery. Even against the Colonial Offices’ proclamation on slavery in 1900, Lugard produced a refined version in 1901 that sought to address slave raiding and somewhat overlook slave dealing. In Sierra Leone, slavery was not abolished until 1927.

observation of the ecological endowments and complementarities in the region suggests that, with facilitating institutions, even more local and regional trade and integration was possible. With a history of trans-Saharan and regional trade in the precolonial era, mostly induced by ecological differences and organized by regional actors, the role of ecology in driving regional economic development was clearly underrated, if not completely ignored, by colonizers. The connection of politics and ecology in explaining the extent of internal trade is also another example of how economics is strongly influenced and interlinked with both.

To demonstrate the potential of ecological conditions to mediate the tensions in economics and politics, at least in local and regional settings, [Figure 4.3 \(page 400\)](#) has been drawn. The emerging view suggested by the figure is that whereas economic infrastructure and political economy related to tariffs territorialized trade, ecological diversity sustained all forms of trade including inter-territorial trade. The potential impact of tariffs on regional trade integration was moderated by the intensive exploitation of natural endowments through the facilitating influence of improved land borne transportation infrastructure. Therefore, even as inter-territorial trade declined in the inter-war period, the presence of transportation connecting different ecological zones allowed for the continued expansion of domestic long-distance trade within territories.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Hindsight reveals that events that occurred between 1880 and the eve of the Second World War fundamentally altered every aspect of socio-economic life in West Africa. Most of these occurrences, such as colonialism, territorial partitioning, the First World War and the Great Depression, were external in origin, but their effects were sufficient to evoke extensive and varied individual and group responses from inhabitants of the region. Those responses have been interpreted mostly in terms of political and global integration resulting from decolonization and extensive engagement in 'legitimate' intercontinental trade during the colonial period and beyond. However, an analysis of the internal trade of the region, from the perspective of the British West African trade statistics, reveals the responses of indigenous production and commercial interests during those times. The full effect of these responses can best be seen in the expansion of trade and the advancement of trade integration within the region which was uneven during the period and across ecological and political spheres, indicating the prevalence of an ecological-based regional division of labour and specialization.

Our statistical examination reveals that inter- and intra-territorial trade in the region accounted for approximately 11% of total recorded trade. Time trends of recorded trade statistics suggests three distinct phases. In the last two decades of the 19th century, internal trade generally declined. From 1900 to 1919, there was an uneven rise in internal trade, followed by a decline in the inter-war period. However, various reasons indicates that all not commercial exchanges, especially those via the land

transportation, were captured in records. Towards an understanding of the actual extent of internal trade, as discussed in Chapter Two, this paper re-examined the outcome of the recorded extent of internal trade resulting in the development of a framework that could provide a more accurate extent of trade.

Based on (1) administrative reports, (2) records of unvalued but significant volumes of recorded trade and (3) insights into the role of trade-facilitating innovations, mostly within territories, we argued that the actual extent of internal trade must have been larger than reported. Scrutiny of the available data and descriptive information revealed three data characterization, namely; 'hard', 'soft' and 'uncaptured' statistics. A crucial finding of this examination was the tendency of administrators to territorialize trade, especially by use of land transport (rail and roads) and fiscal policy through tariff and taxation. This insight led to a review of 'soft' and 'uncaptured' data mainly relating to railway and road trade traffic statistics as presented in Chapters Three and Four. A combination of the emerging understanding from (1) recorded and value-based trade statistics ('hard' statistics), (2) unvalued but significant volumes of recorded data ('soft' statistics) and (3) uncaptured statistics (mainly from the prevalence of smuggling and road transport traffic) led to the conclusion that the actual extent of internal trade in the region must have been approximately 18% - 20% for the period. The estimates, when placed in the knowledge of precolonial West African economic historiography, seems fairly consistent. In fact, the literature on the dynamism of internal trade exchanges in the pre-colonial period, driven by indigenous agencies and ecological diversities, is suggestive of good 'initial condition'

and basis for expectation of continuities and expansion of internal trade. This suggestive evidence of expansion and dynamism of regional commodity exchanges between spatially separated locations in diverse ecological zones epitomizes the advancements in internal trade integration.

The spatial structure of internal trade integration are seen two patterns. These were the livestock-led 'vertical' trade routes from the savanna zones and the kola-based 'horizontal' integration in the forest belt. These structure of integration were then interpreted in the context of the sustained influence of intercontinental trade in commodities such as cocoa and minerals, mainly along the seaboard and coastal belt of West Africa.

The advancement of deeper internal trade integration was bolstered by several institutional and infrastructural frameworks, including the network of local and regional merchant and traders, the transportation system, as well as the effects of currency and financial development along with the tariff policies that pertained in the territories. Clearly discernable responses to integration are seen in the evolution and innovations in currency, tariffs, transportation and trade networks in local and regional settings in spite of the fact that most of these were originally instituted to foster intercontinental trade. In this dissertation, effort has been made to provide a detailed account of the nature and form of responses to these changes that either negate or validate the resultant estimates from the statistical examination. These were the focus of Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

Regional merchants, who expanded and sustained internal trade, were primarily migrants relying on religious, cultural, linguistic and economic commonalities, functioning by creating a network of actors in distinct territories and ecological zones. Increases in number and frequency of Western steam ships plying the littoral ports on the West Coast, with room for regional traded commodities, facilitated the southward spread of regional merchants and the subsequent adoption of sea lanes for significant proportion of the regional trade up to almost the mid-1920s. The sea route not only reduced both travel time and the cost of transportation, but fostered increases in volumes of commodity to main demand markets of the region in contrast to the previous decades when land-borne trade had been the norm. There was limited deterioration of perishable goods such as kola and thus would have increased profit for merchants as a result of these time and cost savings. The success of regional merchants and local traders to develop and sustain trade within and across the territories of West Africa relates to their perceptiveness in understanding and organizing markets, innovating and reinventing mechanisms that addressed potential threats and challenges, including cooperation and coordination failures, without colonial tutelage. These are seen as demonstrative of their autonomous agency. The adaptability of merchants to changes in land transportation, market saturation, and tariff policies, resulting in sustained trade is deemed as their responsiveness to economic innovations that occurred under the external force of colonialism.

The trends in internal trade have been seen to correlate more closely with the changes that occurred in transportation, especially rail and road. The 'revolution' that occurred in railways and roads, mostly in the 20th century, was crucial to the growth of internal trade considering that West Africa is a region with a huge interior and limited navigable waterways. Roads and road transport were initially conceived as feeders to railway systems which was constructed mainly with private metropolitan investments. The character of being operationally flexible and adaptable to changing needs allowed road transport to triumph in the rail-road rivalry that ensued in railway-using territories. Road and motor transport eventually become the predominant means of transport from the post-depression era and remain so even in the post-independence period. It has been highlighted that the development of these modern means of transport was strongly biased towards intercontinental trade, rather than local or regional trade. Through local and regional commercial forces, modern transport development, without having a regionalized orientation, functioned as a force for greater diffusion of trade as well as deepening the wider socio-economic and political spheres of the region. In fact, the statistical analysis suggests increased internal trade along the patterns of transport evolution, even though local and regional economic forces, generally burdened with enormous constraints (both real and perceived), were not in the forefront of the thoughts of colonial transportation planners. It has also been highlighted that the emergent railway trains and motorized vehicles facilitated the easing of the containerization constraints for long-distance trade. We interpret such findings and outcomes as exemplifying the dynamism of

indigenous forces to take advantage of economic and infrastructural innovations. We have suggested that without the industry and skill of local economic forces, who undertook disproportionate levels of land-borne trade, the investments in modern railways might have been threatened with unimaginable losses.

The full installation of western monetary and financial system is observed to have affected the evolution of trade. Here too, and as is often the case, the energy for such innovations was summoned not by local and regional considerations but by colonial and intercontinental interests. The monetization of the economy in support of the intercontinental trade which commenced in the 1880s engendered banking services and matured with the commissioning of the West African Currency Board in 1912. The emergence of 'acceptable' territorial and region-wide means of exchange from this period, must have been to the relief of regional and local trading forces. Their willingness to gradually desert pre-colonial forms of exchange such as barter and cowries for new currencies is equally instructive. The economic advantages embodied in the new forms of currency must have served as the inviting force. These tended to provide freedom and convenience in commerce while avoiding dangers such as currency depreciation. In this way, an improved means of doing business had been adopted. Descriptive sources indicates that regional and local traders adopted the money transfer services rendered by existing formal banking institutions in furtherance of their economic objectives. The responsiveness of local and regional trading actors to these financial and currency changes is

another illustration of the potency of economic innovations and incentives to nudge actors in further pursuit of economic development.

The nature of tariff policies pursued by colonial governments in both British²⁰⁹ and French territories in West Africa facilitated import substitution for a key commodity (kola). These tariff impositions altered the direction of cross-territorial trade within BWA as well as with FWA. The effect of such tariffs was the successful substitution of imports of kola for local production in both BWA and FWA in the period immediately preceding the Great Depression. The result of this regional import substitution reflected in the decline in inter-territorial trade in the inter-war period. Intra-territorial land-borne trade, and explained previously, however tended to receive less capture. Even when they were captured, their utility for value-based statistical analysis was undermined by the absence of values or local prices. This, in part, is supportive of the view that the interwar decline in recorded trade is illusory. In both Chapters Three and Four, this dissertation has compiled and presented suggestive statistics to argue that the dip in internal trade in the interwar period is the result of 'missing' data, rather than actual decline in trade. Based on above observations, we have interpreted these regional import substitution policies away from the traditional conception of 'core-periphery' understanding of import substitutions. On the surface, these policies and outcome reeked of potential disintegration and de-regionalization tendencies. However, we have argued that

²⁰⁹ The trade in kola within BWA bloc was subjected to increasing tariff imposition much against the traditional notions indicating British preference for free trade.

these regional-based import substitution policies rather stimulated and deepened local and regional markets as well as facilitated the exploitation of indigenous knowledge for economic development, potentiality through the use of the most abundant resource endowment. Together with the emergent transportation system, the tariff policies acted as trade territorializing tool that shaped the direction of internal trade. The effect of these growth in intra-territorial trade, mostly across ecological zones, is the advancement and expansion of trade by making comprehensive use of local and regional factor endowments. In a sense, these policy outcomes signaled a departure from the inherent tendencies in the growth of inter-territorial trade, especially intercontinental trade, which usually extensively exploits the scale and diversity of resources rather than intensive use.

It was acknowledged that a weakening of the metropole economies occurred as results of the 1929 Great Depression. Nonetheless, we have suggested that the effects of this weakening on internal trade must have been less significant and short-lived. The structural changes in local and regional economies as symbolized for instance by the robust state of the mining sector across territories in this period could be expected to provide impetus for increased domestic long-distance trade. In this connection, the levels of currency in circulation, improved transportation conditions, and demographic changes leading to evolving urbanization, even at the time of Anglo-American rivalry over global hegemony, have been cited as indicative of the capacity of economic forces to sustain levels of domestic long-distance trade in the inter-war period.

The dissertation also cross-examined the literature on politics, economics and ecology to argue that the triumph of colonizers on the political economy sphere also inadvertently reveals their limited value of the environment, society and their potentialities for regional economic development. In this understanding, environmental and ecological commonalities and diversities of West Africa, rather than politics, provided a powerful condition for the growth and sustenance of local and regional trade. This is supported by precolonial conditions where ecology was seen to drive internal trade in the region. Thus, contrary to Boahen's (1985:158) assertion that "their connections one with other were broken", the thesis suggests that the continued adaptability of local traders, producers, and consumers assisted the sustaining of trade responses in regional integration while emergent trade routes offered a degree of economic unity across colonial boundaries, partially integrating socio-ecological, geographic, cultural, political as well as economic spheres.

Ultimately, it is argued in this dissertation that, in addition to external and global integration responses, there was another type of response by regional indigenous economic forces, with very limited direct governmental support, that played a crucial role in the trade and economic integration of West Africa. Probably, this type of response was what Alan McPhee desired when he hoped for a new variety of regional development which would confirm the truth of the old saying that "Ex Africa semper aliquid novi", meaning 'there is always something new coming out of Africa' (McPhee, 1971:311). His hope then (in 1926, when he wrote his seminal book) might have been premised on the view that, as a proportion of recorded trade, internal

trade was considered almost infinitesimal. Indeed, it appears that that view prevailed as the account on internal trade in the colonial period even and beyond to hover between 8%-13% in 2016 (Torres and Van Seters, 2016). Seen from this longstanding perception, the revelation that internal trade integration could reach 20% of total volume of trade by the Second World War must speak of something new from West Africa. The difference between the recorded and estimated extent of internal trade represents a potentially missed insight into the initial conditions that could have informed national and regional development paths and policy choices in the post-war and post-colonial era. As is often said, it may be better late than never. Thus, the statistical estimation framework developed in this study may constitute a useful tool for understanding the extent of internal trade. Even in recent times, there exist apprehension about the extent of informality and informal cross-border trade in most SSA²¹⁰. It seems that this trans-border trade accounting orientation is a key relic from the colonial trade accounting framework that privileged a focus on inter-territorial and foreign trade. However, as argued in this study, for regions and countries where factors other than political territoriality (mostly eco-zonal complementarity and infrastructure development) tends to drive local and regional trade, there is some potential utility in considering the nature of domestic long-distance trade since the organization of such trade are similar in character/demand to cross-border and inter-territorial trade. The message here is that understanding

²¹⁰ For instance see, <https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2018/09/01/informal-trade-is-ubiquitous-in-africa-but-too-often-ignored>.

the nature of varied forms of trade and related statistics improves prevailing trade accounting approaches.

There is also a conceptual issue on trade accounting. Traditionally, the evolution of global trade tends to focus on inter-territorial trade, sometimes across regions and entering inter-continental arenas. This interpretation places inter-territorial trade in a privileged position as being the source and spread of trading activities. Even as inter-territorial foreign trade serves an important stimulus to regional and local trade, the evolution of the latter becomes somewhat autonomous from the former thus establishing and sustaining regional markets. In their independent state, much of the land-borne intra-territorial trade existed outside of the 'colonial situation' with a higher potential of not being affected by organization of inter-territorial trade. From this perspective, the expansion and sustenance of internal trade in West Africa, even under European domination, suggests the need to re-consider the traditional view of the pivots of global trade expansion.

The findings of this study should inspire some modicum of confidence and reinforce some belief, in the prospect of positive future for the region. This is pertinent given the sense of stagnation, despondency and sometime wrenching economic retrogression seen in the region's journey towards further integration. Here, one element of hope is, as this dissertation has illustrated, the responsiveness of indigenous West Africans to economic innovation in aid of local and regional integration. Not only do we add to the previous understanding of ordinary citizens as

the force behind the much publicized 'economic revolution' under colonialism but also we reveal to the exploits of ordinary West Africans that fostered the integration of local and regional economies. The evidence for the centrality of indigenous efforts to the totality of West African economic development have become incontrovertible. It is hoped that the findings of this study, and the approach taken here, will provide useful in future works towards economic progress and stability in the West African region and beyond.

5.0 APPENDIX: LIST OF TABLES

Appendix 1: Foreign Trade Statistics of British West Africa

Table 1A: Value of General Exports, Re-Exports and Imports of BWA, 1880-1900

Table 1B: Value of General Exports, Re-Exports and Imports of BWA, 1900-1920

Table 1C: Value of General Exports, Re-Exports and Imports of BWA, 1920-1940

Table 2.1A: Geographical Distribution of General Exports of BWA, 1880-1900

Table 2.2B: Geographical Distribution of General Exports of BWA, 1900-1920

Table 2.3A: Geographical Distribution of General Exports of BWA, 1920-1940

Table 2.1B: Geographical Distribution of General Re-Exports of BWA, 1880-1900

Table 2.2B: Geographical Distribution of General Re-Exports of BWA, 1900-1920

Table 2.3B: Geographical Distribution of General Re-Exports of BWA, 1920-1940

Table 2.1C: Geographical Distribution of General Imports of BWA, 1880-1900

Table 2.2C: Geographical Distribution of General Imports of BWA, 1900-1920

Table 2.3C: Geographical Distribution of General Imports of BWA, 1920-1940

Table 3.1A Top Ten Export Commodities of Trade of BWA: 1880-1900

Table 3.2A Top Ten Export Commodities of Trade of BWA: 1900-1920

Table 3.3A Top Ten Export Commodities of Trade of BWA: 1920-1940

Table 4:1A Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1880-1900

Table 4:2A Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1900-1920

Table 4:3A Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1920-1940

Table 4:1B Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1880-1900

Table 4:2B Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1900-1919

Table 4:3B Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1920-1940

Table 4:1C Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1880-1900

Table 4:2C Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1900-1920

Table 4:3C Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports 1920-1940

Table 5.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1880 (In FOB Terms)

Table 5.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1880 (in CIF terms)

Table 5.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1880

Table 5.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1880

Table 6.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1885 (In FOB Terms)

Table 6.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1885 (in CIF terms)

Table 6.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1885

Table 7.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1890 (In FOB Terms)

Table 7.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1890 (in CIF terms)

Table 7.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1890

Table 8.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1895 (In FOB Terms)

Table 8.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1895 (in CIF terms)

Table 8.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1895

Table 9.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1900 (In FOB Terms)

Table 9.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1900 (in CIF terms)

Table 9.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1900

Table 10.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1905 (In FOB Terms)

Table 10.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1905 (in CIF terms)

Table 10.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1905

Table 11.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1908 (In FOB Terms)

Table 11.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1908 (in CIF terms)

Table 11.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1908

Table 12.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1909 (In FOB Terms)

Table 12.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1909 (in CIF terms)

Table 12.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1909

Table 13.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1910 (In FOB Terms)

Table 13.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1910 (in CIF terms)

Table 13.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1910

Table 14.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1913 (In FOB Terms)

Table 14.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1913 (in CIF terms)

Table 14.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1913

Table 14.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1913

Table 15.1: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1880

Table 15.2: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1885

Table 15.3: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1890

Table 15.4: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1895

Table 15.5: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1900

Table 15.6: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1905

Table 15.7: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1908

Table 15.8: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1909

Table 15.9: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1910

Table 15.10: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1913

Appendix 2: Domestic Trade Statistics of British West Africa

Table 1a: Domestic Trade of Nigeria, 1880-1913

Table 1b: Export-Based Domestic Trade in Nigeria (1880-1912)

Table 1C: Composition of Domestic Exports Trade between Lagos and Southern Nigeria

Table 1D: Composition of Domestic Imports Trade between Lagos and Southern Nigeria

Table 2.0A: General Trade of Ashanti Protectorate within Gold Coast: 1908-1919

Table 2.1A: Commodity Composition of Ashanti Protectorate Exports within Gold Coast (1908-1919)

Table 2.1B: Commodity Composition of Ashanti Re-Export within Gold Coast (1908-1919)

Table 2.1C: Commodity Composition of Ashanti Imports from within Gold Coast (1908-1919)

Table 2.1D: Commodity Comparison of Gold Coast Blue Books and Ashanti Annual Colonial Report (1908-1919)

Table 3: Volumes of Northern Territory within Gold Coast for Available Year

Appendix 3: French Trade Statistics of French West Africa

Table 1A: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1880-1900 in francs

Table 1B: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1900-1919 in francs

Table 1C: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1920-1940 in francs

Table 2A: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1880-1900 in Sterling

Table 2B: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1900-1919 in Sterling

Table 2C: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1920-1940 in Sterling

Appendix 4: Sample of Administrative Comments on Internal Trade Statistics

Appendix 1: Foreign Trade Statistics for British West Africa

Table 1A: Value of General Exports, Re-Exports and Imports of BWA, 1880-1900					Table 1B: Value of General Exports, Re-Exports and Imports of BWA, 1900-1920					Table 1C: Value of General Exports, Re-Exports and Imports of BWA, 1920-1940				
Year	Exports	Re-Exports	Imports	Total	Year	Exports	Re-Exports	Imports	Total	Year	Exports	Re-Exports	Imports	Total
1880	955,206	596,790	1,379,721	2,931,717	1900	2,990,745	602,954	4,071,664	7,665,363	1920	33,593,434	506,188	49,413,945	83,513,567
1881	722,873	607,327	1,225,116	2,555,316	1901	2,778,332	508,309	4,747,170	8,033,811	1921	16,599,043	2,271,883	20,881,606	39,752,532
1882	825,010	763,519	1,303,316	2,891,845	1902	3,596,513	406,078	5,357,840	9,360,431	1922	18,085,605	2,647,091	21,075,571	41,808,267
1883	854,968	822,550	1,487,363	3,164,881	1903	3,229,566	621,237	4,206,742	8,057,545	1923	21,464,063	1,567,788	23,171,760	46,203,611
1884	1,763,349	718,564	2,203,303	4,685,216	1904	4,692,555	538,572	5,875,254	11,106,381	1924	26,518,904	721,336	23,513,738	50,753,978
1885	1,620,037	547,223	1,956,477	4,123,737	1905	4,664,435	861,374	5,366,249	10,892,058	1925	29,739,814	784,495	28,727,925	59,252,234
1886	894,654	396,568	863,938	2,155,160	1906	5,497,979	599,915	6,605,515	12,703,409	1926	30,764,254	1,242,752	26,378,879	58,385,885
1887	816,393	465,011	1,158,307	2,439,711	1907	6,774,124	1,042,916	11,916,399	19,733,439	1927	31,955,987	1,149,434	32,476,540	65,581,961
1888	913,762	433,299	1,222,468	2,569,529	1908	6,262,742	851,689	7,332,504	14,446,935	1928	32,993,210	579,749	31,140,200	64,713,159
1889	945,065	335,814	1,311,025	2,591,904	1909	7,419,416	717,002	8,977,779	17,114,197	1929	31,664,284	759,717	25,881,802	58,305,803
1890	1,261,281	444,382	1,521,184	3,226,847	1910	9,326,607	804,912	11,323,769	21,455,288	1930	26,475,994	1,832,200	22,913,792	51,221,986
1891	1,409,580	655,343	1,889,196	3,954,119	1911	10,186,613	1,374,025	12,161,051	23,721,689	1931	17,350,471	4,065,062	12,987,704	34,403,237
1892	1,185,169	632,372	1,647,035	3,464,576	1912	12,420,074	1,310,085	13,489,684	27,219,843	1932	18,205,552	727,408	14,435,970	33,368,930
1893	1,578,867	597,828	2,044,149	4,220,844	1913	13,840,555	1,452,845	14,812,849	30,106,249	1933	17,226,473	536,010	13,037,691	30,800,174
1894	1,590,895	645,973	2,049,393	4,286,261	1914	12,244,772	1,177,201	13,196,492	26,618,465	1934	17,655,790	12,411,891	11,188,560	41,256,241
1895	1,709,171	698,949	2,135,087	4,543,207	1915	11,958,016	1,408,654	11,228,447	24,595,117	1935	22,279,867	602,545	17,356,065	40,238,477
1896	2,451,468	681,748	2,939,851	6,073,067	1916	13,072,595	554,875	13,921,701	27,549,171	1936	29,536,406	734,133	23,081,982	53,352,521
1897	2,421,009	562,560	2,800,122	5,783,691	1917	16,403,821	140,798	12,947,398	29,492,017	1937	35,075,522	355,028	33,331,884	68,762,434
1898	2,068,541	1,217,137	3,645,665	6,931,343	1918	13,986,402	501,936	14,330,197	28,818,535	1938	23,011,253	4,980,909	24,361,377	52,353,539
1899	2,974,608	500,684	3,780,019	7,255,311	1919	28,290,403	859,569	23,352,891	52,502,863	1939	25,049,320	3,899,661	17,042,657	45,991,638
1900	2,990,745	585,122	4,071,664	7,647,531	1920	33,593,434	506,188	49,413,945	83,513,567	1940	21,349,111	244,062	19,483,782	41,076,955

Notes: (1) BWA: British West Africa; (2) Currency Units: All in British Pounds Sterling; (3) Re-Exports refers the exports of goods that are not of BWA Domestic origin as distinct from domestic/BWA originated goods; (4) In this appendix, exports and re-exports are often added together to facilitate requisite comparison with import

Source: All records are collated from [Colonial Blue Books-1880-1940](#)

Table 2.1A: Geographical Distribution of General Exports of BWA, 1880-1900

Year	Intercontinental				West Africa						Other Africa	Grand Total
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	GWA	PWA	Independent	Total WA	Total	
1880	580,276	261,352	108,184	949,812	592	4,802	-	-	0	5,394	-	955,206
1881	400,058	227,343	92,217	719,618	1,520	1,677	-	-	294	3,255	-	722,873
1882	504,467	221,168	96,256	821,891	2,355	758	4	-	203	3,119	-	825,010
1883	501,233	277,349	70,305	848,887	4,269	1,622	-	-	190	6,081	-	854,968
1884	832,124	805,175	107,688	1,744,987	7,416	10,833	-	-	6	18,255	107	1,763,349
1885	723,586	769,055	104,122	1,596,763	11,066	11,911	48	-	53	23,078	196	1,620,037
1886	617,165	218,192	47,350	882,707	6,927	1,377	-	-	109	8,413	3,534	894,654
1887	526,264	239,667	41,687	807,618	7,107	1,394	-	-	173	8,675	100	816,393
1888	455,206	411,807	34,224	901,237	8,120	4,076	-	-	80	12,276	249	913,762
1889	489,000	425,902	25,123	940,025	3,472	890	-	-	226	4,588	452	945,065
1890	709,987	522,761	15,766	1,248,514	12,116	489	-	-	64	12,669	98	1,261,281
1891	811,154	564,589	16,429	1,392,172	14,299	2,355	-	15	333	17,002	406	1,409,580
1892	657,871	486,475	21,551	1,165,897	17,680	865	-	10	65	18,620	652	1,185,169
1893	855,054	658,116	23,821	1,536,991	40,313	364	-	105	161	40,943	933	1,578,867
1894	859,549	660,514	28,621	1,548,684	38,146	3,029	-	482	119	41,776	435	1,590,895
1895	998,965	630,775	13,511	1,643,251	63,120	2,470	-	-	202	65,792	128	1,709,171
1896	1,508,905	844,936	18,471	2,372,312	42,177	2,087	-	-	242	44,506	34,650	2,451,468
1897	1,470,285	882,303	21,563	2,374,151	40,615	1,676	-	8	111	42,410	4,448	2,421,009
1898	1,185,378	795,108	12,445	1,992,931	67,799	4,299	-	18	810	72,926	2,684	2,068,541
1899	1,631,890	1,250,901	13,446	2,896,237	69,041	5,588	-	30	1074	75,733	2,638	2,974,608
1900	1,494,739	1,413,830	20,509	2,929,078	54,147	4,492	-	318	588	59,545	2,122	2,990,745

Table 2.2B: Geographical Distribution of General Exports of BWA, 1900-1920

Year	Intercontinental				West Africa							Other Africa	Grand Total
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	GWA	PWA	Independent	*WA Port	Total WA	Total	
1900	1,494,739	1,413,830	20,509	2,929,078	54,147	4,492	-	318	588	0	59,545	2,122	2,990,745
1901	1,267,845	1,433,497	24,087	2,725,429	42,954	8,474	-	4	391	0	51,823	1,080	2,778,332
1902	1,542,511	1,867,762	29,598	3,439,871	121,602	24,662	-	6,719	2,190	0	155,173	1,469	3,596,513
1903	1,194,953	1,853,391	31,877	3,080,221	94,902	40,606	-	9,223	839	0	145,570	3,775	3,229,566
1904	2,309,427	2,185,855	28,994	4,524,276	107,968	45,157	-	6,797	364	0	160,286	7,993	4,692,555
1905	2,515,100	1,908,201	507	4,423,808	105,048	48,877	13,373	10,633	1,614	0	179,545	61,082	4,664,435
1906	3,258,361	1,996,853	14,270	5,269,484	131,150	74,581	1,107	18,259	3,285	0	228,382	113	5,497,979
1907	4,044,887	2,440,535	21,647	6,507,069	141,266	81,714	44	22,270	2,819	0	248,113	18,942	6,774,124
1908	3,875,832	2,106,480	32,347	6,014,659	155,408	67,976	433	12,726	3,800	0	240,343	7,740	6,262,742
1909	3,902,209	3,202,525	48,619	7,153,353	165,219	66,386	958	18,380	7,452	0	258,395	7,668	7,419,416
1910	4,817,091	4,167,803	40,272	9,025,166	166,359	73,174	329	25,683	10,823	0	296,368	5,073	9,326,607
1911	5,603,411	4,221,432	42,657	9,867,500	186,594	100,813	12	16,433	15,236	0	319,088	25	10,186,613
1912	6,779,009	4,999,001	72,167	11,850,177	257,607	166,228	315	21,832	16,444	0	462,426	107,471	12,420,074
1913	7,140,615	5,946,304	100,950	13,187,869	272,882	212,514	4	29,249	17,952	0	532,601	120,085	13,840,555
1914	7,410,989	4,262,853	95,779	11,769,621	237,023	189,321	1,035	26,027	19,465	0	472,871	2,280	12,244,772
1915	9,448,503	1,452,431	584,147	11,485,081	245,162	179,135		4,619	14,603	0	443,519	29,416	11,958,016
1916	9,178,582	2,100,545	1,240,667	12,519,794	291,086	193,457		-	20,145	10	504,698	48,103	13,072,595
1917	12,354,792	1,079,709	2,143,711	15,578,212	542,459	246,881		3,138	6,075	0	798,553	27,056	16,403,821
1918	11,460,850	165,203	1,583,185	13,209,238	439,454	281,762		3,405	1,319	0	725,940	51,224	13,986,402
1919	19,745,661	2,452,120	5,191,897	27,389,678	588,938	245,851		2,651	17,999	10	855,449	45,276	28,290,403
1920	24,746,668	4,130,719	3,425,751	32,303,138	981,831	254,934		493	22,522	22522	1,282,302	7,994	33,593,434

* From 1920, the source document, *Blue Book*, recorded trade to West African Ports without specifying the actual destination.

Year	Intercontinental				West Africa						Other Africa	Grand Total
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	PWA	Independent	*WA Port	Total WA	Total	
1920	24,746,668	4,130,719	3,425,751	32,303,138	981,831	254,934	493	22,522	22,522	1,282,302	7,994	33,593,434
1921	11,011,125	3,417,427	1,164,560	15,593,112	838,278	124,591	881	19,787	19,787	1,003,324	2,607	16,599,043
1922	10,688,577	3,822,548	2,925,510	17,436,635	542,689	79,316	3,743	9,417	9,417	644,582	4,388	18,085,605
1923	11,280,894	5,910,189	3,434,988	20,626,071	689,309	66,215	6,335	34,819	34,819	831,497	6,495	21,464,063
1924	13,223,775	9,765,471	2,730,707	25,719,953	672,296	77,744	5,937	13,328	13,328	782,633	16,318	26,518,904
1925	13,993,813	10,872,248	4,163,735	29,029,796	565,008	74,542	5,323	13,823	13,823	672,519	37,499	29,739,814
1926	13,734,524	11,865,391	4,425,536	30,025,451	547,430	89,926	3,580	30,108	30,108	701,152	37,651	30,764,254
1927	12,360,606	13,316,306	5,705,912	31,382,824	440,460	78,794	3,727	13,827	13,827	550,635	22,528	31,955,987
1928	12,227,155	14,958,070	5,114,903	32,300,128	552,788	74,277	3,145	9,827	9,827	649,864	43,218	32,993,210
1929	11,786,437	12,815,768	6,474,553	31,076,758	461,419	62,232	3,583	12,905	12,905	553,044	34,482	31,664,284
1930	9,770,538	12,373,063	3,812,588	25,956,189	436,150	28,808	2,109	7,928	7,928	482,923	36,882	26,475,994
1931	6,246,965	8,216,215	2,484,181	16,947,361	137,351	149,426	299	47,924	47,924	382,924	20,186	17,350,471
1932	6,959,449	8,108,244	2,751,123	17,818,816	153,238	124,056	856	40,300	40,300	358,750	27,986	18,205,552
1933	7,943,005	7,192,913	1,785,462	16,921,380	159,586	124,459	2,140	846	846	287,877	17,216	17,226,473
1934	9,037,817	6,305,361	2,011,377	17,354,555	131,623	100,315	2,044	459	459	234,900	66,335	17,655,790
1935	11,890,611	7,243,109	2,848,554	21,982,274	203,084	7,546	4,630	1,733	1,733	218,726	78,867	22,279,867
1936	14,097,534	10,557,260	4,334,064	28,988,858	248,819	239,588	4,787	5,129	5,129	503,452	44,096	29,536,406
1937	14,933,672	13,196,267	6,270,688	34,400,627	419,778	143,608	9,273	-	-	572,659	102,236	35,075,522
1938	13,761,003	6,746,019	2,073,822	22,580,844	257,721	123,973	2,310	34	34	384,072	46,337	23,011,253
1939	16,403,183	5,160,152	3,116,930	24,680,265	208,308	98,718	3,261	-	-	310,287	58,768	25,049,320
1940	13,521,290	3,913,526	3,627,474	21,062,290	239,511	44,703	3,478	-	-	287,692		21,349,111

Table 2.1B: Geographical Distribution of General Re-Exports of BWA, 1880-1900

Year	Intercontinental				West Africa						Other Africa	Grand Total
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	GWA	PWA	Independent	Total WA	Total	
1880	138,333	253,264	21,992	413,589	29,837	152,780	584	-	0	183,201	-	596,790
1881	172,931	232,758	18,397	424,086	33,593	147,671	1,973	4	0	183,241	-	607,327
1882	247,172	289,198	19,593	555,963	28,092	178,361	1,101	-	2	207,556	-	763,519
1883	224,010	274,367	20,049	518,426	37,405	263,123	2,990	606	0	304,124	-	822,550
1884	173,830	163,380	24,523	361,733	41,759	312,302	2,722	-	2	356,821	10	718,564
1885	139,722	86,569	21,246	247,537	30,050	264,413	2,748	73	0	299,685	1	547,223
1886	121,036	86,990	21,111	229,137	21,532	144,560	-	-	113	166,205	1,226	396,568
1887	160,936	75,858	14,383	251,177	20,926	190,794	35	155	0	211,910	1,924	465,011
1888	188,559	56,942	9,530	255,031	28,448	147,853	-	155	2	176,458	1,810	433,299
1889	148,118	67,677	12,502	228,297	29,693	75,950	9	346	0	105,998	1,519	335,814
1890	167,964	79,030	4,522	251,516	33,908	156,399	-	213	10	190,530	2,336	444,382
1891	277,605	103,121	4,450	385,176	44,502	218,810	-	678	15	264,005	6,162	655,343
1892	255,285	85,721	1,433	342,439	47,942	244,863	-	101	18	285,457	4,476	632,372
1893	190,337	106,443	33,531	330,311	37,030	215,514	-	91	61	260,163	7,354	597,828
1894	256,316	120,893	899	378,108	34,860	224,145	-	1,225	68	260,298	7,567	645,973
1895	258,844	138,153	536	397,533	74,225	205,636	-	4,278	55	284,194	17,222	698,949
1896	316,043	144,283	2,392	462,718	49,608	146,918	-	1,574	67	198,225	20,805	681,748
1897	233,798	118,930	27	352,755	85,373	101,276	-	2,574	78	189,301	20,504	562,560
1898	649,725	365,134	-	1,014,859	80,677	100,613	-	3,952	39	185,281	16,997	1,217,137
1899	161,286	110,590	28	271,904	101,721	98,368	1,520	9,688	31	211,327	17,453	500,684
1900	215,938	142,056	74	358,068	108,981	80,734	-	19,199	48	208,960	18,094	585,122

Table 2.2B: Geographical Distribution of General Re-Exports of BWA, 1900-1919														
Year	Intercontinental				West Africa							Other Africa	Grand Total	
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	GWA	PWA	Independent	*WA Port	Total WA	Total		
1900	215,938	142,056	74	358,068	108,979	80,734	-	19,199	48	0	226,792	18,094	602,954	
1901	184,329	164,883	29	349,241	93,708	40,736	2,651	8,656	105	0	145,856	13,212	508,309	
1902	121,418	63,098	5	184,521	114,577	74,647	4,917	1,987	155	0	196,283	25,274	406,078	
1903	298,303	48,773	1,506	348,582	176,719	77,611	280	133	150	0	237,636	35,019	621,237	
1904	179,870	75,740	1,024	256,634	152,939	90,490	-	162	273	0	243,864	38,074	538,572	
1905	287,383	188,494	-	475,877	216,606	93,838	12,870	53	300	0	330,095	55,402	861,374	
1906	192,192	99,130	-	291,322	172,372	128,564	5,471	40	738	0	307,185	1,408	599,915	
1907	205,206	132,509	380	338,095	278,663	168,840	18,179	319	1,326	0	443,020	261,801	1,042,916	
1908	366,018	127,262	1,064	494,344	251,624	42,012	42,522	189	1,284	4	337,625	19,720	851,689	
1909	233,958	136,039	36	370,033	251,654	27,387	46,417	97	1,057	0	326,612	20,357	717,002	
1910	203,395	138,883	11	342,289	281,034	69,662	59,212	683	426	0	411,017	51,606	804,912	
1911	328,793	502,451	3	831,247	370,263	77,054	49,823	12	546	0	497,698	45,080	1,374,025	
1912	243,080	173,055	-	416,135	671,968	164,701	55,175	248	1,289	255	893,636	314	1,310,085	
1913	410,655	119,825	105	530,585	663,324	196,754	56,392	45	864	0	917,379	4,881	1,452,845	
1914	625,018	70,699	34	695,751	401,048	21,987	43,332	259	1,065	6873	474,564	6,886	1,177,201	
1915	348,634	43,268	70	391,972	851,467	147,873	-	15	1,463	57	1,000,875	15,807	1,408,654	
1916	111,443	784	3	112,230	395,624	41,626	-	-	437	12	437,699	4,946	554,875	
1917	33,586	2,018	65	35,669	76,434	23,921	-	317	1,495	0	102,167	2,962	140,798	
1918	35,432	715	362	36,509	314,608	137,649		1,315	402	384	463,233	2,194	501,936	
1919	41,792	1,414	953	44,159	583,533	158,772		31	502	478	791,350	24,060	859,569	
1920	125,020	1,053	2,519	128,592	241,362	110,149		227	427	1385	353550	24,046	506,188	

Table 2.3B: Geographical Distribution of General Re-Exports of BWA, 1920-1940

Year	Intercontinental				West Africa						Other Africa	Grand Total
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	PWA	Independent	*WA Port	Total WA	Total	
1920	125,020	1,053	2,519	128,592	241,362	92,185	227	427	1385	353550	24,046	506,188
1921	1,941,662	4,809	48,450	1,994,921	206,497	49,996	32	989	353	257,867	19,095	2,271,883
1922	2,304,133	3,368	3,762	2,311,263	218,664	93,790	47	2,012	312	314,825	21,003	2,647,091
1923	1,444,230	7,756	1,214	1,453,200	60,936	43,508	154	1,680	-	106,278	8,310	1,567,788
1924	655,749	3,153	1,170	660,072	35,914	19,705	8	2,317	-	57,944	3,320	721,336
1925	573,660	8,164	1,599	583,423	63,890	88,444	74	2,506	40,141	195,055	6,017	784,495
1926	561,072	5,524	2,104	568,700	552,139	104,792	45	3,880	348	661,204	12,848	1,242,752
1927	409,278	10,485	2,434	422,197	632,507	48,948	-	9,770	15,666	706,891	20,346	1,149,434
1928	328,242	9,222	1,845	339,309	154,061	55,821	136	10,808	10,522	231,348	9,092	579,749
1929	475,301	11,576	5,102	491,979	132,265	120,164	-	3,670	730	256,829	10,909	759,717
1930	1,309,503	27,236	1,002	1,337,741	208,060	271,137	8	1,297	2,231	482,733	11,726	1,832,200
1931	3,767,431	12,606	5,397	3,785,434	113,335	145,087	3,213	848	1,199	263,682	15,946	4,065,062
1932	429,318	8,575	5,553	443,446	104,037	167,582	2,046	863	982	275,510	8,452	727,408
1933	435,875	8,259	2,194	446,328	40,973	34,038	428	1,481	-	76,920	12,762	536,010
1934	12,184,376	5,648	3,384	12,193,408	73,154	124,306	920	1,492	2,329	202,201	16,282	12,411,891
1935	468,132	5,573	6,894	480,599	57,207	45,439	407	703	-	103,756	18,190	602,545
1936	309,129	5,427	2,473	317,029	395,773	2,779	107	66	-	398,725	18,379	734,133
1937	209,969	14,040	10,780	234,789	51,071	38,710	562	254	-	90,597	29,642	355,028
1938	4,797,200	32,240	6,125	4,835,565	73,319	44,404	90	290	-	118,103	27,241	4,980,909
1939	3,735,832	10,626	3,521	3,749,979	44,278	52,496	5,387	-	-	102,161	47,521	3,899,661
1940	-	47,459	12,496	59,955	115,596	54,369	1,772	477	-	172,214	11,893	244,062

Table 2.1C: Geographical Distribution of General Imports of BWA, 1880-1900

Year	Intercontinental				West Africa						Other Africa	Grand Total
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	GWA	PWA	Independent	Total WA	Total	
1880	952,586	183,501	126,975	1,263,062	38,372	62,290	-	-		100,662	15,997	1,379,721
1881	786,696	172,420	153,132	1,112,248	48,242	59,202	-	-	0	107,444	5,424	1,225,116
1882	926,114	155,656	128,244	1,210,014	39,130	51,485	219	-	723	91,557	1,745	1,303,316
1883	1,001,476	234,347	125,101	1,360,924	50,101	41,240	2,632	-	1218	95,191	31,248	1,487,363
1884	1,497,056	387,457	190,140	2,074,653	61,302	49,680	2,022	-	1259	114,263	14,387	2,203,303
1885	1,194,440	448,452	186,950	1,829,842	55,285	41,403	1,189	-	74	97,951	28,684	1,956,477
1886	604,069	145,349	60,201	809,619	24,425	25,105	427	-	1180	51,137	3,182	863,938
1887	807,449	177,423	102,035	1,086,907	26,029	27,229	25	204	2413	55,900	15,500	1,158,307
1888	847,974	202,040	111,612	1,161,626	33,169	21,549	117	-	2256	57,091	3,751	1,222,468
1889	925,231	227,443	79,618	1,232,292	34,230	34,553	14	278	3454	72,529	6,204	1,311,025
1890	1,083,297	256,318	91,530	1,431,145	33,925	42,350	35	381	4087	80,778	9,261	1,521,184
1891	1,348,608	322,908	124,181	1,795,697	44,478	34,218	568	1,220	2706	83,190	10,309	1,889,196
1892	1,146,320	305,057	101,759	1,553,136	58,598	23,240	-	789	1221	83,848	10,051	1,647,035
1893	1,458,157	383,329	110,565	1,952,051	66,020	13,591	60	1,856	2351	83,878	8,220	2,044,149
1894	1,445,291	386,305	103,330	1,934,926	81,537	19,350	-	1,122	4914	106,923	7,544	2,049,393
1895	1,532,661	344,111	105,516	1,982,288	128,269	10,867	32	1,872	2571	143,611	9,188	2,135,087
1896	2,262,210	429,201	107,549	2,798,960	97,973	12,946	10	1,229	1875	114,033	26,858	2,939,851
1897	2,080,836	460,321	74,498	2,615,655	124,857	14,261	3	3,812	2003	144,936	39,531	2,800,122
1898	2,805,000	554,831	81,290	3,441,121	131,150	13,194	-	3,253	2815	150,412	54,132	3,645,665
1899	2,905,191	553,096	104,669	3,562,956	157,460	14,109	14	3,346	2218	177,147	39,916	3,780,019
1900	3,072,410	662,403	120,477	3,855,290	174,982	14,985	36	3,116	2181	195,300	21,074	4,071,664

Table 2.2C: Geographical Distribution of General Imports of BWA, 1900-1919

Year	Intercontinental				West Africa							Other Africa	Grand Total
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	GWA	PWA	Independent	*WA Port	Total WA	Total	
1900	3,072,410	662,403	120,477	3,855,290	174,982	14,985	36	3,116	2181		195,300	21,074	4,071,664
1901	3,498,616	737,255	256,391	4,492,262	156,504	19,847	20	4,903	2199	0	183,473	71,435	4,747,170
1902	3,844,286	946,471	205,502	4,996,259	200,864	19,653	6	4,013	5062	0	229,598	131,983	5,357,840
1903	2,669,612	948,145	137,829	3,755,586	282,367	35,415	37	5,229	5030	0	328,078	123,078	4,206,742
1904	4,135,185	1,019,146	206,812	5,361,143	250,950	43,571	1,200	4,424	10536	0	310,681	203,430	5,875,254
1905	3,801,034	917,230	61,813	4,780,077	262,066	145,679	18,373	3,540	6578	0	436,236	149,936	5,366,249
1906	4,759,055	1,177,227	54,672	5,990,954	316,291	109,304	12,552	2,938	5812	0	446,897	167,664	6,605,515
1907	5,984,171	5,073,454	67,034	11,124,659	437,067	165,033	26,853	3,882	5597	0	668,432	123,308	11,916,399
1908	5,466,368	1,120,435	47,914	6,634,717	324,418	216,494	21,394	3,437	8456	0	594,199	103,588	7,332,504
1909	6,623,704	1,405,098	43,782	8,072,584	432,256	191,216	132,653	2,779	7292	149	766,345	138,850	8,977,779
1910	8,053,979	1,982,964	463,503	10,500,446	452,590	111,549	122,376	3,392	14577	139	704,623	118,700	11,323,769
1911	8,426,224	2,180,829	509,545	11,116,598	519,795	84,682	128,190	2,052	6676	2297	743,692	300,761	12,161,051
1912	8,856,015	2,469,658	789,273	12,114,946	947,013	105,858	120,645	2,802	6925	1400	1,184,643	190,095	13,489,684
1913	9,936,862	2,625,234	848,622	13,410,718	994,378	62,564	172,682	4,209	11241	2343	1,247,417	154,714	14,812,849
1914	9,396,326	1,970,978	667,400	12,034,704	839,356	73,744	134,452	2,883	6312	12098	1,068,845	92,943	13,196,492
1915	8,325,537	936,753	847,742	10,110,032	906,287	98,287	-	3,554	9843	9846	1,027,817	90,598	11,228,447
1916	10,635,334	957,853	1,450,910	13,044,097	608,910	155,948	-	2,286	3383	14558	785,085	92,519	13,921,701
1917	9,349,841	365,617	1,713,730	11,429,188	1,309,912	169,061	-	9,417	1292	0	1,489,682	28,528	12,947,398
1918	10,984,372	230,988	1,899,043	13,114,403	1,045,827	106,397	-	12,322	11628	78	1,176,252	39,542	14,330,197
1919	18,064,920	269,451	3,858,922	22,193,293	817,046	173,832	-	14,045	11996	10466	1,027,385	132,213	23,352,891
1920	36,914,900	4,308,230	5,568,983	46,792,113	1,966,044	374,940	-	42,822	7001		2,390,807	231025	49,413,945

Table 2.3C: Geographical Distribution of General Imports of BWA, 1920-1940 in Sterling

Year	Intercontinental				West Africa						Other Africa	Grand Total
	UK	Europe	Others	Total	BWA	FWA	PWA	Independent	*WA Port	Total WA	Total	
1920	36,914,900	4,308,230	5,568,983	46,792,113	1,965,445	382,839	3,911	42,822	7,001	2,402,018	219,814	49,413,945
1921	16,309,792	1,095,662	2,065,014	19,470,468	1,120,021	217,085	5,223	14,787	-	1,357,116	54,022	20,881,606
1922	16,349,264	1,632,352	1,590,324	19,571,940	1,247,477	189,358	2,639	8,030	5,909	1,453,413	50,218	21,075,571
1923	17,404,509	2,540,519	1,962,470	21,907,498	899,844	289,704	964	1,761	22,993	1,215,266	48,996	23,171,760
1924	16,222,203	3,857,713	2,096,898	22,176,814	1,140,631	157,109	3,063	1,808	11,250	1,313,861	23,063	23,513,738
1925	20,093,342	4,734,040	2,410,268	27,237,650	1,116,879	277,275	5,358	6,086	10,616	1,416,214	74,061	28,727,925
1926	16,743,281	4,803,900	2,581,157	24,128,338	1,731,584	323,395	9,510	42,583	8,926	2,115,998	134,543	26,378,879
1927	20,913,649	6,297,331	3,672,264	30,883,244	1,246,350	227,385	5,332	18,318	5,838	1,503,223	90,073	32,476,540
1928	20,518,788	7,480,832	2,144,584	30,144,204	609,537	242,878	5,816	39,750	1,154	899,135	96,861	31,140,200
1929	15,309,386	5,903,758	3,149,697	24,362,841	757,772	560,640	11,930	55,617	3,818	1,389,777	129,184	25,881,802
1930	13,966,426	4,362,159	3,260,618	21,589,203	566,835	665,762	3,865	3,201	524	1,240,187	84,402	22,913,792
1931	8,131,501	2,306,977	1,733,837	12,172,315	292,589	448,856	4,240	5,569	1,209	752,463	62,926	12,987,704
1932	9,604,588	2,189,342	2,006,722	13,800,652	268,765	296,495	4,555	3,046	18,967	591,828	43,490	14,435,970
1933	8,253,182	2,363,476	2,083,685	12,700,343	241,198	57,903	3,902	2,452	-	305,455	31,893	13,037,691
1934	6,316,304	2,042,260	2,307,282	10,665,846	208,853	281,790	4,488	3,559	-	498,690	24,024	11,188,560
1935	10,581,770	3,119,494	3,278,065	16,979,329	304,859	35,562	3,234	2,611	-	346,266	30,470	17,356,065
1936	14,014,399	4,542,860	4,111,125	22,668,384	305,563	56,624	3,914	4,214	-	370,315	43,283	23,081,982
1937	19,654,536	6,764,834	6,389,201	32,808,571	374,282	84,891	6,526	2,350	-	468,049	55,264	33,331,884
1938	16,587,970	3,357,486	3,972,896	23,918,352	301,726	85,362	4,830	6,616	-	398,534	44,491	24,361,377
1939	10,890,139	2,553,956	3,274,099	16,718,194	199,488	79,292	5,197	930	-	284,907	39,556	17,042,657
1940	13,397,139	861,607	4,789,419	19,048,165	241,168	69,010	3,137	1,753	-	315,068	120,549	19,483,782

Rank	Global West African Product	
	Commodity	Value
1	Palm Kernel	10,877,466
2	Palm Oil	8,069,531
3	Rubber	6,463,403
4	Ground Nuts	2,899,422
5	Gold	1,570,771
6	Wood, Lumber & Timber	636,769
7	Monkey Skin	303,768
8	Hide	233,768
9	Ginger	228,920
10	Others	668,833

Rank	Global West African Product	
	Commodity	Value
1	Palm Kernel	52,484,565
2	Cocoa	47,689,164
3	Groundnuts	33,254,297
4	Palm Oil	32,498,197
5	Gold	20,267,109
6	Tin Ore	9,954,092
7	Rubber	5,762,495
8	Wood, Lumber & Timber	2,791,078
9	Cotton Raw	2,722,886
10	Other Produces	15,805,816

Rank	Global West African Product	
	Commodity	Value
1	Cocoa	181,447,306
2	Palm Kernel	87,323,685
3	Palm Oil	53,859,602
4	Gold	43,782,220
5	Ground Nuts	36,835,453
6	Tin Ore	34,262,315
7	Manganese	11,646,822
8	Diamond	8,265,000
9	Cotton RAW	9,726,659
10	Others	59,445,295

	Food Drinks and Tobacco	Clothing, Leather and Textile	Other Consumer Goods	Construction	Fuel	Other	Machinery	Transport Equipment
1920	12,901,770	16,789,833	15,835,223	748,588	949,506	1,685,694	73,386	429,945
1921	3,628,636	8,957,307	6,525,466	521,142	537,714	360,762	68,951	281,628
1922	3,822,974	9,096,764	6,287,936	511,945	599,097	440,074	95,335	221,446
1923	3,907,778	8,263,659	8,214,516	950,727	976,693	761,378	37,471	59,538
1924	4,190,237	10,432,096	6,311,645	1,208,028	658,113	494,880	40,225	178,514
1925	5,537,062	11,729,234	7,443,124	1,542,653	1,562,134	512,683	39,707	361,328
1926	6,356,348	11,898,793	5,079,924	1,221,003	1,008,597	454,430	39,250	320,534
1927	8,616,899	13,128,404	6,472,832	1,559,898	1,795,486	374,034	38,971	490,016
1928	6,721,410	14,751,098	5,767,389	1,576,370	1,406,730	383,215	38,238	495,750
1929	4,324,501	12,006,902	5,634,301	1,278,518	1,799,590	368,950	38,786	430,254
1930	3,959,742	10,702,898	4,568,025	1,602,858	1,161,234	512,388	38,695	367,952
1931	3,186,398	4,961,906	2,988,084	794,798	582,604	196,775	39,062	238,077
1932	3,921,774	5,848,053	2,959,357	780,161	551,678	174,100	36,955	163,892
1933	2,523,311	6,184,578	3,080,243	465,852	406,075	149,516	37,568	190,748
1934	2,322,547	4,622,658	2,988,420	526,573	326,425	133,497	38,334	229,706
1935	1,640,245	2,882,778	2,625,822	476,859	855,376	652,904	38,138	247,508
1936	2,027,320	3,927,591	3,938,778	656,135	364,974	561,131	39,463	293,633
1937	5,469,012	14,209,449	10,234,738	882,583	838,825	699,276	157,984	800,879
1938	3,949,534	12,039,852	6,979,831	367,723	395,114	434,664	61,961	132,698
1939	2,780,459	7,834,670	4,799,746	387,602	473,700	535,198	98,607	132,675
1940	3,751,251	9,988,466	4,587,412	246,083	452,273	236,958	72,537	148,802

Year	Table 4:1A Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1880-1900				
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Total
1880	55	388	149	-	592
1881	1,136	156	228	-	1,520
1882	2,039	116	200	-	2,355
1883	4,017	76	176	-	4,269
1884	5,421	1,886	109	-	7,416
1885	8,365	2,603	98	-	11,066
1886	6,249	46	168	464	6,927
1887	5,797	1,037	143	130	7,107
1888	6,726	1,302	91	1	8,120
1889	3,200	181	81	10	3,472
1890	11,713	266	136	1	12,116
1891	13,804	269	106	120	14,299
1892	14,081	1,702	251	1,646	17,680
1893	13,490	26,520	286	17	40,313
1894	8,693	29,223	210	20	38,146
1895	33,641	29,208	269	2	63,120
1896	12,552	29,311	311	3	42,177
1897	6,024	34,246	345	-	40,615
1898	9,427	58,002	367	3	67,799
1899	11,986	56,880	175	-	69,041
1900	10,090	43,893	164	-	54,147

Year	Table 4:2A Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1900-1919				
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Total
1900	10,090	43,894	163	-	54,147
1901	6,923	35,015	1,016	-	42,954
1902	3,166	37,633	80,803	-	121,602
1903	7,574	50,543	35,060	1,725	94,902
1904	14,440	52,491	38,608	2,429	107,968
1905	10,147	57,626	34,618	2,657	105,048
1906	9,575	72,715	44,927	3,933	131,150
1907	13,929	77,672	47,717	1,948	141,266
1908	5,211	84,345	47,040	2,428	139,024
1909	11,849	93,716	59,222	432	165,219
1910	8,943	77,541	78,905	970	166,359
1911	11,546	92,964	80,935	1,149	186,594
1912	9,467	133,914	110,646	3,580	257,607
1913	21,199	144,154	105,044	2,485	272,882
1914	14,026	141,004	80,701	1,292	237,023
1915	36,389	136,749	70,479	1,545	245,162
1916	49,828	129,631	110,463	1,164	291,086
1917	152,748	245,772	140,325	3,614	542,459
1918	41,216	257,466	133,708	7,064	439,454
1919	37,412	352,305	190,819	8,402	588,938
1920	79,953	450,408	435,909	15,561	981,831

Year	Table 4:3A Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Exports, 1920-1940				
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Total
1920	79,953	450,408	435,909	15,561	981,831
1921	143,278	488,674	200,748	5,578	838,278
1922	91,593	310,194	139,102	1,800	542,689
1923	203,619	346,955	134,910	3,825	689,309
1924	136,636	411,350	121,364	2,946	672,296
1925	130,789	281,466	150,316	2,437	565,008
1926	102,661	254,760	168,004	22,005	547,430
1927	53,859	185,537	199,305	1,759	440,460
1928	120,411	181,790	219,276	2,260	523,737
1929	128,031	116,037	216,502	849	461,419
1930	136,225	124,942	172,514	2,469	436,150
1931	65,051	25,062	47,180	58	137,351
1932	70,234	30,679	51,499	826	153,238
1933	91,347	21,540	43,694	3,005	159,586
1934	102,725	6,081	20,437	2,380	131,623
1935	134,106	23,789	44,577	612	203,084
1936	182,702	24,505	41,075	537	248,819
1937	311,077	53,512	53,980	1,209	419,778
1938	181,755	51,830	19,906	4,230	257,721
1939	142,595	43,068	17,000	5,645	208,308
1940	109,493	85,656	39,000	5,362	239,511

Year	Table 4:1B Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Re-Exports, 1880-1900				
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Total
1880	-	1,627	28,205	5	29,837
1881	3,235	90	30,268	-	33,593
1882	1,242	107	26,743	-	28,092
1883	1,903	984	33,120	1,398	37,405
1884	1,218	2,248	35,099	3,194	41,759
1885	1,479	4,946	21,198	2,427	30,050
1886	1,454	12	17,131	2,935	21,532
1887	428	1,174	15,750	3,574	20,926
1888	1,062	2,311	17,556	7,519	28,448
1889	845	870	23,161	4,817	29,693
1890	4,167	374	20,903	8,464	33,908
1891	4,241	1,764	32,066	6,431	44,502
1892	5,167	346	34,962	7,467	47,942
1893	3,513	494	30,190	2,833	37,030
1894	6,182	538	24,543	3,597	34,860
1895	43,552	9,001	20,682	990	74,225
1896	18,178	8,156	21,522	1,752	49,608
1897	53,599	1,420	28,886	1,468	85,373
1898	56,864	12,758	30,577	1,950	102,149
1899	46,107	19,498	51,136	2,749	119,490
1900	42,329	20,092	62,110	2,282	126,813

Year	Table 4:2B Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Re-Exports, 1900-1920				
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Total
1900	42,329	20,092	62,110	2,282	126,813
1901	45,968	333	45,171	2,236	93,708
1902	54,353	15,905	42,852	1,467	114,577
1903	120,922	23,343	23,105	9,349	176,719
1904	75,361	32,022	32,975	12,581	152,939
1905	37,421	90,218	24,950	24,017	176,606
1906	49,759	61,012	19,331	26,648	156,750
1907	112,932	104,183	27,823	33,725	278,663
1908	40,550	48,536	92,315	13,159	194,560
1909	51,744	128,036	52,061	19,813	251,654
1910	38,257	36,911	155,880	49,986	281,034
1911	28,048	201,623	99,026	41,566	370,263
1912	286,732	245,497	109,088	30,651	671,968
1913	203,529	258,403	148,838	52,554	663,324
1914	87,546	138,532	172,669	2,301	401,048
1915	568,369	1,240	221,992	59,866	851,467
1916	75,222	182,907	72,275	65,220	395,624
1917	-	-	75,308	1,126	76,434
1918	45,079	16,509	35,736	218,627	315,951
1919	122,484	29,755	97,841	320,410	570,490
1920	93,681	80,039	67,642		241,362

Year	Table 4:1C Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Imports, 1880-1900				
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Total
1880	2,048	1,068	7,025	28,230	38,372
1881	5,432	2,273	11,416	29,121	48,242
1882	10,164	1,613	7,543	19,810	39,130
1883	6,712	1,167	5,125	37,097	50,101
1884	4,444	2,922	8,107	45,829	61,302
1885	4,057	22,058	4,471	24,699	55,285
1886	4,822	2,457	3,594	13,552	24,425
1887	5,235	4,665	1,922	14,207	26,029
1888	8,246	6,568	1,128	17,227	33,169
1889	824	8,828	1,109	23,469	34,230
1890	3,816	5,860	1,626	22,623	33,925
1891	6,879	5,084	2,139	30,376	44,478
1892	11,812	9,923	4,813	32,050	58,598
1893	24,499	8,718	5,541	27,262	66,020
1894	28,157	12,066	11,011	30,303	81,537
1895	23,223	81,895	5,753	17,398	128,269
1896	37,037	28,501	12,449	19,986	97,973
1897	32,829	60,787	6,095	25,146	124,857
1898	40,271	54,077	12,636	24,166	131,150
1899	45,328	56,229	19,594	36,309	157,460
1900	39,666	78,055	13,194	44,067	174,982

Year	Table 4:2C Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Imports, 1900-1920				
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Total
1900	39,680	78,041	13,194	44,067	174,982
1901	35,994	84,129	10,854	25,527	156,504
1902	37,907	100,687	21,884	40,386	200,864
1903	54,458	140,374	39,529	48,006	282,367
1904	50,185	78,565	50,336	71,864	250,950
1905	147,240	46,648	27,415	40,763	262,066
1906	179,920	69,100	23,830	43,441	316,291
1907	229,589	121,213	22,730	63,535	437,067
1908	162,539	56,229	22,459	83,191	324,418
1909	264,862	48,277	57,080	62,037	432,256
1910	241,283	109,847	34,752	66,708	452,590
1911	368,825	39,524	36,935	74,511	519,795
1912	425,161	274,020	160,261	87,571	947,013
1913	450,176	274,688	175,949	93,565	994,378
1914	364,111	294,706	104,559	75,980	839,356
1915	143,825	631,624	68,945	61,893	906,287
1916	223,208	209,862	82,314	93,526	608,910
1917	1,030,911	67,326	83,944	127,731	1,309,912
1918	689,333	49,100	22,251	285,143	1,045,827
1919	458,138	126,089	67,022	165,797	817,046
1920	1,483,133	93,340	87,950	301,621	1,966,044

Year	Table 4:3C Breakdown of the Geographical Distribution of Four BWA Colonies, General Imports, 1920-1940				
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Total
1920	1,483,133	93,340	87,950	301,621	1,966,044
1921	770,254	130,098	71,960	147,709	1,120,021
1922	680,053	420,431	20,714	126,279	1,247,477
1923	553,133	220,369	16,551	109,791	899,844
1924	848,280	175,759	33,118	83,474	1,140,631
1925	826,393	176,386	35,620	78,480	1,116,879
1926	622,327	953,608	52,929	102,720	1,731,584
1927	642,286	452,321	41,868	109,875	1,246,350
1928	197,936	247,958	39,822	123,821	609,537
1929	387,482	253,527	53,353	63,410	757,772
1930	270,288	213,285	29,269	53,993	566,835
1931	123,571	130,595	14,812	23,611	292,589
1932	104,950	123,889	11,552	28,374	268,765
1933	63,118	135,904	6,315	35,861	241,198
1934	14,027	152,875	6,226	35,725	208,853
1935	16,076	185,917	34,837	68,029	304,859
1936	25,769	216,392	4,882	58,520	305,563
1937	31,090	272,521	10,137	60,534	374,282
1938	12,838	248,416	11,110	29,362	301,726
1939	42,762	123,316	9,832	23,578	199,488
1940	58,060	109,770	29,000	44,338	241,168

		To				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	0	0	0	
	Gold Coast	0	N/A	375	13	
	Nigeria	0	0	N/A	55	
	Sierra Leone	0			N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

		Into				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	0	8	5,036	
	Gold Coast	0	N/A	0	1,989	
	Nigeria		278	N/A	0	
	Sierra Leone	28,230	790		N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the top row.						

		To				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	0	7.44	4,683.48	
	Gold Coast	0	N/A	349	1,849.77	
	Nigeria	0	259	N/A	51	
	Sierra Leone	26,254	734.7		N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					34,187.73	
BWA Export Trade					955,206.00	
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					4%	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

		To				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	0	0	0	
	Gold Coast	36	N/A	569	1,998	
	Nigeria	34	6,440	N/A	1,891	
	Sierra Leone	98			N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

		Into				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	1	1	3,704	
	Gold Coast	10	N/A	2,993	767	
	Nigeria		20,621	N/A	1	
	Sierra Leone	3,704	1436	1,063	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the top row.						

		To				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	0.93	0.93	3,444.72	
	Gold Coast	36	N/A	2,783	1,998	
	Nigeria	34	19,178	N/A	1,891	
	Sierra Leone	3,445	1335.48	988.59	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					35,135.39	
BWA Export Trade					1,620,037.00	
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					2%	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

		To				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	0	0	1	
	Gold Coast	4	N/A	132	131	
	Nigeria	0	7,734	N/A	3,979	
	Sierra Leone	132	1	2	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

		Into				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	16	1	997	
	Gold Coast	1	N/A	3,004	270	
	Nigeria	1	4,304	N/A	359	
	Sierra Leone	22,621	1,540	811	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the top row.						

		To				Total
		Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	
From	Gambia	N/A	14.88	0.93	927.21	
	Gold Coast	4	N/A	2,794	251.1	
	Nigeria	1	7,734	N/A	3,979	
	Sierra Leone	21,038	1432.2	754.23	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					38,929.80	
BWA Export Trade					1,261,281.00	
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					3%	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

Table 8.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1895 (In FOB Terms)

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	0	2	
Gold Coast	0	N/A	29,171	37	
Nigeria	0	32,058	N/A	1,584	
Sierra Leone	94	38	136	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

Table 8.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1895 (in CIF terms)

From \ Into	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	-	2	2,175	
Gold Coast	-	N/A	20,628	260	
Nigeria	24	80,779	N/A	3,318	
Sierra Leone	17,374	1,116	2,593	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the top row.					

Table 8.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1895

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	1.86	2,022.75	
Gold Coast	0	N/A	19,184	241.8	
Nigeria	22.32	32,058	N/A	3,086	
Sierra Leone	16,158	1,037.88	2411.49	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					76,223.70
BWA Export Trade					1,709,171.00
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					4%
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

Table 9.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1900 (In FOB Terms)

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	0	0	
Gold Coast	0	N/A	43,753	141	
Nigeria	0	3,330	N/A	6,760	
Sierra Leone	94	23	46	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

Table 9.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1900 (in CIF terms)

From \ Into	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	-	-	2,916	
Gold Coast	17	N/A	37,802	19,047	
Nigeria	-	58,994	N/A	9,700	
Sierra Leone	44,050	19,047	1,864	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the top row.					

Table 9.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1900

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	-	-	2,712	
Gold Coast	-	N/A	43,753	17,714	
Nigeria	-	54,864	N/A	9,021	
Sierra Leone	40,967	17,714	1,734	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					188,477.74
BWA Export Trade					2,990,745.00
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					6%
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

Table 10.1: Intra-BWA Export Statistics, 1905 (In FOB Terms)

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	0	2,657	
Gold Coast	0	N/A	57,574	52	
Nigeria	0	6,448	N/A	3,699	
Sierra Leone	33,497	389	732	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

Table 10.2: Intra-BWA Import Statistics, 1905 (in CIF terms)

From \ Into	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	-	10,266	12,255	
Gold Coast	1	N/A	125,323	5,885	
Nigeria	33	43,721	N/A	9,275	
Sierra Leone	40,729	2,927	11,651	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the top row.					

Table 10.3: Intra-BWA in Export Statistics, 1905

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	9,547.38	11,397.15	
Gold Coast	0	N/A	116,550	5,473.05	
Nigeria	30.69	40,660.53	N/A	8,625.75	
Sierra Leone	37,878	2,722.11	10,835.43	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					243,720.45
BWA Export Trade					4,664,435.00
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					5%
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	47	2,381	
Gold Coast	0	N/A	84,315	30	
Nigeria	0	4,589	N/A	622	
Sierra Leone	44,721	718	1,601	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ Into	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	-	-	14,956	
Gold Coast	1	N/A	132,634	200	
Nigeria	5,057	52,408	N/A	7,303	
Sierra Leone	78,133	3,821	29,905	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	-	47	13,909	
Gold Coast	1	N/A	123,350	186	
Nigeria	4,703	48,739	N/A	6,792	
Sierra Leone	72,664	3,554	27,812	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					301,755.74
BWA Export Trade					6,262,742.00
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					5%
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	0	483	
Gold Coast	7	N/A	94,024	117	
Nigeria	-	11,097	N/A	752	
Sierra Leone	56,735	674	1,813	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ Into	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	563	0	13,574	
Gold Coast	20	N/A	221,537	12,356	
Nigeria	15,641	45,048	N/A	31,150	
Sierra Leone	46,376	2,666	43,325	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	523.59	0	12,623.82	
Gold Coast		N/A	206,029	11,491.08	
Nigeria	14546.13	41,894.64	N/A	28,969.50	
Sierra Leone	56,735	2,479.38	40,292.25	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					415,584.40
BWA Export Trade					7,419,416.00
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					6%
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	0	970	
Gold Coast	1	N/A	77,420	121	
Nigeria	1	8,296	N/A	646	
Sierra Leone	76,645	491	1,769	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ Into	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	1,979	8,013	15,266	
Gold Coast	-	N/A	174,849	3,253	
Nigeria	131	78,913	N/A	16,233	
Sierra Leone	66,577	28,955	50,662	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	-	7,452.1	14,197.4	
Gold Coast		N/A	162,609.6	3,025.3	
Nigeria	121.8	73,389.1	N/A	15,096.7	
Sierra Leone	76,645.0	26,928.2	47,115.7	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					426,580.75
BWA Export Trade					9,326,607.00
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					5%
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	0	0	2,485	
Gold Coast	14	N/A	144,053		
Nigeria	0	19,167	N/A	2,032	
Sierra Leone	103,508	602	934	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ Into	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	10,414	29,205	126,029	
Gold Coast	1	N/A	382,660	657	
Nigeria	123	210,334	N/A	49,263	
Sierra Leone	93,441	44,943	38,311	N/A	
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

From \ To	Gambia	Gold Coast	Nigeria	Sierra Leone	Total
Gambia	N/A	9,685.02	27,160.65	117,206.97	
Gold Coast	14.00	N/A	355,873.80	611.01	
Nigeria	114.39	195,610.62	N/A	45,814.59	
Sierra Leone	103,508.00	41,796.99	35,629.23	N/A	
Intra-BWA Trade Export					933,025.27
BWA Export Trade					13,840,555.00
Rate of Intra-BWA Trade Export					7%
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.					

	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1908	1909	1910	1913	Average
Estimated Intra-BWA	4%	2%	3%	4%	6%	5%	5%	6%	5%	7%	5%
Original Intra-BWA	2%	2%	2%	6%	4%	5%	5%	5%	4%	6%	4%

Table 15.1: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1880

To \ From	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	34,187.73	4,802.00	-	-	-	
FWA	57,929.70	?	?	?	?	
PWA	-	?	?	?	?	
GWA	-	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	-	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						96,919.43
Total BWA Export Trade						955,206.00
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						10%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

Table 15.6: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1905

To \ From	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	243,720.45	48,877	10,633	13,373	1,614	
FWA	135,481	?	?	?	?	
PWA	3,292	?	?	?	?	
GWA	17,087	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	6,118	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						480,195.55
Total BWA Export Trade						4,664,435.00
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						10%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

Table 15.2: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1885

To \ From	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	35,135.39	11,911	0	48	53	
FWA	38504.79	?	?	?	?	
PWA		?	?	?	?	
GWA	1,106	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	68.82	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						86,826.77
Total BWA Export Trade						1,620,037.00
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						5%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

Table 15.7: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1908

To \ From	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	301,755.74	67,976	12,726	433	3,800	
FWA	201,339	?	?	?	?	
PWA	3,196	?	?	?	?	
GWA	19,896	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	7,864	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						618,987.09
Total BWA Export Trade						6,262,742.00
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						10%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

Table 15.3: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1890

To \ From	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	38,929.80	489.00	-	-	64.00	
FWA	39,385.50	?	?	?	?	
PWA	354.33	?	?	?	?	
GWA	32.55	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	3,800.91	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						83,056.09
Total BWA Export Trade						1,261,281
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						7%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

Table 15.8: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1909

To \ From	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	415,584.40	66,386	18,380	958	7,452	
FWA	177,831	?	?	?	?	
PWA	2,584	?	?	?	?	
GWA	123,367	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	7,864	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						820,407.12
Total BWA Export Trade						7,419,416.00
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						11%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

Table 15.4: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1895

To \ From	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	76,223.70	2,470.00	-	-	202.00	
FWA	10,106.31	?	?	?	?	
PWA	1,740.96	?	?	?	?	
GWA	29.76	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	2,391.03	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						93,163.76
Total BWA Export Trade						1,709,171
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						5%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

Table 15.9: Intra-WA in Export Statistics, 1910

To \ From	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	426,580.75	73,174	25,683	329	10,823	
FWA	103,741	?	?	?	?	
PWA	3,155	?	?	?	?	
GWA	113,810	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	13,557	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						770,851.17
Total BWA Export Trade						9,326,607.00
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						8%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

From \ To	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	188,477.74	4,492	318	0	588	
FWA	13,936	?	?	?	?	
PWA	2,898	?	?	?	?	
GWA	33	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	2,028	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						212,771.48
Total BWA Export Trade						2,990,745.00
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						7%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

From \ To	BWA	FWA	PWA	GWA	INDEPENDENT	Total
BWA	933,025.27	212,514	29,249	4	864	
FWA	58,185	?	?	?	?	
PWA	3,914	?	?	?	?	
GWA	160,594	?	?	?	?	
INDEPENDENT	10,454	?	?	?	?	
Estimated WA Export Trade						1,408,803.55
Total BWA Export Trade						13,840,555.00
Rate of Intra-WA Trade Export						10%
The imports from other regions into BWA have been converted into Export Base (0.093)						
The figures of this table come from the country listed at the left column.						

	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1908	1909	1910	1913	Average
Intra BWA Export	4%	2%	3%	4%	6%	5%	5%	6%	5%	7%	5%
Intra WA Export	10%	5%	7%	5%	7%	10%	10%	11%	8%	10%	8%

Appendix 2: Domestic Trade Statistics

Table 1a: Domestic Trade of Nigeria, 1880-1913 (in £)

Territory	Export					Re-Export					Import				
	Lagos		Southern Nigeria		Northern Nigeria	Lagos		Southern Nigeria		Northern Nigeria	Lagos		Southern Nigeria		Northern Nigeria
	North Nig	South Nig.	North Nigeria	Lagos	Southern Nigeria	North Nig	South Nig.	North Nig/Niger Territories	Lagos	Southern Nigeria	North Nig	South Nig.	North Nig/Niger Territories	Lagos	Southern Nigeria
1880		-					-					3			
1881		58					3,407					883			
1882		-					-					2,260			
1883		190					25,193					23,380			
1884		85					1,651					2,299			
1885		247					1,221					20,050			
1886		331					1,112					4,059			
1887		173					1,372					11,168			
1888		308					110					2,176			
1889		666					401					1,648			
1890		137					3,024					4,070			
1891		485					3,862					550			
1892		679					5,175					1,882			
1893		1,000					2,614					1,225			
1894		258					1,505					2,305			
1895		147					6,189					581			
1896		924		218			2,349		77			1,359		8,048	
1897		2,890		868			2,821	33	66			3,000	35	10,567	
1898		2,618					18,429	56	808			5,346	143	11,584	
1899		2,694		485			15,475	5	139			6,334	87	5,978	
1900		2,465					15,680		1			1,124		273	
1901		2,926					6,797					593		2,965	20,150
1902		3,224		1			11,145		2			1,364	42	1,337	21,475
1903		4,055					16,871					3,586		1,328	
1904	7,925			109		56,396			81		3,540			37,850	48,931
1905	224	12,894		66		13,901	101,923		92		1,714	3,922		56,313	
1906									40	40				20,691	28,291
1907					2,260					5,617					29,348
1908					18,900					51,050					37,479
1909					6,882					34,281					54,581
1910					29,929					26,087					64,178
1911					252,838					36,132					269,298
1912					144,433					44,581					126,032
1913															103,464

Source: *Blue Books*, Lagos, Southern Nigeria, Northern Nigeria, Various Years

Table 1b: Export-Based Domestic Trade in Nigeria, 1880-1912 (in £)								
Years	Export	Re-Export	Import (Converted to export by multiplying with 0.93 FOB+ CIF)	Total Internal Exports	Total Nigeria Export Trade	Total Internal Export Trade as % of Total Nigeria Export Trade	Total Nigeria Trade	Total Internal Export Trade as % of Total Nigeria Trade
1880	0	0	2.79	3	559,006	0%	964,993	0%
1881	58	3,407	821.19	4,286	456,699	1%	792,814	1%
1882	0	0	2101.8	2,102	581,057	0%	1,006,307	0%
1883	25,193	190	21743.4	47,126	669,118	7%	1,184,505	4%
1884	85	1651	2138.07	3,874	672,804	1%	1,211,576	0%
1885	247	1221	18646.5	20,115	610,830	3%	1,153,290	2%
1886	331	1,112	3774.87	5,218	514,024	1%	879,307	1%
1887	173	1372	10386.24	11,931	491,313	2%	902,359	1%
1888	308	110	2023.68	2,442	508,176	0%	949,984	0%
1889	666	401	1532.64	2,600	450,295	1%	907,480	0%
1890	137	3024	3785.1	6,946	591,545	1%	1,092,003	1%
1891	485	3,862	511.5	4,859	720,905	1%	1,328,840	0%
1892	679	5,175	1750.26	7,604	696,306	1%	1,217,576	1%
1893	1000	2614	1139.25	4,753	836,095	1%	1,584,889	0%
1894	258	1505	2142.72	3,906	821,098	0%	1,565,513	0%
1895	147	6,189	541.26	6,877	985,045	1%	1,800,436	0%
1896	0	0	8748.51	8,749	1,760,340	0%	3,318,075	0%
1897	0	0	12617.31	12,617	1,557,849	1%	2,967,858	0%
1898	18,429	2,618	5,054	26,938	1,656,626	2%	3,297,403	1%
1899	15,475	2,694	5,917	18,169	1,804,798	1%	3,497,035	1%
1900	2,465	16,096	1140.18	19,701	2,003,922	1%	3,944,717	0%
1901	2,926	6,797	18740.43	28,463	2,124,676	1%	4,177,572	1%
1902	3,224	11,145	21240.27	35,609	2,611,273	1%	4,808,849	1%
1903	4,055	16,871	21952.65	42,879	2,578,063	2%	4,958,297	1%
1904	7,925	56,396	3292.2	67,613	3,344,330	2%	6,049,357	1%
1905	12,894	101,923	5241.48	120,058	2,847,621	4%	5,711,393	2%
1906	0	40	26310.63	26,351	3,125,611	1%	6,330,799	0%
1907	1,379	8,103	27293.64	36,776	4,321,635	1%	12,580,007	0%
1908	21,444	49,566	34855.47	105,865	3,669,328	3%	8,083,044	1%
1909	11,099	34,430	50760.33	96,289	4,456,526	2%	9,621,501	1%
1910	15,328	26,655	56675.13	98,658	5,465,490	2%	11,421,892	1%
1911	252,838	36,132	250447.1	539,417	6,182,054	9%	12,522,553	4%
1912	62,211	44,581	114949.9	221,742	6,594,865	3%	13,233,532	2%
Total	364,299	199,507	561,292.20	1,125,098	33,815,509	3%	73,793,328	2%

Source: *Blue Books*, Lagos, Southern Nigeria, Northern Nigeria, Various Years

Export of Lagos to Southern Nigeria (1880-1895) (Top 10 commodities in £)				Rank	Export of Lagos to Southern & Northern Nigeria (1900-1905) (Top 10 commodities in £)			
Commodity	Export	Re-Export	Total		Commodity	Export	Re-Export	Total
Cowries	0	12,573	12,573	1 st	Species		122,640	122,640
Cotton Goods	0	6,431	6,431	2 nd	Beads	1,727	13,199	14,926
Cotton Raw	0	4,014	4,014	3 rd	Cotton Goods	791	10,727	11,518
Country Clothes	2,780	163	2,943	4 th	Haberdashery	1,350	6,855	8,205
Species	505	1,538	2,043	5 th	Potash	7,499	0	7,499
Haberdashery	0	1,587	1,587	6 th	Country Cloth	6,797	0	6,797
Kola Nut	891	0	891	7 th	Kola Nuts	3,658	456	4114
Geneva	-	822	822	8 th	Building Material	452	2,598	3,050
Rum	-	783	783	9 th	Poultry	2,633	6	2,639
Bead	39	183	222	10 th	Provision	1,869	584	2,453
					*Corn	1,310	93	1,403

Source: *Blue Books*, Southern Nigeria, Northern Nigeria, Various Years

Imports into Lagos from Southern Nigeria (1880-1895) (Top 10 commodities)		Rank	Imports into Lagos from Southern Nigeria (1900-1905) (Top 10 commodities)	
Commodity	Value (£)		Commodity	Value (£)
Potash	56,046	1 st	Potash	9,878
Ivory	4,790	2 nd	Kola Nut	1,781
Country Clothes	3,341	3 rd	Haberdashery	658
Antimony	2,232	4 th	Beads	545
Cotton Goods	1,855	5 th	Camwood	228
Haberdashery	1,696	6 th	Rubber	223
Apparel	893	7 th	Shook	216
Beads	871	8 th	Cotton Goods	159
Shook	678	9 th	Apparel	141
Hardware	616	10 th	Hardware	119
*Kola Nut	500			
Shea Butter	484			

Source: *Blue Books*, Lagos, Southern Nigeria, Various Years

	Table 2.0A: General Trade of Ashanti within Gold Coast: 1908-1919 (in £)									
	Import			Export				Total Trade		
	Total Imports of Ashanti	Imports from Coast	Import from NT	Total Exports of Ashanti	Exports to Coast	Exports to Northern Territories	Re-Exports to the Coast	Total Ashanti Trade	Total Ashanti Trade with Coast	Total Ashanti Trade with Northern Territories
1908	350,000	250,000	100,000	508,888	418,968	80,000	9,920	858,888	678,888	180,000
1909*	0	0	0	301,222	301,222	0	0	301,222	301,222	0
1910	565,608	438,000	127,608	891,899	784,714	92,000	15,185	1,457,507	1,237,899	219,608
1911	673,000	500,000	173,000	1,056,985	934,583	100,000	22,402	1,729,985	1,456,985	273,000
1912	769,975	524,975	245,000	1,042,883	962,013	54,120	26,750	1,812,858	1,513,738	299,120
1913	889,271	604,268	285,003	1,157,378	1,012,506	64,792	80,080	2,046,649	1,696,854	349,795
1914	885,529	618,529	267,000	1,170,270	1,032,267	88,003	50,000	2,055,799	1,700,796	355,003
1915	919,900	673,600	246,300	1,525,291	1,390,791	109,500	25,000	2,445,191	2,089,391	355,800
1916	1,139,750	692,750	447,000	1,337,011	1,190,061	96,950	50,000	2,476,761	1,932,811	543,950
1917	1,024,250	406,000	618,250	1,373,906	1,200,906	71,000	102,000	2,398,156	1,708,906	689,250
1918	822,300	387,000	435,300	1,293,736	1,007,586	216,150	70,000	2,116,036	1,464,586	651,450
1919	1,773,257	1,201,257	572,000	2,368,205	2,112,685	255,520	0	4,141,462	3,313,942	827,520
Total	9,812,840	6,296,379	3,516,461	14,027,674	12,348,302	1,228,035	451,337	23,840,514	19,096,018	4,744,496

Source: *Annual Colonial Reports*, Ashanti, Various Years

Table 2.1A: Commodity Composition of Ashanti Exports within Gold Coast (1908-1919) (in £)														
		1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	Total
Gold Coast Colony	Gold	265,468	301,222	403,006	530,583	517,893	475,089	481,270	474,240	491,511	494,706	421,736	421,696	5,278,420
	Rubber	90,000	0	293,320	200,000	160,000	76,209	20,000	20,135	36,700	64,000	36,000	632	996,996
	Cocoa	50,000		80,388	200,000	230,000	400,000	350,000	725,161	513,500	487,200	360,000	1,425,185	4,821,434
	Gum Copal	3,500											5,000	8,500
	Snail							50,000	50,000	40,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	190,000
	Hide				4,000			25,000	16,755	10,700		20,000	7,012	83,467
	*Kola (Rail)	10,000		8,000		54,120	61,208	91,997	90,500	89,650	135,000	143,850	238,160	922,485
**Miscellaneous							14,000	14,000	8,000		6,000	5,000	47,000	
Northern Territories	*Kola	80,000		92,000	100,000	54,120	64,792	88,003	109,500	96,950	71,000	216,150	255,520	1,228,035

Source: *Annual Colonial Reports*, Ashanti, Various Years **Notes:** **Miscellaneous includes corn, cereals, and food produce and native commodities

Table 2.1B: Commodity Composition of Ashanti Re-Export within Gold Coast, 1908-1919 (in £)													
		1908	1909	1910*	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total
Gold Coast Colony	Cattle	6,504		15,185	22,402	18,000	46,600	50,000	25,000	50,000	80,000	70,000	383,691
	Sheep & Goats	3416											3416
	Hide					8,750	33,480				22,000		64,230

Source: *Annual Colonial Reports*, Ashanti, Various Years

Table 2.1C: Commodity Composition of Ashanti Imports from within Gold Coast: 1908-1919 (in £)														
		1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	Total
Gold Coast	General Merchandise by Railway	250,000		438,000	500,000	500,000	604,268	618,529	673,600	692,750	406,000	387,000	1,201,257	6,271,404
	Fish					24,975								24,975
Northern Territories	Cattle	60,000		90,000	90,000	160,000	200,000	200,000	175,000	350,000	463,500	350,000	370,000	2,508,500
	Sheep & Goats	20,000		15,000	25,000	20,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	60,000	86,250	30,000	100,000	446,250
	Shea-Butter	5,000		3,394	14,000	12,000	13,489	7,500	10,300	9,000	22,500	18,000		115,183
	Dawa-Dawa (Vegetable Products)	5,000		19,214	40,000	20,000	26,514	14,500	16,000	13,000	27,000	23,600	92,000	296,828
	Hide				4,000									4000
	Clothes and Local Manufacture	10,000					9,000							19,000
	Horse											4,000	3,700	7700
	Hide						8,750							8,750
Miscellaneous						15,250	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	10,000	10,000	110250

Source: *Annual Colonial Reports*, Ashanti, Various Years **Notes:** * Miscellaneous includes native cloths, skins, lows, native yarns, hats, etc., are imported into Ashanti from northern Territories

	North-Bound							South-Bound						Grand Total
	Kola	English Clothes	Salt	Beer	Flour	Miscellaneous	Total	Yam	Corn	Ground Nut	Fowls, Carats	Miscellaneous	Total	
1899-1913	74,967	13,746	34,200			5,719								
1926	13,882	1,724	10,187	228	45	7,236	33,302	16,482	1,425	6,356	5,769	4,438	34,470	67,772
1927	24,125	5,401	27,916	650	146	9,524	67,762	3,784	1,287	4,557	58,639	4,265	72,532	140,294
1928	11,871	2,645	37,990	330	164	5,194	58,194	880	682	3,744	140,756	2,844	148,906	207,100
1929	17,690	1,703	53,866	1,673	227	3,509	78,668	3,353	1,564	4,244	9,565	3,553	18,039	96,707
1930	20,030	1,453	58,160	1,326	430	3,279	84,678	339	1,579	2,711	7,538	1,510	13,677	98,355
Total	87,598	12,926	188,119	4,207	1,012	28,742	322,604	24,838	6,537	17,372	222,267	16,610	287,624	610,228

Notes: Source: *Annual Colonial Report*, Northern Territories of Gold Coast, 1899-1913; *Report on Northern Territories for the year 1930-1931*, ADM/ARG/P8/1/38

	North-Bound								South-Bound							
	Kola	English Clothes	Salt	Matches	Brass Copper	Kerosene	Miscellaneous	Total	Native Clothe	Shea-Butter	Dawa-Dawa	Hide	String and Rope	Dried Fish	Miscellaneous	Total
1899-1913										17,689	9,626					
1926	83,754	10,571	6,872	41	393	0	6,137	107,790	6,775	14,952	7,304	1,355	2,232	5,777	12,620	51,015
1927	70,179	7,950	2,651	38	237	0	9,533	90,604	4,378	9,275	6,768	1,390	1,306	5,026	1,097	29,282
1928	48,214	14,409	1,186	204	506	347	6,813	71,829	3,211	6,574	4,831	2,721	1,290	5,387	8,222	32,533
1929	48,328	2,916	2,939	188	199	1,465	8,151	64,366	2,951	6,242	7,427	1,390	627	5,320	8,088	32,166
1930	48,182	1,638	1,717	199	0	1,417	3,341	56,494	1,953	5,588	4,213	1,355	1,163	4,359	5,089	24,087
Total	298,657	37,484	15,365	670	1,335	3,229	33,975	391,083	19,268	42,631	30,543	8,211	6,618	25,869	35,116	169,083

Notes: Source: *Annual Colonial Report*, Northern Territories of Gold Coast, 1899-1913; *Report on Northern Territories for the year 1930-1931*, ADM/ARG/P8/1/38

	1899	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1913	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Cattle		4,495	8,996	12,386	16,140	15,903	40,346	45,018	20,412	46,244	47,919	43,955
Sheep & Goats	18,773	28,683	43,194	67,961	77,817	74,956	60,752	45,018	20,412	46,244	47,919	43,955
Donkeys		3,866	6,840	18,189	9,066	6,485	9,087	37,789	26,656	19,080	13,484	14,017
Total	18,773	37,044	59,030	98,536	103,023	97,344	110,185	127,825	67,480	111,568	109,322	101,927

Notes: Source: *Annual Colonial Report*, Northern Territories of Gold Coast, 1899-1913; *Report on Northern Territories for the year 1930-1931*, ADM/ARG/P8/1/38

Year	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Vol.	2,086	2,929	3,487	3,387	3,206	3,937	4,650	380	2,218	3,057	2,336	3,343	3,815	3,711	3,560	4,039	

Source: Data from 1924-1930 is from *Cola Survey Report: Eastern Ashanti Area, 1930-1931*, ADM/ARG/1/12/36; Data for 1931-1939 is from *Statistical Abstract for the Commonwealth for the years 1933-1949* (pg 118)

Appendix 3: French West Africa Trade Statistics

Table 1A: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1880-1900 in francs				Table 1B: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1900-1919 in francs				Table 1C: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1920-1940 in francs			
Year	Exports	Imports	Total	Year	Exports	Imports	Total	Year	Exports	Imports	Total
1880	49,039	26,860	75,899	1900	33,379	37,418	70,797	1920	551,784	229,060	780,844
1881	51,343	23,936	75,279	1901	35,262	39,513	74,775	1921	273,560	110,276	383,836
1882	53,021	24,464	77,484	1902	27,185	33,882	61,067	1922	241,767	130,470	372,237
1883	59,945	30,215	90,160	1903	35,804	26,743	62,547	1923	333,237	273,690	606,927
1884	50,450	28,280	78,730	1904	36,927	46,555	83,482	1924	461,147	425,151	886,298
1885	53,465	27,420	80,885	1905	34,484	35,152	69,636	1925	614,918	611,794	1,226,712
1886	39,740	21,814	61,554	1906	43,760	38,006	81,766	1926	1,165,743	1,236,527	2,402,270
1887	31,436	21,201	52,636	1907	59,615	43,152	102,767	1927	888,417	804,315	1,692,732
1888	23,698	25,653	49,351	1908	51,680	52,839	104,519	1928	866,682	902,025	1,768,707
1889	40,357	23,211	63,568	1909	85,074	52,910	137,984	1929	895,959	665,659	1,561,618
1890	40,201	25,305	65,505	1910	93,022	61,138	154,160	1930	813,931	611,110	1,425,041
1891	34,739	29,789	64,527	1911	65,063	59,499	124,562	1931			-
1892	33,741	29,741	63,482	1912	68,282	52,509	120,791	1932	353,512	217,549	571,061
1893	33,227	27,547	60,774	1913	82,130	52,360	134,490	1933	386,537	218,832	605,369
1894	25,447	28,554	54,001	1914	61,985	47,797	109,782	1934	508,062	225,625	733,687
1895	16,786	22,440	39,225	1915	123,473	36,738	160,211	1935	659,350	284,331	943,681
1896	17,774	25,146	42,920	1916	114,226	51,474	165,700	1936	933,355	356,144	1,289,499
1897	15,755	25,056	40,811	1917	195,598	49,901	245,499	1937	1,534,208	555,884	2,090,092
1898	22,183	25,595	47,778	1918	214,603	49,365	263,968	1938	1,483,925	787,001	2,270,926
1899	23,853	26,624	50,478	1919	502,383	69,167	571,550	1939	1,663,775	954,816	2,618,591
1900	33,379	37,418	70,797	1920	551,784	229,060	780,844	1940	1,426,533	631,446	2,057,979

Source: Frankema, E., Williamson, J., & Woltjer, P. (2015). An economic rationale for the African scramble: The commercial transition and the commodity price boom of 1845-1885. NBER Working Paper Series, no. 21213. National Bureau of Economic Research.

Notes: FWA: French West Africa

Table 2A: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1880-1900 in Sterling					Table 2B: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1900-1919 in Sterling					Table 2C: Value of General Exports and Imports of FWA, 1920-1940 in Sterling				
Year	Exports	Imports	Total	*Exch Rate	Year	Exports	Imports	Total	*Exch Rate	Year	Exports	Imports	Total	*Exch Rate
1880	1,922	1,053	2,975	25.51	1900	1,315	1,474	2,789	25.38	1920	10,516	4,366	14,882	52.47
1881	2,007	936	2,943	25.58	1901	1,391	1,559	2,950	25.35	1921	5,272	2,125	7,397	51.89
1882	2,077	958	3,035	25.53	1902	1,073	1,338	2,411	25.33	1922	4,428	2,390	6,818	54.60
1883	2,348	1,183	3,532	25.53	1903	1,412	1,055	2,466	25.36	1923	4,406	3,618	8,024	75.64
1884	1,985	1,113	3,098	25.41	1904	1,458	1,838	3,296	25.33	1924	5,410	4,988	10,398	85.24
1885	2,102	1,078	3,179	25.44	1905	1,362	1,389	2,751	25.31	1925	5,997	5,966	11,963	102.54
1886	1,563	858	2,421	25.42	1906	1,725	1,498	3,223	25.37	1926	7,652	8,116	15,768	152.35
1887	1,234	832	2,066	25.48	1907	2,344	1,697	4,041	25.43	1927	7,173	6,494	13,668	123.85
1888	928	1,004	1,932	25.54	1908	2,041	2,087	4,128	25.32	1928	6,984	7,269	14,252	124.10
1889	1,588	913	2,501	25.42	1909	3,355	2,086	5,441	25.36	1929	7,224	5,367	12,592	124.02
1890	1,579	994	2,573	25.46	1910	3,655	2,402	6,057	25.45	1930	6,570	4,933	11,503	123.88
1891	1,364	1,170	2,533	25.47	1911	2,552	2,334	4,887	25.49	1931			-	
1892	1,333	1,175	2,507	25.32	1912	2,678	2,059	4,737	25.50	1932	3,760	2,314	6,074	94.02
1893	1,308	1,085	2,393	25.40	1913	3,213	2,049	5,262	25.56	1933	4,334	2,454	6,787	89.19
1894	1,005	1,128	2,133	25.32	1914	2,464	1,900	4,363	25.16	1934	6,006	2,667	8,673	84.59
1895	662	886	1,548	25.34	1915	4,658	1,386	6,043	26.51	1935	8,570	3,695	12,265	76.94
1896	702	993	1,694	25.33	1916	4,074	1,836	5,909	28.04	1936	11,249	4,292	15,542	82.97
1897	622	990	1,612	25.31	1917	7,120	1,817	8,937	27.47	1937	12,312	4,461	16,773	124.61
1898	872	1,006	1,879	25.43	1918	8,032	1,847	9,879	26.72	1938	8,696	4,612	13,308	170.65
1899	938	1,047	1,986	25.42	1919	15,823	2,178	18,002	31.75	1939	9,418	5,405	14,824	176.65
1900	1,315	1,474	2,789	25.38	1920	10,516	4,366	14,882	52.47	1940	8,077	3,575	11,652	176.62

Source: Frankema, E., Williamson, J., & Woltjer, P. (2015). An economic rationale for the African scramble: The commercial transition and the commodity price boom of 1845-1885. NBER Working Paper Series, no. 21213. National Bureau of Economic Research.

Notes: The Exchange Rates of Groundnut, the most predominate Export commodity, has been adopted as a proxy for the conversion of Francs to Sterling.

Appendix 4: Statement on Internal Trade Statistics

GENERAL IMPORTS into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria for the year 1901.

In addition to the foregoing the Niger Company estimate that goods to the value of £20,000 were imported from their stations in Southern Nigeria by native traders. It is not possible to form an estimate of the goods imported by natives purchasing from other firms in Southern Nigeria. The imports from Lagos territory by native traders are doubtless considerably larger, the caravan route to Lagos being one of the recognised trade routes, the distance less and the country safer.

GENERAL EXPORTS, from the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the year 1901.

The value of goods exported by the Niger Company showed an increase of £14,500. No statistics concerning native produce exported through Lagos and Southern Nigeria by native traders, are obtainable but if it is assumed that these showed a proportionate increase. The value of goods sent across the French and German frontiers cannot be estimated as the great trade centres in the Northern Provinces are not yet under the control of the Administration.

GENERAL IMPORTS into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria for the year 1902

There are no reliable statistics of the Imports into Northern Nigeria. All duties on goods imported oversea from the south are collected on the seaboard by the Governments of Southern Nigeria and Lagos and included in their returns. The Niger Company import a limited quantity of goods directly consigned to the Protectorate but the bulk of the imports are shipped to Lagos and Southern Nigeria and subsequently distributed by the large trading companies and native traders.

Messrs John Holt & Company have extended their trade and formed depôts at Quendon and Lokoja. The increased security and freedom of trade has also induced several small traders from the Coast to open shops at Lokoja, special facilities for the transport of merchandise have been granted by the Government, to these traders.

The Administration is not yet in touch with the caravan trade between the northern provinces and Tripoli. There is also a considerable caravan trade with Lagos and the north, the principal route running through Bida and Illorin.

GENERAL EXPORTS from the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the year 1902.

The Niger Company during the year exported native produce to the value of £68,422. 7. 9. and their local cash trade showed an increase of £18,030. Messrs John Holt & Company have furnished no statistics of trade for the present year. Large quantities of forest products are carried across the frontier by the natives and bartered with the trading stations in Lagos and Southern Nigeria.

The value of the exports across the French and German frontiers cannot be assessed as the great trading centres of the north have not yet been brought within the control of the Administration. The principal articles of export from that part of the country are:— Morocco leather, Kano cloth, ivory, ostrich feathers, horses, cattle and probably slaves.

GENERAL IMPORTS into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, for the year 1903.

IMPORTS.

There are no reliable statistics at present obtainable of the imports into Northern Nigeria. Most of the articles imported are consigned to Lagos and Southern Nigeria and subsequently distributed from those places.

A small Customs Department was established during the year in order to carry out the obligations imposed by the Berlin Act of 1885 and to collect certain specific duties, notably an import duty of 2/- per cwt on Salt, one shilling of which is levied in Southern Nigeria, and an export duty of 15% *ad valorem* on ivory. The Revenue collected by this Department from April to December 1903, amounted to £4,839 17. 11. and was almost entirely derived from the two heads mentioned above. Customs dues under the Customs Proclamation of 1902, and the Customs Tariff Proclamation of 1902 and 1903 are being levied on the French and German frontiers, but at present it is not possible to furnish statistics under these heads.

The principal articles of import are:—

Cotton Goods,	Hardware,	Tinned Provisions,
Woollen "	Earthenware,	Wines and Spirits,
Silk,	Salt,	Building Material.

The importation of spirituous liquors for sale or barter with the natives is strictly forbidden. Flint lock guns and trade gunpowder are imported to a limited extent under stringent regulations.

The importation of manufactured goods is yearly increasing, small shopkeepers from the coast towns, tailors, drapers, &c., have settled at Lokoja and do a considerable local cash trade.

GENERAL EXPORTS from the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the year 1903.

EXPORTS.

The principal articles of export are beeswax, beniseed, capsicums, ground nuts, gum, ivory, palm kernels, rubber, shea butter, shea nuts and wood oil by way of the Niger, and skins, leather, native cloths, ostrich feathers, and a little ivory from the northern provinces by way of the Sahara to Mediterranean ports. The value of the trade across the northern frontiers cannot at present be assessed, much of this trade with the adjacent French and German territories is by barter; horses, cattle, kola nuts &c. being exchanged for cloths, skins, &c.

The Niger Company in 1902 exported native produce to the declared value of £68,422. 7. 9. their local cash trade also showed an increase of £18,030, they have furnished no trade returns for the present year but it is assumed that there was a further increase during this period.

Much of the produce of the south eastern corner of the Protectorate which is inhabited by pagan tribes is carried into Southern Nigeria and bartered at stations where articles prohibited in Northern Nigeria can be readily obtained, this particular district is very rich in rubber and other valuable forest products. A considerable quantity of produce is traded into Lagos territory owing to the difficulties of transport to stations on the Niger.

Messrs John Holt and Company, exported from Northern Nigeria during the year native produce as follows:—

DESCRIPTION.	WEIGHT &c.				VALUE.		
	Tons.	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	£	s.	d.

GENERAL IMPORTS into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, for the year 1904.

IMPORTS.

There are no reliable statistics at present obtainable of the imports into Northern Nigeria. Most of the articles imported are consigned to Lagos and Southern Nigeria and subsequently distributed from those places.

A small Customs Department was established during the year 1903 in order to carry out the obligations imposed by the Berlin Act of 1885. And to collect certain specific duties, notably an import duty of 2/- per cwt on Salt, one shilling of which is levied in Southern Nigeria, and an export duty of 15% *ad valorem* on ivory. Customs Stations have been instituted during the year on the frontiers towards French and German territory. Imports from Southern Nigeria and Lagos have free entry into the Protectorate, with the exception of salt which pays a duty of 1/- per cwt. The Customs accruing on all goods entering from these Protectorates are collected at the coast ports of entry, and are included in the revenue of those Governments. The Tripoli Arabs have availed themselves extensively of the Parcel Post and Customs dues amounting to about £600 have been collected on articles thus imported. The revenue from Customs during the year 1903-1904 amounted to £6,463.

The principal articles of import are:—

Cotton Goods,	Hardware,	Tinned Provisions,
Woollen "	Earthenware,	Wines and Spirits,
Silk,	Salt,	Building Material.

The importation of spirituous liquors for sale or barter with the natives is strictly forbidden. Flint lock guns and trade gunpowder are imported to a limited extent under stringent regulations.

The importation of manufactured goods is yearly increasing, small shopkeepers from the coast towns, tailors, drapers, &c., have settled at Lokoja and do a considerable local cash trade.

GENERAL EXPORTS from the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the year 1904.

EXPORTS.

The principal articles of export are beeswax, beniseed, capsicums, ground nuts, gum, ivory, palm kernels, rubber, shea butter, shea nuts and wood oil by way of the Niger, and skins, leather, native cloths, ostrich feathers, and a little ivory from the northern provinces by way of the Sahara to Mediterranean ports. The value of the trade across the northern frontiers cannot at present be assessed, much of this trade with the adjacent French and German territories is by barter, horses, cattle, kola nuts &c. being exchanged for cloths, skins, &c.

It is to be regretted that it is not possible to furnish statistics as to the Export Trade.

Much of the produce of the south eastern corner of the Protectorate which is inhabited by pagan tribes is carried into Southern Nigeria and bartered at stations where articles prohibited in Northern Nigeria can be readily obtained, this particular district is very rich in rubber and other valuable forest products. A considerable quantity of produce is traded into Lagos territory owing to the difficulties of transport to stations on the Niger.

GENERAL IMPORTS into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, for the year 1905.

IMPORTS.

Northern Nigeria possessing no coast line of its own, has no reliable statistics of imports, as a great proportion of the articles entering this Protectorate are consigned to Lagos and Southern Nigeria and distributed from there; the customs duties are collected at the various ports at which they enter and are credited to the revenue of their respective Governments.

The customs duty on goods consigned direct to Northern Nigeria are collected at Forcados and credited to the revenue of Southern Nigeria.

A small Customs Department was established in 1903 to carry out the obligation imposed by the Berlin Act of 1885, also to collect certain specific duties, principally an import duty of 1/- per cwt. on salt (in addition to 1/- per cwt. levied in Southern Nigeria) and an export duty of 15% *ad valorem* on ivory.

The amount collected on salt for the year amounted to £7,916 0 0. — (1904-5)

The principal articles of import are:—

Cotton Goods,	Hardware,	Tinned Provisions,
Woollen "	Earthenware,	Wines and Spirits,
Silk "	Salt,	Building Material & Machinery.

The importation of spirituous liquors for sale or barter with the natives is strictly forbidden. Flint lock guns and trade gunpowder are imported to a limited extent under stringent regulations.

Imports generally show a decided increase, new firms having been established in the Protectorate.

GENERAL EXPORTS from the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the year 1905.

EXPORTS.

The principal articles of export are beeswax, beniseed, capsicums, ground nuts, gum, ivory, palm kernels, rubber, shea butter, shea nuts and wood oil and tin by way of the Niger, and skins, leather, native cloths, ostrich feathers, and a little ivory from the northern provinces by way of the Sahara to Mediterranean ports.

It is not possible at present to furnish any reliable statistics on the Export Trade, as a great proportion of the Trade with the adjacent French and German territories is by barter and much of the produce of the South Eastern corner of the Protectorate inhabited chiefly by Pagan tribes is carried into Southern Nigeria and bartered. A considerable quantity of produce is also traded into Lagos territory owing to the difficulties of transport to stations on the Niger.

The total quantity of cotton exported during the year is 87 tons of Raw Cotton equal to about 26 tons of lint valued at £1,044.

The value of the produce exported by the two principal firms is returned at £148,258 of which rubber is £101,207.

The export duty on Ivory fell from £644 last year, to £68 this year.

GENERAL IMPORTS into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, for the year 1905.

IMPORTS.

Northern Nigeria possessing no coast line of its own, has no reliable statistics of imports, as a great proportion of the articles entering this Protectorate are consigned to Lagos and Southern Nigeria and distributed from there; the customs duties are collected at the various ports at which they enter and are credited to the revenue of their respective Governments.

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The returns published on pages 2 to 5 are compiled by Southern Nigeria Customs Department, and those published on pages 8 and 9 are compiled by the Northern Nigeria Customs Department at Lokoja.

The customs duty on goods consigned direct to Northern Nigeria are collected at Forcados and credited to the revenue of Southern Nigeria.

A Customs Department was established in 1903 to carry out the obligation imposed by the Berlin Act of 1885, also to collect certain specific duties, principally an import duty of 1/- per cwt, on salt (in addition to 1/- per cwt. levied in Southern Nigeria) and an export duty of 15% *ad valorem* on ivory.

Considerable overland trade is carried on between Northern and Southern Nigeria, and also between North Africa and the Northern Provinces, but owing to lack of Staff no detailed returns have been kept.

GENERAL EXPORTS from the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the year 1906.

EXPORTS.

The principal articles of export by way of the Niger, are given on pages 6 and 7 Skins, leather, native cloths, ostrich feathers, and a little ivory from the northern provinces are exported by way of the Sahara to Mediterranean ports.

During the dry season (December to April) large Caravans journey from the Northern Provinces to the Coast. Besides the articles mentioned above, there is a considerable trade in horses and cattle between Northern and Southern Nigeria.

It is not possible to furnish any reliable statistics on the Export Trade, as a great proportion of the Trade with the adjacent French and German territories is by barter and much of the produce of the South Eastern corner of the Protectorate inhabited chiefly by Pagan tribes is carried into Southern Nigeria and bartered.

GENERAL IMPORTS into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, for the year 1907.

IMPORTS.

Northern Nigeria possessing no coast line of its own, has no reliable statistics of imports, as a great proportion of the articles entering this Protectorate are consigned to Lagos and Southern Nigeria and distributed from there; the customs duties are collected at the various ports at which they enter and are credited to the revenue of Southern Nigeria.

The returns published on pages 4 to 12 are compiled by Southern Nigeria Customs Department, and those published on pages 2 and 3 are compiled by the Northern Nigeria Customs Department at Lokoja.

The customs duty on goods consigned direct to Northern Nigeria are collected at Forcados and credited to the revenue of Southern Nigeria.

A Customs Department was established in 1903 to carry out the obligation imposed by the Berlin Act of 1885, also to collect certain specific duties, principally an import duty of 1/- per cwt, on salt (in addition to 1/- per cwt. levied in Southern Nigeria) and an export duty of 15% *ad valorem* on ivory.

Considerable overland trade is carried on between Northern and Southern Nigeria, and also between North Africa and the Northern Provinces, but owing to lack of Staff no detailed returns have been kept.

GENERAL EXPORTS from the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the year 1907.

EXPORTS.

The principal articles of export by way of the Niger, are given on pages 13 to 15. Skins, leather, native cloths, ostrich feathers, and a little ivory from the northern provinces are exported by way of the Sahara to Mediterranean ports.

During the dry season (December to April) large Caravans journey from the Northern Provinces to the Coast. Besides the articles mentioned above, there is a considerable trade in horses and cattle between Northern and Southern Nigeria.

It is not possible to furnish any reliable statistics on the Export Trade, as a great proportion of the Trade with the adjacent French and German territories is by barter and much of the produce of the South Eastern corner of the Protectorate inhabited chiefly by Pagan tribes is carried into Southern Nigeria and bartered.

GENERAL IMPORTS into the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, for the year 1908.

IMPORTS.

Northern Nigeria possessing no coast line of its own, has no reliable statistics of imports, as a great proportion of the articles entering this Protectorate are consigned to Lagos and Southern Nigeria and distributed from there; the customs duties are collected at the various ports at which they enter and are credited to the revenue of Southern Nigeria.

The returns published on pages 4 to 14 are compiled by Southern Nigeria Customs Department, and those published on pages 2 and 3 are compiled by the Northern Nigeria Customs Department at Lokoja.

The customs duty on goods consigned direct to Northern Nigeria are collected at Forcados and credited to the revenue of Southern Nigeria.

A Customs Department was established in 1903 to carry out the obligation imposed by the Berlin Act of 1885, also to collect certain specific duties, principally an import duty of 1/- per cwt, on salt (in addition to 1/- per cwt. levied in Southern Nigeria) and an export duty of 15% *ad valorem* on ivory.

Considerable overland trade is carried on between Northern and Southern Nigeria, and also between North Africa and the Northern Provinces, but owing to lack of staff no detailed returns have been kept.

GENERAL EXPORTS from the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the year 1908.

EXPORTS.

The principal articles of export by way of the Niger, are given on pages 15 to 17. Skins, leather, native cloths, ostrich feathers, and a little ivory from the Northern Provinces are exported by way of the Sahara to Mediterranean ports.

During the dry season (December to April) large Caravans journey from the Northern Provinces to the Coast. Besides the articles mentioned above, there is a considerable trade in horses and cattle between Northern and Southern Nigeria.

It is not possible to furnish any reliable statistics on the Export Trade, as a great proportion of the Trade with the adjacent French and German territories is by barter and much of the produce of the South Eastern corner of the Protectorate inhabited chiefly by Pagan tribes is carried into Southern Nigeria and bartered.

Annual Report on Ashanti for the year 1905

2. I have endeavoured, but so far unsuccessfully, to obtain returns of the tonnage imported into Ashanti by the railway during 1905—to which must be added all the goods imported on men's heads—roughly, 20 per cent. of the railway tonnage. Certain it is that there was an appreciable increase of imports last year over 1904.

There have hitherto been no means of ascertaining what the exports amounted to, but now that caravan tax stations have been established round the frontier, I trust that an accurate estimate will be obtained in future.

Annual Report for the year 1907,

5. Local trade increased about 50 per cent. as compared with that of 1906, and this accounts for the increased goods traffic on the Ashanti section of the railway of 4,494 tons.

Ashanti for the year 1908

It is very difficult to estimate the value of imports into Ashanti for the year under review, owing to the amount of merchandise entering from the Colony and from adjoining territories, by carrier transport.

ASHANTI, 1915.

5

Cattle.—This trade cannot be accurately gauged. 39,200 head passed in from the Northern Territories, and a large quantity from French territory through the Western Province. Owing, however, to the increased requirements of the French themselves fewer cattle are reported to have entered the country than in previous years, and

Kola.—The kola traders say there has never been such a year for kola-nuts, either for amount or quality. An average price of 12s. 6d per 2,000 nuts obtained. The railway return shows a slight decrease. This arises from the traders being unwilling to risk the delays of shipping, etc., during war time. The bulk of this trade goes overland, and the number of loads is not checked.

ANNUAL REPORT ON ASHANTI, 1923-1924.

Ashanti. The only figures available to indicate the course of trade are the tonnage figures supplied by the Railway, which are fully set out under the Head of Railway in this Report. A certain amount of local trade is carried on overland, the principal import being cattle and the principal export being Kola. The articles of

route for the Northern Territories was nearly double that of the previous year and double that of the year 1921." The figures given for 1921 were 1,800 loads of kerosene, a load of kerosene being two four gallon tins. Such figures are, however, unreliable, and cannot be accepted as accurate. Kintampo is not the only route for cattle from the North, and the owners of cattle are not bound to enter the country at any particular point. Further, almost all the trade going North (except Kola) such as Cottons, Kerosene and imported goods is now principally conveyed by motors, whereas last year and previous years a much larger proportion was conveyed by head loads.

Annual Report on Ashanti, 1926-1927.

It is difficult to calculate the actual volume of trade passing through the country owing to the non-establishment of Declaration Ports; however, the police at Kintampo, which is not on the main trade route, report the following as having passed through that station:—

Ashanti

1930-31

It is difficult to calculate the actual volume of trade passing through the country owing to the non-establishment of Declaration Ports; however, the police at Kintampo, which is not on the main trade route report the following as having passed through that station:—

Report on the Northern Territories for the year 1906

16. There are signs all over the country of increasing trade, more caravans are coming from the north, and traders from the south are buying local cattle in greatly increasing numbers in preference to the Moshi cattle.

17. During the year an Ordinance was passed enforcing the import duty of 10 per cent. on all goods coming into this Protectorate from the German and French colonies that surround it.

Report on the Northern Territories for the year 1909

It is very difficult to obtain accurate statistics of either imports or exports, owing to the number of roads along which trade passes, not only in the Protectorate itself but also between it and Ashanti and the adjoining territories of France and Germany. However, from all the available statistics and the reports of Commissioners, there appears to have been a decided increase, throughout the Protectorate, under all heads of imports and exports during the year under review compared with the previous year; the only exception being in brass rods, which

Report on the Northern Territories for the year 1911

Trade statistics are kept at all stations, but, as has been previously pointed out, these statistics give only an approximate idea of the volume of imports and exports, owing to the number of roads along which trade passes, over which the Administration have no means of collecting statistics.

Report on the Northern Territories for the year 1912,

Although trade statistics are kept at stations situated on the principal trade routes in this Dependency, the figures so obtained cannot pretend to represent accurately the volume of trade in imports or exports. This is to be accounted for by the facts that the registration of live stock and trade goods is voluntary, and that many trade routes—notably that from the north through Daboya to Kintampo—do not pass through any provincial or district stations. A general increase in imports is reported by the Commissioners.

The figures available show a total of 229,750½ loads registered in 1912, as against 165,318½ in 1911, an increase of 64,432 loads; but, as already stated, these figures cannot be relied on, and it is estimated that if the large number of caravans that passed up and down country during the year—travelling in most cases by night—had been registered, the number of loads recorded this year would have been increased by one-third. There was an increase of

Northern Territories for the year 1913

As stated in previous Reports on this Dependency, it is impossible under present conditions, to give more than an approximate estimate of the volume of trade entering and leaving the country. Trade statistics are kept at stations situated on the main trade routes, but, as the registration of live stock and trade goods is voluntary, and as many caravans—especially those composed of live stock—pass through the stations during the night, the figures given can be looked on only as an indication of a general increase or decrease in trade, as the case may be. The trade routes from the north through Daboya to Kintampo and others of minor importance do not pass through any stations where statistics can be collected, nor are such compiled at Kintampo, in Ashanti. Imports consist generally of cotton and woollen goods, silk handkerchiefs and lengths, hardware, haberdashery, beads, brass rods, tobacco, tinned provisions, and kola nuts from Ashanti.

ANNUAL REPORT ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES
FOR 1915.

6. It is impossible, under present conditions, to give more than an approximate estimate of the volume of trade entering and leaving the Country. Trade Statistics are kept at Stations situated on the main trade routes, but as the registration of live stock and trade goods is voluntary, and as many Caravans—especially those composed of live stock—pass through the Stations during the night, the figures given can be looked on only as an indication of a general increase or decrease in trade, as the case may be. The Trade Routes from the North through Daboya to Kintampo, and others of minor importance, do not pass through any Stations where Statistics can be collected, nor are such compiled at Kintampo in Ashanti.

9. No Trade Statistics were kept at Gambaga from the commencement of the year up to the end of September, nor at Zouaragu from June to December but in spite of this the available figures for the Province show an increase of some 3,000 in Cattle, Sheep and Donkeys over those of the previous year.

ANNUAL REPORT ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES
FOR 1917.

7. No figures, that would give an accurate estimate of the volume of trade entering and leaving the country, are available. Trade statistics are kept at stations situated on the main trade routes, but as the registration of live-stock and trade goods is voluntary, and as many caravans—especially those composed of live-stock—pass through the stations during the night, the figures given can be looked on only as an indication of a general increase or decrease in trade, as the case may be. The trade routes from the north through Daboya to Kintampo, and others of minor importance, do not pass through any stations where statistics can be collected, nor are such compiled at Kintampo in Ashanti.

Sierra Leone COLONIAL REPORTS—ANNUAL. FOR 1908.

This decrease, being more apparent than real, requires some explanation. The greater portion of the bullocks slaughtered for purposes of consumption in this Colony has for years past been brought by sea from Senegal, Gambia, and French Guinea. During the year 1908 the enormous decrease in exportable products of the soil in French Guinea, more particularly in rubber, deprived the natives of a great part of the resources necessary for their maintenance and payment of taxes; they were thus compelled to sell their cattle in order to supply their needs, and meet their obligations. The price of their bullocks dropped in consequence to such an extent that Senegal and the Gambia could no longer compete. Moreover, a large number of the bullocks supplied by French Guinea last year were brought overland to Port Lokko, and conveyed thence to Freetown by canoe, and as no statistics are kept of the inland trade none of the bullocks thus imported figure in the returns.

In point of fact, the consumption of beef is on the increase, and the number of bullocks slaughtered in Freetown for human use in 1908 is in excess of that in 1907.

Appendix 5: Statistical Validation (Sample) Lagos Import Statistics

94

GENERAL IMPORTS—continued.

Articles.	Countries whence imported.	Total quantities imported.	Quantities entered for home consumption.	VALUE IN STERLING.		DUTY.	
				Of total imports.	Average Price fixed for Value (if calculated officially.)	Gross amount received in sterling.	Rate & when imposed
				£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Brought forward...£	61064 8 1	61290 13 1	
Jewellery ...	Cape Coast	1 pkg.		0 15 6			
	Germany	9 pkgs.		113 4 3			
	Great Britain	40 "		301 8 10			
	Lokoja	1 pkg.		2 10 0			
	Porto Novo	13 pkgs.		33 15 0			
	Sierra Leone	2 "		10 10 0			
	Warree	1 pkg.	67 pkgs.	4 16 0	466 19 7	46 14 0	10 c/o
Kola Nuts ...	Acera	1379631 lbs.		23296 16 0			
	Adlah	112 "		2 10 0			
	Axim	336 "		6 0 0			
	Cameroon	84 "		1 15 0			
	Cape Coast	460875 "		8484 0 0			
	Congo	1400 "		25 0 0			
	Fernando Po	1540 "		25 10 0			
	Porto Novo	168 "		5 0 0			
	Salt Pond	72352 "		1292 0 0			
	Sekondi	84 "		1 10 0			
	Sierra Leone	51156 "	1967738 lbs.	920 10 0	34059 11 0	1967 14 9	2s. per 100 lbs

Dahomey Import Statistics

42

JOURNAL OFFICIEL DU DAHOMEY

DAHOMEY ET DÉPENDANCES

RELEVÉ GÉNÉRAL, par pays de provenance, des principales importations au Dahomey pendant l'année 1902

CLASSIFICATION DES MATIÈRES IMPORTÉES	FRANCE	COLONIES FRANÇ.	ANGLETERRE	ALLEMAGNE	ÉTAT-UNIS	LAGOS	AUTRES PAYS	TOTAUX
Saindoux.....	14.500	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Beurre.....	8.935	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Farines.....	32.771	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Riz.....	54.874	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Sucres.....	69.494	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Tabacs.....	66.904	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Bois.....	139.934	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Bolssons.....	585.378	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Chaux.....	42.738	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Ciment.....	106.731	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Métaux.....	76.086	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Sel.....	109.058	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Parfumerie.....	12.040	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
SAVON (autres que ceux de parfumerie)	15.871	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Poteries.....	8.364	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Verres et cristaux.....	57.877	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Fils.....	25.798	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Tissus.....	88.257	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Machines et mécaniques..	182.073	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Monnaies et papiers monnaies.....	893.171	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Poudre de traite.....	293.348	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Ouvrages en autres étoffes.....	157.108	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Ouvrages en bois.....	229.961	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Peaux et pebbles ouvrés.....	21.094	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Huiles de pétrole.....	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Huiles et sucres végétaux.....	33.031	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Autres marchandises.....	389.355	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Totaux.....	3.785.043	»	3.489.652	5.758.986	»	1.884.861	2.171.844	17.099.386

RELEVÉ GÉNÉRAL, par pays de destination, des exportations du Dahomey pendant l'année 1902.

MATIÈRES EXPORTÉES	FRANCE	COLONIES FRANÇ.	ANGLETERRE	ALLEMAGNE	LAGOS	TOGO	AUTRES PAYS	TOTAUX
ANIMAUX VIVANTS.....	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Dents d'éléphant.....	5.250	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Poissons secs ou fumés.....	»	»	»	»	348	»	»	»
AMANDES DE PALME.....	507.506	»	132.750	6.288.080	257.819	1.568	»	7.596.163
COCA.....	630	»	»	»	48.480	120	»	49.230
Huiles de palme.....	3.102.213	»	718.193	699.070	114.353	»	»	5.323.832
Caoutchouc.....	1.354	»	2.418	»	753	»	»	4.725
Cocos et Coprah.....	87.416	»	»	565	3.113	»	»	91.094
Mais.....	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Autres produits.....	4.716	»	2.829	»	»	»	»	»
Réexportation.....	»	»	»	»	474.100	8.775	»	482.875
Totaux.....	4.159.375	»	856.193	7.288.221	1.354.964	10.463	»	13.699.216

6.0. REFERENCE

SECTION I: UNPUBLISHED NON STATISTICAL SOURCES

1.1 From The National Archives, United Kingdom

A. Nigeria

Reference No.

C.O. 147/40-179: Original Correspondence Relating to Lagos, (1880-1906)

C.O. 520/35-118: Original Correspondence Relating to Southern Nigeria, (1906-1912)

C.O. 806/ 130: Matter referring to General Issue Relating to Nigeria (1880-1940)

A.1 Key Specific Correspondence Cited

Egerton to Lyttleton, C. O. 147/175, 1905.

Egerton to Elgin, C.O. 520/45, 22nd April 1907. Minute by Anderson, 25th July 1907,
on C.A. to C.O., 15th July 1907, G.O. 520/510.

Memorandum by Anderson, 17th Nov., 1910, on Egerton to C.O., 9th October, 1910,
C.O. 520/99

Egerton to Elgin, 30th Nov., 1907, CO 520/50.

Egerton to Elgin, 22nd Feb., 1907, C.O. 520/43.

Egerton to Crewe, 8th November 1908, C.O. 520/67; Egerton to Crewe, 25th November (1908) and enc., C.O. 520/67.

B. Gold Coast

Reference No.

C.O. 96/-: Original Correspondence Relating to Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti Protectorate and Northern Territories (1880-1940)

C.O. 98/-: Legislative Council Debates (1880-1940)

C.O. 99/-: Government Gazettes (1880-1940)

C.O. 879/-: Colonial Confidential Print, Africa (West) (1880-1940)

B.1 Key Specific Correspondence Cited

H. C. Kenney-Herbert, *Report on the Neutral Zone*, C.O. 879/52, 24th January, 1898

F. M. Hodgson, Governor of Gold Coast, Letter to J. Chamberlain, C.O. 879/58, 18th July, 1899.

F. M. Hodgson, Governor of Gold Coast, Letter to J. Chamberlain, C.O. 879/58, 18th July, 1899.

C. Sierra Leone

Reference No.

C.O. 267/-: Correspondence and Dispatches (1880-1940)

C.O. 269/-: Ordinance and Acts (1880-1940)

C.O. 270/-: Sessional Papers, Administrative Reports, Minutes of Legislative and Executive Councils

C.O. 271/-: Government Gazettes (1880-1940)

C.O. 272/-: Miscellaneous, Blue Books of Statistics (1880-1940)

CO 1071/323: Colonial Reports (1880-1940)

C.1 Key Specific Correspondence Cited

Wilkinson to Milner. C. O. 267/583, 1st December, 1919

Slater to Amary, C. O. 267/607, 11th January, 1925

Hudson to Lord Passfield, C.O.267/635/9648, 20th May 1931

C.O.267/636/4 'Conditions of the Kola Trade' Enclosures

Hudson to Fiddian, C.O.267/636/9735, 28th December 1932.

Hay to Knustford, Feb 1, 1889, CO 879/31

Herbert to F.O, 7th February, 1890, C.O 879/32; See also African Trader's evidence in Hay to Knutsford, 2nd April, 1890, and 16th June, 1890.

D. Gambia

Reference No.

C.O. 87/-:	Correspondence and Dispatches (1880-1940)
C.O. 88/-:	Ordinances and Acts (1880-1940)
C.O. 89/-:	Sessional Papers (1880-1940)
C.O. 90/-:	Miscellaneous, (1880-1940)
C.O. 460/-:	Government Gazettes (1880-1940)

In respect of Gambia and Sierra Leone, C. S. O. files accessible on Agriculture, Transport, Industry, and minutes of Executive meetings which provide material on colonial policy, performance and engagements in these sectors in the National Archives in UK were also helpful.

E. West Africa

E.1 Key Specific Correspondence Cited

Chamberlain to Governors, and H. Commissioners of West Africa and Protectorates, 2nd May, 1902, C.O. Africa (West), 645.

C.O. Memorandum by Butler, 8th May, 1907, C.O. 520/53.

BBWA to C.O., 20th Feb., 20, 1909, C.O. 520/87.

Minute by Harcourt, 4th Aug., 1911, on BBWA to C.O., 20th July, 1911, C.O. 520/110.

Rodger to Crewe, 22nd Nov., 1909, C.O. Africa, (West), 979.

Rowe to Granville, 29th April, 1886; and a memorandum, 21st December, 1886, CO879/24.

F.O. to C.O., 9th May, 1890 and Minute by Hemming. 12th May, 1890, C.O. 147/78.

1.2A Nigerian National Archives, Ibadan, Nigeria

Reference No

CSO 1/ -:	Dispatches of correspondence
CSO 1/1 -CSO1/12:	Colony of Lagos (1880 – 1906)
CSO 1/3 -CSO1/18:	Oil Rivers, Niger Coast Protectorate and Southern Nigeria (1891-1906)
CSO 1/19 - CSO1/25:	Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria (1906-1914)
CSO 1/26 - CSO1/31:	Northern Nigeria Protectorate (1900-1913)
CSO 1/32 - CSO1/64:	Nigeria (1914-1940)
CSO 4/-:	Reports and Instruments (Administrative & Constitutional, Legal)
CSO 7/1-:	Minutes Books (Executive & Legislative Council) (1880-1923)
CSO 7/2-:	Minutes (Miscellaneous Minutes & Memoranda) (1925-1940)
CSO 8/2-:	Governor of Lagos and Southern Nigeria: Letter Book of incoming local Correspondence (1896-1909)
CSO 8/3-:	Governor of Nigeria, Letter Book of Outgoing Correspondence (1919-1931)
CSO 8/4-5:	Governor of Lagos and Southern Nigeria, Nigeria: Letter Book of Correspondence with Firms (Foreign and Local), Chiefs, British Consul, Governors of Neighboring and Foreign Territories (1880-1923)
CSO 8/7-:	Governor of Lagos and Southern Nigeria, Nigeria and Colonial Secretary Lagos: Letter Book of Miscellaneous Correspondence (1889-1936)

1.2B Public Records and Archives Administration Department, Ghana

Accra, Head Office

- GH/PRAAD, ADM5/1/-: Departmental Reports and Annual Bulletins (1880-1940)
- GH/PRAAD, ADM5/2/-: Departmental Reports and Census (1880-1940)
- GH/PRAAD, ADM5/3/-: Reports and Sessional Papers (1880-1940)
- GH/PRAAD, ADM5/4/-: Miscellaneous Administrative Records (1880-1940)
- GH/PRAAD, ADM5/4/-: Descriptive List of Miscellaneous Administrative Records (1880-1940)
- GH/PRAAD, ADM6/-: Government Gazettes (1880-1940)

Tamale

- PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/3/-: Annual General and Departmental Report
- PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/310-: Yeji Ferry Trade Statistics

Kumasi

- PRAAD, Kumasi, ARG/1/12/36-: The Kola Trade, 1924-1934

Key Specific Correspondence Cited

- GH/PRAAD (*Cape Coast*) ADM 23/1/241/ *Commissioner Central Province to Mallam Momodu Lateje and Others, Cape Coast, 24 July, 1917.*
- GH/PRAAD, (*Cape Coast*) ADM 23/1/241. *F.D. Lugard, Governor-General, Nigeria to His Excellency The Governor, Gold Coast, Accra, 23, March, 1917*
- GH/PRAAD (*Accra*) ADM 11/1446 *Palaver held at Government House, Christianborg, on 9th July 1908*
- GH/PRAAD (*Accra*), *Gold Coast Colony Report on the Department of Agriculture for the year 1930-1931*
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SECTION II: PUBLISHED SOURCES

Part 1: Statistical Sources

2a Nigerian National Archives, Ibadan, Nigeria

i.	Lagos Blue Books of Statistics,	1880-1905
ii.	Southern Nigeria Blue Books of Statistics,	1906-1913
iii.	Northern Nigeria Blue Books of Statistics,	1900-1913
iv.	Nigeria Blue Books of Statistics,	1914-1940
v.	Lagos Annual Colonial Reports,	1889-1904
vi.	Southern Nigeria Annual Report,	1905-1913
vii.	Northern Nigeria Annual Report,	1902-1913
viii.	Nigeria Annual Report,	1914-1940
ix.	Customs and Trade,	1899-1915
x.	Trade Statistical Abstract,	1916-1920
xi.	Customs Report,	1921-1930
xii.	Trade Report,	1930-1940
xiii.	Lagos, Railways,	1905-1912
xiv.	Nigeria Railways,	1912-1919
xv.	Nigeria Railway and Udi Coal Mines,	1922-1933
xvi.	Nigeria Railway and Collieries,	1933-1937
xvii.	Nigeria Government Railways,	1937-1940

2b Public Records and Archives Administration Department, Ghana

i.	(Accra) Gold Coast Blue Books of Statistics,	1880-1939
ii.	(Accra) Annual Report for the Gold Coast,	1880-1939
iii.	(Kumasi) Annual Report for Ashanti,	1897-1919
iv.	(Tamale) Annual Report of the Northern Territories,	1900-1919
v.	(Accra) Census of the Gold Coast,	1921, 1931, 1948
vi.	(Accra) Gold Coast, Customs and Marine,	1898-1926
vii.	(Accra) Gold Coast, Trade Reports,	1927-1940

2c The National Archives, United Kingdom (Formerly Public Records Office)

i.	Gambia Blue Books of Statistics,	1880-1940
ii.	Gambia, Annual Colonial Reports,	1881-1938
iii.	Sierra Leone, Blue Books of Statistics,	1880-1940
iv.	Sierra Leone, Annual Report,	1882-1928

v.	Sierra Leone, Trade Reports,	1922-1939
vi.	Sierra Leone, Custom Report,	1905-1921
vii.	Railways,	1908-1938
viii.	Road Transport,	1914-1940

2d Complimentary Online Statistical Sources

- i. African Economic History Network, Africa Commodity Trade Database (<https://www.aehnetwork.org/data-research/>) Frankema, Ewout, Jeffrey Williamson and Pieter Woltjer. "An Economic Rationale for the West African Scramble? The Commercial Transition and the Commodity Price Boom of 1835-1885." *The Journal of Economic History* **78**, no. 2 (2018) forthcoming.
- ii. British Archives Online, Colonial Africa in official statistics, 1821-1953 (<https://microform.digital/boa/>)
- iii. Hathi Trust, Annual Colonial Reports on Colonies, Nigeria, 1897-1938 (<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100697177>)
- iv. University of Illinois Library, Annual Colonial Reports on Gold Coast:1895-1939 <http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530214/>
- v. ProQuest UK Parliamentary Papers
 - a. <https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/search/basic/hcppbasicsearch>
 - i. Board of Trade, *Statistical Abstract for the Several British Overseas Dominions and Protectorates*, 1907-1921, 1913 and 1922-1927
 - ii. Board of Trade, *Statistical Abstract for the Colonial and Other Possession of the United Kingdom* 1879-1893, 1886-1900, 1899-1913
 - iii. Board of Trade, *Statistical Abstract for the British Empire*, 1928-1937

Part 2: Non Statistical and Descriptive Sources

2.1 West Africa

2.1a Parliamentary Papers (PP)

- i. PP. Cd.2325, (1904). *Papers Relating to the Construction of Railways in Sierra Leone, Lagos and the Gold Coast, 1904.*
- i. Colonial Office. (1932). *An Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire, 1931.*
- ii. Colonial Office. (1937). *An Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire, 1937.*
- iii. Emmott Committee. (1912). *Report of Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into matters affecting the Currency of the British West African Colonies and Protectorates. Reports and Minutes of Evidence, 1912.* Cmd. 6426 and 6427.
- iv. Maitland Committee. (1916). *Report of the Edible and Oils Producing Nuts and Seed, 1916.* CD, 8248.
- ii. Clifford Committee. (1922). *Report on Trade and Taxation for British West Africa, 1922,* Cd 1600.
- iii. Ormsby-Gore. (1926). *Report by the Hon. W G. A. Ormsby-Gore, M.P. (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) on his visit to West Africa during the year 1926, 1926.* Cmd. 2744.
- v. Nowell Commission. (1938), *Report on the Commission on the Marketing of West African Cocoa, 1938.* CD 5845.
- vi. Colonial Office. (1951). *An Economic Survey of the Colonial Territories, 1951. Vol. III, The West African Territories- The Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, and St Helena, 1951,* Col. nos. 281-3.

2.1b. Nigerian Government

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2.1c Gold Coast Government

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- ii. Sessional Paper No. 6 (1926). *Report of the Central Province Trade Routes Committee, of 1928-29.*
- iii. Sessional Paper No.3 (1932). *Report of the Railway Revenue Committee (Roads vs Railway) of 1931-32.*
- iv. Muir, J.C, (1929). *The Cola Industry in the Western Province of Ashanti'*, Vol.22, 1929.
- v. Miles, A.C, (1930). 'Cola Survey: Eastern Ashanti Area, and a General review of the Cola industry'.

2.1d News Papers

- i. Lagos Times, 27th December, 1882.
- ii. West African Mail and Trade Gazette (WAMTG), 14th May 1932.

2.2 Articles

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7.0 SPECIFIC TABLES, FIGURES AND MAPS

Chapter One

Table 1: Socio-Political Diversities in West Africa

	Territory	Status	Year of Acquisition	Area in Square Miles	Native Population	European Population	Total Population	Density
BWA	The Gambia			4,068	213,890	274	214,164	52.7
	Bathurst and George Town	Colony	1888	69	14,370	250	14,620	211.8
	Rest of Area	Protectorate	1902	3,999	199,520	24	199,544	49.6
	Gold Coast			91,843	3,634,924	4,328	3,639,252	39.6
	Gold Coast	Colony	1874	23,937	1,780,969	3,543	1,784,512	74.6
	Ashanti	Protectorate	1901	24,379	668,320	624	668,944	27.4
	Northern Territories	Protectorate	1901	30,486	815,408	107	815,515	26.8
	British Togoland	Mandate	1920	13,041	370,227	54	370,281	28.4
	Nigeria		1914	406,755	21,893,149	5,246	21,898,395	53.8
	Lagos	Colony	1861	1,381				
	Southern Nigeria	Protectorate		89,590				
	Northern Nigeria	Protectorate	1900	281,703				
	British Cameroon	Mandate	1920	34,081	857,227			
	Sierra Leone			27,925	1,766,613	651	1,768,480	63.3
	Peninsula (Freetown)	Colony	1808	256	95,558	420	96,422	376.6
	Rest of Area	Protectorate	1896	27,669	1,671,055	231	1,672,058	60.4
BWA Total				530,591	27,508,576	10,499	27,520,291	51.87
FWA	French West Africa	Federation	1895	1,844,166	15,675,068	28,255	15,710,315	8.5
	Dakar and Dependencies	Colony		60	117,929	9000	126,929	2,115.4
	Mauritania	Colony	1909 (1921)	323,310	370,389	375	370,764	1.1
	Senegal	Colony	1854 (1894)	77,730	1,659,774	6,600	1,666,374	21.4
	French Sudan	Colony	1883 (1920)	590,966	3,632,073	3,000	3,635,073	6.2
	Niger	Colony	1922	499,410	1,809,076	500	1,809,576	3.6
	French Guinea	Colony	1891	96,886	2,060,927	3,600	2,065,527	21.3
	Ivory Coast	Colony	1883 (1892)	180,802	3,973,425	3,784	3,983,149	22
	Dahomey	Colony	1857 (1894)	41,302	1,288,155	1,013	1,289,128	31.2
	Togo	Mandate	1920	33,700	763,360	383	763,795	22.6
	FWA Total				1,844,166	15,675,068	28,255	15,710,315
PWA	Portuguese Guinea	Colony	1879	13,944	424,590	1,419	426,009	30.6
IWA	Independent (Liberia)	Republic	1847	43,000	1,985,000	15,300	2,000,300	46.5
Total West Africa				2,431,701	45,593,234	55,473	45,656,915	19

Source: Constructed with information from the following sources: *Annual Colonial Reports from All British West African Colonies*. FWA is culled from Witherell, J. W. (1967) and Ferraz, L. I. (1987) supplied PWA. Wieschhoff, H. A. (1944) served another useful reference.

Chapter Two

Territory	Area in Square Miles	Native Population	Density per square Mile
The Colony	26,401		
1921		1,258,311	47.7
1931		1,696,891	64.3
1948		2,217,416	84
Ashanti	24,379		
1921		400,561	16.4
1931		578,078	23.7
1948		817,782	33.5
Northern Territories	41,063		
1921		620,205	15.1
1931		885,417	21.6
1948		1,076,482	26.2
The Entire Gold Coast	91,843		
1921		2,279,077	24.8
1931		3,160,386	34.4
1948		4,111,680	44.7
Nigeria (1950)	372,674	24,330,000	65.28
Northern Province	281,703	13,800,000	48.99
Southern Province	89,590	10,100,000	112.74
Lagos	1,381	430,000	311.37
Southern Nigeria	90,971	10,530,000	115.75

Source: Colonial Office (1952), *An Economic Survey of the Colonial Territories, Volume III The West African Territories*.

Notes: Southern Nigeria is the combination of Lagos and the Southern Provinces which consisted of Western and Eastern Provinces

There had been no general census undertaken in Nigeria since 1931 when the population was estimated to be 19,928,171. The figure for 1950 was based on estimation.

	Population of Livestock in Nigeria			Total Livestock	Sierra Leone		
	Cattle	Sheep	Pig		Cattle	Sheep	Pig
1920	2,394,488	2,059,450	44,226	4,498,164			
1921	2,824,228	1,009,090	43,789	3,877,107			
1922	2,909,710	1,832,326	50,567	4,792,603			
1923	2,746,610	1,683,198	48,018	4,477,826			
1924	2,676,440	2,117,360	55,027	4,848,827	40,000	10,000	1,000
1925	2,864,186	1,478,600	59,229	4,402,015	40,000	10,000	1,000
1926	3,162,383	1,809,254	54,800	5,026,437	42,000	11,000	1,000
1927	2,996,679	1,827,446	65,128	4,889,253	43,000	11,000	1,000
1928	3,211,559	2,111,990	49,625	5,373,174	45,500	11,500	1,000
1929	3,186,607	2,056,769	50,170	5,293,546	44,000	11,500	1,000
1930	2,988,456	2,072,623	48,821	5,109,900			
1931	3,137,563	2,496,700	50,373	5,684,636			
1932	2,712,900	2,350,800	51,200	5,114,900			
1933	2,833,000	2,273,000	52,700	5,158,700			
1934	2,688,100	1,988,500	43,900	4,720,500			
1935	2,762,700	1,947,300	49,400	4,759,400			
1936	2,637,400	1,941,600	63,100	4,642,100			
1937	3,052,300	1,919,600	114,800	5,086,700			

Source: *Statistical Abstract for the Several British Overseas Dominions and Protectorates* for each of the years 1913 and 1922-1927; p.26-29

1920-1921 were taken from 1909-1923, p. 416-422

1930 sheep includes Mandated Cameroon

Data from 1930-1931 is taken from *Statistical Abstract for British Eempire, 1925-1931*, p.26-29

Chapter Three

Destination		1880-1900	1900-1913
Intercontinental		41,160	15,862
BWA		744,762	1,817,613
	Nigeria	298,098	1,070,096
	Gambia	446,503	747,228
	Sierra Leone	80	277
FWA		242,439	907,275
Others	Liberia		34

Source: Blue Books, BWA, 1880-1913

Year	Coastbound Exports					Total Coastbound	Northbound Domestic	Total Railed Tonnage
	Groundnuts	Tin Ore	Palm Kernels	Palm Oil	Cocoa		Kola Nut	
1916	43	7				50		50
1917	48	9				57		57
1918	n/a	8				8		8
1919	56	8				64		64
1920	52	7				59		59
*1921	46	7				53	**6	53
1922	25	8				33	7	40
1923	40	9				49	8	57
1924	101	8	***76	***35	***31	251	9	118
1925	131	9	81	35	28	284	10	294
1926	112	11	70	31	27	251	10	261
1927	96	11	73	32	28	240	10	250
1928	115	14	58	37	34	258	10	268
1929	157	14	53	35	31	290	11	301
1930	132	11	51	38	18	250	12	262
1931	158	9	48	30	18	263	12	275
1932	198	5	63	30	26	322	13	335
1933	206	5	46	33	27	317	13	330
1934	220	8	58	22	30	338	19	357
1935	164	11	70	36	35	316	17	333
1936	285	14	72	46	28	445	17	462
1937	257	15	50	40	34	396	24	420
Total	2,642	208	793	445	364	4,452	202	4,654

*The Data here reflects the situation from January 1921 to March 1922

**No consistent and reliable statistics before 1921

***No consistent and reliable statistics before 1921

Source: Nigeria Railway and Udi Coal Mines: Administrative Reports, 1922-1938, Lagos, Government Printer.

Table 3.3. Principal Goods Traffic by Sierra Leone Railways for Selected Years (in tons)						
	Coastbound Export	Interior-Bound Imports			Total Inter-territorial Commodities	Domestic
Year	Palm Kernels	Building Material	Salt	Cotton Goods		Foodstuffs
1906	8,926					
1907	11,524					
1908	11,884					
1909	16,575					
1910	19,264					
1911	20,020					
1912	22,613					
1913	24,787					
1924	34,935	1,021	3,852	601	40,409	2,235
1925	35,424	1,678	3,524	783	41,409	2,212
1929	-	-	-	-	-	2,382
1930	27,649	198	2,712	521	31,080	2,101
1931	32,964	117	1,995	367	35,443	2,731
1932	41,945	201	2,480	807	45,433	2,895
1933	33,368	140	2,258	402	36,168	2,521
1934	33,926	327	2,174	420	36,847	3,935
1935	43,104	246	2,415	863	46,628	3,086
1936	44,413	437	3,161	1,108	49,119	3,670

Source: Railway Reports, Selected Years

Table 3.4a: Commodity Trade by Gold Coast Railways (excluding livestock), 1900-1940 (in 000 tons)

Year	Inter-Territorial Goods							Intra-Territorial Goods				Grand Total
	Exported			Total Exports	Imports		Total Imports	Domestic			Total Domestic	
	Cocoa	Manganese	Exported timber		Coal oil petrol and kerosene	Other mainly imported		Timber not exported	Firewood	Local produce		
1904	0.1	0.0	1.2	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.9	-
1905	0.6	0.0	6.4	7.0	0.4	24.4	24.8	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.4	32.2
1906	0.1	0.0	5.6	5.7	0.6	40.5	41.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.6	47.4
1907	0.6	0.0	12.0	12.6	0.1	37.8	37.9	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.6	51.1
1908	0.8	0.0	8.2	9.0	0.7	31.7	32.4	0.0	0.0	4.8	4.8	46.2
1909	1.8	0.0	1.4	3.2	0.7	45.9	46.6	0.0	0.0	5.7	5.7	55.5
1910	1.9	0.0	2.1	4.0	0.8	71.3	72.1	0.0	0.0	6.3	6.3	82.4
1911	5.1	0.0	2.5	7.6	1.1	83.9	85.0	0.0	81.4	8.2	89.6	182.2
1912	20.8	0.0	4.1	24.9	1.3	88.0	89.3	0.0	72.0	11.2	83.2	197.4
1913	37.4	0.0	9.9	47.3	1.7	107.1	108.8	0.6	66.4	7.9	74.9	231.0
1914	41.1	0.0	7.8	48.9	1.9	116.3	118.2	0.6	80.3	10.6	91.5	258.6
1915	60.3	0.0	1.1	61.4	1.9	90.2	92.1	0.8	99.0	15.9	115.7	269.3
1916	57.3	4.3	1.4	63.0	2.6	97.3	99.9	0.6	112.6	11.6	124.8	297.8
1917	79.7	32.4	1.4	113.5	2.8	66.9	69.7	1.6	134.3	16.0	151.9	335.1
1918	73.8	25.9	1.1	100.8	1.9	44.0	45.9	3.3	139.7	26.7	169.7	316.4
1919	111.9	35.6	1.8	149.3	3.7	51.0	54.7	2.7	127.8	13.4	143.9	347.9
1920	95.5	43.1	6.6	145.2	3.8	77.4	81.2	2.3	132.0	10.7	145.0	371.4
1921	109.1	7.1	7.6	123.8	3.9	74.0	77.9	1.3	141.9	12.7	155.9	357.6
1922	143.1	83.2	9.0	235.3	4.6	68.0	72.6	2.3	115.0	13.9	131.2	439.1
1923	164.3	189.6	10.8	364.7	6.1	114.1	120.2	2.1	97.3	11.4	110.8	595.7
1924	156.1	273.8	12.6	442.5	6.7	129.7	136.4	1.8	110.3	11.6	123.7	702.6
1925	150.3	372.5	11.7	534.5	7.2	137.1	144.3	1.3	103.7	13.1	118.1	769.9
1926	149.2	394.1	9.5	552.8	7.0	124.7	131.7	1.3	107.4	12.0	120.7	805.2
1927	131.2	377.5	11.6	520.3	10.2	130.8	141.0	1.6	116.4	10.6	128.6	789.2
1928	165.6	380.3	6.3	552.2	19.6	126.3	145.9	2.9	106.6	11.2	120.7	808.8
1929	139.5	507.1	10.5	657.1	16.1	123.2	139.3	2.3	122.6	10.9	135.8	932.2
1930	132.5	396.9	7.9	537.3	22.7	90.8	113.5	1.7	96.2	10.2	108.1	
1931	123.5	208.8	3.6	335.9	19.7	63.2	82.9	3.2	96.8	7.5	107.5	526.3
1932	122.0	73.1	5.6	200.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.6	0.0	99.6	391.1
1933	125.9	335.9	5.1	466.9	12.9	65.3	78.2	3.4	107.0	7.7	118.1	663.2
1934	122.4	357.6	16.3	496.3	12.9	91.7	104.6	4.3	113.5	11.2	129.0	729.9
1935	130.6	465.7	14.9	611.2	27.2	129.7	156.9	5.6	122.6	15.4	143.6	977.7
1936	140.1	442.4	15.2	597.7	35.2	157.5	192.7	6.7	143.4	14.8	164.9	955.3
1937	134.6	566.2	17.5	718.3	63.3	185.2	248.5	7.9	109.1	21.1	138.1	1,104.9
1938	207.8	268.1	8.1	484.0	79.1	154.6	233.7	8.7	84.5	19.8	113.0	830.7
1939	115.5	466.0	8.9	590.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.8	23.8	933.4
1940	141.7	427.2	21.7	590.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	22.4	22.4	883.4

Source: General Manager, Railway Reports, 1905-1940

Table 3.4b: Receipts on Traffic of Goods Carried by Railways in Gold Coast, 1905-1939 (in tons)

Year	Inter-territorial Goods					Domestic Goods		Grand Total	
	Exported Goods	% of Export to Grand Total	Imported Goods	% of Imports to Grand Total	Total Inter-Territorial	% of Inter-Territorial to Grand Total	Domestic Goods		% of Domestic to Total
1905	7,000	7%	93,200	93%	100,200	100%	400	0%	100,600
1906	5,500	4%	133,400	96%	138,900	100%	100	0%	139,000
1907	11,100	9%	115,100	90%	126,200	98%	2,100	2%	128,300
1908	9,500	8%	107,000	90%	116,500	98%	2,200	2%	118,700
1909	6,800	5%	134,500	92%	141,300	96%	5,500	4%	146,800
1910	7,700	4%	191,200	94%	198,900	97%	5,400	3%	204,300
1911	16,700	8%	194,900	89%	211,600	96%	8,500	4%	220,100
1912	37,500	16%	188,600	80%	226,100	95%	11,100	5%	237,200
1913	66,000	25%	187,700	71%	253,700	96%	10,200	4%	263,900
1914	74,800	27%	193,600	69%	268,400	95%	13,500	5%	281,900
1915	118,700	36%	187,800	57%	306,500	93%	23,500	7%	330,000
1916	125,200	35%	215,800	60%	341,000	95%	19,000	5%	360,000
1917	195,800	53%	142,000	39%	337,800	92%	28,600	8%	366,400
1918	176,100	54%	107,100	33%	283,200	87%	44,000	13%	327,200
1919	292,100	60%	163,500	33%	455,600	93%	33,700	7%	489,300
1920	286,400	55%	204,000	39%	490,400	94%	30,100	6%	520,500
1921	303,200	59%	178,800	35%	482,000	94%	30,000	6%	512,000
1922	414,400	63%	211,100	32%	625,500	95%	29,500	5%	655,000
1923	502,600	65%	242,500	31%	745,100	97%	26,800	3%	771,900
1924	514,200	62%	285,800	35%	800,000	97%	26,300	3%	826,300
1925	530,500	62%	296,900	35%	827,400	97%	22,800	3%	850,200
1926	573,200	64%	296,400	33%	869,600	97%	24,600	3%	894,200
1927	485,700	54%	393,700	44%	879,400	97%	25,300	3%	904,700
1928	527,600	58%	364,300	40%	891,900	97%	25,600	3%	917,500
1929	540,000	62%	302,100	35%	842,100	97%	24,600	3%	866,700
1930	510,800	67%	225,600	30%	736,400	97%	22,100	3%	758,500
1931	411,300	69%	167,700	28%	579,000	97%	19,400	3%	598,400
1932	406,300	69%	163,900	28%	570,200	97%	19,000	3%	589,200
1933	469,300	72%	163,200	25%	632,500	97%	21,800	3%	654,300
1934	403,400	64%	204,300	32%	607,700	96%	25,500	4%	633,200
1935	476,700	61%	276,300	35%	753,000	96%	30,000	4%	783,000
1936	495,800	58%	329,600	38%	825,400	96%	33,800	4%	859,200
1937	277,900	42%	355,600	53%	633,500	95%	32,200	5%	665,700
1938	188,800	37%	305,900	59%	494,700	96%	21,500	4%	516,200
1939	505,600	100%	-	0%	505,600	100%	-	-	505,600

Table 3.4c. Proportion of Volume of Commodities Transported by Railways in BWA, 1905-1940 (in 000 tonnes)

	Inter-Territorial Commodity				Intra-Territorial Domestic Long Distance				Grand Total	% of Intra-Territorial Goods	% of Inter-Territorial Goods
	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Total	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Total			
1905		31.8		31.80		0.4		0.4	32.20	1%	99%
1906		46.8	8.93	55.73		0.6		0.6	56.33	1%	99%
1907		50.5	11.52	62.02		0.6		0.6	62.62	1%	99%
1908		41.4	11.88	53.28		4.8		4.8	58.08	8%	92%
1909		49.8	16.58	66.38		5.7		5.7	72.08	8%	92%
1910		76.1	19.26	95.36		6.3		6.3	101.66	6%	94%
1911		92.6	20.02	112.62		89.6		89.6	202.22	44%	56%
1912		114.2	22.61	136.81		83.2		83.2	220.01	38%	62%
1913		156.1	24.79	180.89		74.9		74.9	255.79	29%	71%
1914		167.1		167.10		91.5		91.5	258.60	35%	65%
1915		153.5		153.50		115.7		115.7	269.20	43%	57%
1916	50	162.9		212.90		124.8		124.8	337.70	37%	63%
1917	57	183.2		240.20		151.9		151.9	392.10	39%	61%
1918	8	146.7		154.70		169.7		169.7	324.40	52%	48%
1919	64	204.0		268.00		143.9		143.9	411.90	35%	65%
1920	59	226.4		285.40		145.0		145.0	430.40	34%	66%
1921	53	201.7		254.70	6	155.9		161.9	416.60	39%	61%
1922	33	307.9		340.90	7	131.2		138.2	479.10	29%	71%
1923	49	484.9		533.90	8	110.8		118.8	652.70	18%	82%
1924	251	578.9	40.41	870.31	9	123.7	2.24	134.9	1005.24	13%	87%
1925	284	678.8	41.41	1004.21	10	118.1	2.21	130.3	1134.52	11%	89%
1926	251	684.5		935.50	10	120.7		130.7	1066.20	12%	88%
1927	240	661.3		901.30	10	128.6		138.6	1039.90	13%	87%
1928	258	698.1		956.10	10	120.7		130.7	1086.80	12%	88%
1929	290	796.4		1086.40	11	135.8	2.38	149.2	1235.58	12%	88%
1930	250	650.8	31.08	931.88	12	108.1	2.10	122.2	1054.08	12%	88%
1931	263	418.8	35.44	717.24	12	107.5	2.73	122.2	839.47	15%	85%
1932	322	200.7	45.43	568.13	13	99.6	2.90	115.5	683.63	17%	83%
1933	317	545.1	36.17	898.27	13	118.1	2.52	133.6	1031.89	13%	87%
1934	338	600.9	36.85	975.75	19	129.0	3.94	151.9	1127.68	13%	87%
1935	316	768.1	46.63	1130.73	17	143.6	3.09	163.7	1294.41	13%	87%
1936	445	790.4	49.12	1284.52	17	164.9	3.67	185.6	1470.09	13%	87%
1937	396	966.8		1362.80	24	138.1		162.1	1524.90	11%	89%
1938		717.7		717.70		113.0		113.0	830.70	14%	86%
1939		590.4		590.40		23.8		23.8	614.20	4%	96%
1940		590.6		590.60		22.4		22.4	613.00	4%	96%
Average	208.82	384.3	29.30	525.8	12.24	97.8	2.78	104.4	630.17	19%	81%

Year	Inter-Territorial Commodities						Intra-Territorial		Total
	Coastbound Exports		Forest-Bound Imports		Total Inter-Territorial		Domestic		
	Exports	% Exports to Total	Imports	% Imports to Total	Total Inter-Territorial	% Inter-Territorial to Total	Total Domestic	% Domestic to Total	
1905	7.0	22%	24.8	77%	31.8	99%	0.4	1%	32.2
1906	5.7	12%	41.1	87%	46.8	99%	0.6	1%	47.4
1907	12.6	25%	37.9	74%	50.5	99%	0.6	1%	51.1
1908	9.0	19%	32.4	70%	41.4	90%	4.8	10%	46.2
1909	3.2	6%	46.6	84%	49.8	90%	5.7	10%	55.5
1910	4.0	5%	72.1	88%	76.1	92%	6.3	8%	82.4
1911	7.6	4%	85.0	47%	92.6	51%	89.6	49%	182.2
1912	24.9	13%	89.3	45%	114.2	58%	83.2	42%	197.4
1913	47.3	20%	108.8	47%	156.1	68%	74.9	32%	231.0
1914	48.9	19%	118.2	46%	167.1	65%	91.5	35%	258.6
1915	61.4	23%	92.1	34%	153.5	57%	115.7	43%	269.3
1916	63.0	21%	99.9	34%	162.9	55%	124.8	42%	297.8
1917	113.5	34%	69.7	21%	183.2	55%	151.9	45%	335.1
1918	100.8	32%	45.9	15%	146.7	46%	169.7	54%	316.4
1919	149.3	43%	54.7	16%	204.0	59%	143.9	41%	347.9
1920	145.2	39%	81.2	22%	226.4	61%	145.0	39%	371.4
1921	123.8	35%	77.9	22%	201.7	56%	155.9	44%	357.6
1922	235.3	54%	72.6	17%	307.9	70%	131.2	30%	439.1
1923	364.7	61%	120.2	20%	484.9	81%	110.8	19%	595.7
1924	442.5	63%	136.4	19%	578.9	82%	123.7	18%	702.6
1925	534.5	69%	144.3	19%	678.8	88%	118.1	15%	769.9
1926	552.8	69%	131.7	16%	684.5	85%	120.7	15%	805.2
1927	520.3	66%	141.0	18%	661.3	84%	128.6	16%	789.2
1928	552.2	68%	145.9	18%	698.1	86%	120.7	15%	808.8
1929	657.1	70%	139.3	15%	796.4	85%	135.8	15%	932.2
1930	537.3	71%	113.5	15%	650.8	86%	108.1	14%	758.9
1931	335.9	64%	82.9	16%	418.8	80%	107.5	20%	526.3
1932	200.7	51%	0.0	0%	200.7	51%	99.6	25%	391.1
1933	466.9	70%	78.2	12%	545.1	82%	118.1	18%	663.2
1934	496.3	68%	104.6	14%	600.9	82%	129.0	18%	729.9
1935	611.2	63%	156.9	16%	768.1	79%	143.6	15%	977.7
1936	597.7	63%	192.7	20%	790.4	83%	164.9	17%	955.3
1937	718.3	65%	248.5	22%	966.8	88%	138.1	12%	1,104.9
1938	484.0	58%	233.7	28%	717.7	86%	113.0	14%	830.7
1939	590.4	63%	0.0	0%	590.4	63%	23.8	3%	933.4
1940	590.6	67%	0.0	0%	590.6	67%	22.4	3%	883.4

Source: Railways Reports, 1905-1940, Gold Coast

Table 3.5 Key Feeder Roads to Railways in Nigeria and Sierra Leone, 1905-1930				
End Year	Nigeria		Sierra Leone	
	Railway Station/Line	Feeder Road Link	Railway Station/Line	Feeder Road Link
1905	Ibadan Station	Ibadan - Oyo	n/a	n/a
1906	Ibadan-Lagos Rail	Iwo-Ife	n/a	n/a
1910	n/a	n/a	Baima Station	Boajibu-Biama
	n/a	n/a	Bo Station	Mando-Bo
	n/a	n/a	Hangha Railhead	Largo-Hangha
1917	Ibadan Railhead	Ibadan-Ilesha	n/a	n/a
	Zaria Railhead	Zaria - Sokoto	n/a	n/a
1920	n/a	n/a	Makeni Station	Kabala -Makeni
	n/a	n/a	Makeni Station	Port Loko-Makeni
	n/a	n/a	Moyamba Station	Shenge-Moyamba
	n/a	n/a	Bo Station	Pujehun-Bo
	n/a	n/a	Pendambu Station	Pendambu-Kailahun
1924	Abeokuta Station	Abeokuta-Kajola-Asha	n/a	n/a
	Kano Station	Kano-Katsina	n/a	n/a
	Kano Station	Kano-Duara	n/a	n/a
1925	Ilorin Station	Ilorin-Ado-Awtum	n/a	n/a
1926	Funtua Station	Funtua-Yashi	n/a	n/a
1930	Gusau Station	Gasua- Anka	n/a	n/a
	West-East Lines	Zaria-Kafanchan	n/a	n/a
	Oturkpo Station	Oturkpo-Katsina-Ala	n/a	n/a
Notes	Nigerian data are sourced from <i>Annual Colonial Reports</i> , Northern and Southern Nigeria, as well as <i>Annual Colonial Reports on the Nigeria Railways</i> .			
	Sierra Leone data are from <i>Annual Colonial Reports</i> , Railways Reports and <i>Trade Reports</i> . The information is meant to suggest that these feeder roads had been constructed by the stipulated date.			
	N/A: Not Available			

Table 3.6 Development of Roads in British West Africa for Selected years between 1903 and 1939 (in miles)					
	Gold Coast			Nigeria	Sierra Leone
	PWD Roads	Native maintained Roads	Total	Road Maintained by Colonial Government outside of Townships	Roads Maintained by PWD
1903	196	n/a	196	n/a	n/a
1910	196	0	196	n/a	n/a
1914	322	0	322	n/a	n/a
1917	477	0	477	n/a	n/a
1919	538	762	1,300	n/a	
1920	672	n/a	672	n/a	160
1921	890	1,351	2,241	n/a	
1922	1033		1,033		n/a
1923	1173	2,174	3,347		n/a
1924	1275	2,702	3,977	2,596	n/a
1925	1367	3,367	4,734	2,780	n/a
1926	1531	3579	5,110	2,950	n/a
1927	1627	3,900	5,527	3,199	
1928	1,727	4,406	6,133	3,453	280
1929	1,868	4,396	6,264	3,606	
1930	1,803	4,935	6,738	3,610	814
1931	1,868	4,532	6,400	3,670	750
1932	1,868	4,318	6,186	3,637	
1933	1,937	4,263	6,200	3,627	n/a
1934	n/a	n/a	n/a	3,595	
1935	n/a	n/a	n/a	3,595	845
1936	n/a	n/a	n/a	3,731	
1937	n/a	n/a	n/a	3,829	n/a
1938	n/a	n/a	n/a		n/a
1939	2330		2,330	n/a	n/a

Notes: Data on Sierra Leone are collated from *Annual Colonial Reports of the Public Works Department*.

Data on Nigeria are culled from the *Annual Colonial Reports of the Public Works Department, 1924-1938*, Lagos, Government Printer.

Data on the Gold Coast are from *Annual Colonial Reports*.

N/A: Not Available

	Gold Coast				Nigeria	Sierra Leone
	Motor License by Type of Vehicle		New Registration of Vehicles			Imported Vehicles
	Goods Vehicles	Trailers and Caravans	Goods Vehicles	Trailers and Caravans	Commercial Vehicles Registered	Motor Cars
1909	n/a	n/a	16	n/a	n/a	1
1910	n/a	n/a	32	n/a	n/a	n/a
1911	n/a	n/a	16	n/a	n/a	n/a
1912	n/a	n/a	17	n/a	n/a	n/a
1913	n/a	n/a	23	n/a	n/a	n/a
1914	n/a	n/a	29	26	n/a	n/a
1915	n/a	n/a	56	37	n/a	n/a
1916	n/a	n/a	125	102	n/a	n/a
1917	n/a	n/a	99	59	n/a	n/a
1918	n/a	n/a	57	58	n/a	n/a
1919	n/a	n/a	213	74	n/a	n/a
1920	n/a	n/a	586	183	n/a	n/a
1921	n/a	n/a	196	79	n/a	n/a
1922	n/a	n/a	150	108	n/a	2
1923	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6
1924	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	29
1925	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	102
1926	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	78
1927	4,250	1,060	n/a	n/a	n/a	128
1928	3,889	787	n/a	n/a	n/a	186
1929	3,893	571	n/a	n/a	2,940	159
1930	4,987	750	n/a	n/a	3,130	n/a
1931	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2,829	n/a
1932	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2,718	n/a
1933	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2,855	n/a
1934	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2,562	n/a
1935	4,990	1,198	n/a	n/a	2,800	n/a
1936	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1,819	n/a
1937	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	550	n/a
1938	5,618	2,106	n/a	n/a	559	n/a
Notes:	Gold Coast data are from <i>Annual Colonial Reports</i> .					
	Nigerian data are from the <i>Annual Report of the Public Works Department, 1935</i> and <i>Digest of Statistics, Vol 7, No.4 (October 1958)</i> .					
	Sierra Leone data are collated from <i>Trade Reports</i> for the listed years.					
	N/A: Not Available					

Table 3.8: Capital Invested in British West Africa from Abroad, 1870-1936 (in £)					
	Listed Capital			Non-Listed Capital (£)	Total Capital Investment (£)
	Public Listed Capital (£)	Private Listed Capital (£)	Total Listed Capital (£)		
Nigeria	34,721,000	36,790,000**	71,511,000**	3,576,000	75,087,000
Gold Coast	13,462,000	20,160,000	33,622,000	1,681,000	35,303,000
Sierra Leone	2,454,000*	750,000	3,204,000	160,000	3,364,000
Gambia	234,000		234,000	12,000	246,000
Sundry West African Issues		2,730,000	2,730,000		2,730,000
Total	50,871,000	60,430,000	111,301,000	5,429,000	116,730,000
Notes: *Excludes domestic loans, which are assumed to have been subscribed from within the colony.					
** Includes capital invested not only in Nigeria but in other territories by such companies as the African and Eastern Trading Corporation and the United Africa Company.					
Source: Frankel (1938). <i>Capital Investment in Africa</i> , Oxford University Press, London, 1938, p.158-159.					

Chapter Four

Table 4.1: Dynamics of Specie, Bullion and Coins Situation in BWA, 1880-1930

	Nigeria			Gold Coast			Sierra Leone			Gambia			BWA
	Import	Re-export	Balance	Import	Re-export	Balance	Import	Re-export	Balance	Import	Re-export	Balance	Net Balance
1880	14,403	14,646	(243)	19,168	19,671	(503)	17,601	12,127	5,474	21,889	4,332	17,557	22,285
1881	12,274	7,794	4,480	34,846	27,805	7,041	12,489	20,357	(7,868)	18,039	1,317	16,722	20,375
1882	37,484	2,719	34,765	24,379	23,121	1,258	9,261	16,053	(6,792)	16,757	5,035	11,722	40,953
1883	28,470	2,764	25,706	37,624	18,161	19,463	8,529	19,888	(11,359)	21,532	3,633	17,899	51,709
1884	39,816	226	39,590	67,941	7,867	60,074	25,697	38,257	(12,560)	12,538	6,054	6,484	93,588
1885	18,869	196	18,673	38,680	20,425	18,255	5,968	39,770	(33,802)	4,661	3,384	1,277	4,403
1886	4,868	3,946	922	14,824	35,701	(20,877)	6,063	25,310	(19,247)	6,486	2,737	3,749	(35,453)
1887	13,298	770	12,528	20,495	23,238	(2,743)	7,562	20,615	(13,053)	7,136	12,143	(5,007)	(8,275)
1888	25,328	450	24,878	24,488	9,329	15,159	7,553	24,116	(16,563)	9,768	17,383	(7,615)	15,859
1889	55,034	1,456	53,578	40,296	10,888	29,408	7,558	22,810	(15,252)	24,266	10,376	13,890	81,624
1890	60,811	9,123	51,688	119,415	6,428	112,987	18,537	26,168	(7,631)	27,101	9,887	17,214	174,258
1891	78,529	16,283	62,246	86,479	37,492	48,987	15,040	38,332	(23,292)	27,058	8,846	18,212	106,153
1892	73,733	59,101	14,632	48,025	29,522	18,503	5,753	43,154	(37,401)	38,101	6,724	31,377	27,111
1893	119,537	35,221	84,316	91,876	23,097	68,779	6,696	29,266	(22,570)	20,393	6,677	13,716	144,241
1894	43,380	87,285	(43,905)	43,255	36,059	7,196	14,660	42,598	(27,938)	11,177	7,220	3,957	(60,690)
1895	182,648	100,787	81,861	78,761	41,581	37,180	8,966	28,319	(19,353)	13,432	4,490	8,942	108,630
1896	186,805	69,554	117,251	98,415	66,588	31,827	20,638	33,329	(12,691)	19,202	513	18,689	155,076
1897	98,465	66,645	31,820	95,412	23,922	71,490	4,044	39,001	(34,957)	30,515	2,272	28,243	96,596
1898	178,090	55,816	122,274	238,684	27,187	211,497	21,594	23,834	(2,240)	59,030	2,722	56,308	387,839
1899	196,637	83,050	113,587	248,419	28,680	219,739	17,017	28,082	(11,065)	69,835	7,430	62,405	384,666
1900	210,809	131,450	79,359	190,301	21,120	169,181	5,109	44,491	(39,382)	83,251	41,271	41,980	251,138
1901	222,228	104,990	117,238	199,823	10,820	189,003	1,877	38,577	(36,700)	67,552	39,212	28,340	297,881
1902	198,517	80,249	118,268	287,570	46,630	240,940	30,140	77,341	(47,201)	115,370	37,790	77,580	389,587
1903	228,545	221,511	7,034	252,966	56,132	196,834	36,238	77,330	(41,092)	126,273	43,277	82,996	245,772
1904	289,504	148,316	141,188	275,850	93,025	182,825	78,085	77,874	211	108,719	61,994	46,725	370,949
1905	266,864	178,017	88,847	105,407	190,646	(85,239)	83,330	87,589	(4,259)	123,456	95,870	27,586	26,935
1906	318,779	200,960	117,819	426,999	88,358	338,641	145,310	121,441	23,869	167,108	129,420	37,688	518,017
1907	715,485	340,972	374,513	436,992	127,645	309,347	122,560	96,827	25,733	149,308	117,828	31,480	741,073
1908	408,041	111,526	296,515	160,789	192,416	(31,627)	83,660	152,396	(68,736)	145,200	102,480	42,720	238,872
1909	619,529	99,285	520,244	389,217	196,543	192,674	196,650	139,163	57,487	146,620	120,745	25,875	796,280
1910	764,289	71,187	693,102	656,366	83,788	572,578	190,280	199,510	(9,230)	208,544	112,194	96,350	1,352,800
1911	400,850	33,173	367,677	881,092	321,145	559,947	217,832	190,175	27,657	386,786	215,573	171,213	1,126,494
1912	477,096	354,436	122,660	720,978	303,506	417,472	205,101	190,582	14,519	285,223	196,579	88,644	643,295
1913	864,565	252,144	612,421	1,442,092	403,458	1,038,634	312,268	240,965	71,303	411,831	204,781	207,050	1,929,408
1914	610,064	189,586	420,478	873,210	472,877	400,333	235,649	208,571	27,078	299,608	232,469	67,139	915,028
1915	38,754	714,568	(675,814)	1,037,744	128,811	908,933	175,724	311,753	(136,029)	218,650	165,177	53,473	150,563
1916	588,432		588,432	902,982	239,772	663,210	155,160	48,998	106,162	405,749	162,704	243,045	1,600,849
1917	1,724,143	125,384	1,598,759	165,961	834,507	(668,546)	200,056	82,224	117,832	294,075	93,598	200,477	1,248,522
1918	895,240	52,888	842,352	336,284	446,358	(110,074)	389,629	240,446	149,183	638,588	217,420	421,168	1,302,629
1919	855,559	46,447	809,112	835,062	34,731	800,331	88,474	53,992	34,482	70,681	323,600	(252,919)	1,391,006
1920	1,318,301	33,150	1,285,151	1,010,694	49,983	960,711	244,953	33,070	211,883	335,808	2,433	333,375	2,791,120
1921	529,360	1,442,917	(913,557)	844,430	485,198	359,232	192,253	311,400	(119,147)	242,828	133,400	109,428	(564,044)
1922	604,690	1,514,209	(909,519)	1,390,254	745,627	644,627	169,178	128,696	40,482	208,694	229,164	(20,470)	(244,880)
1923	1,491,961	819,876	672,085	721,301	529,853	191,448	289,837	59,420	230,417	238,855	15,200	8,685	1,102,635
1924	1,973,028	580,361	1,392,667	1,107,794	285,930	821,864	94,696	40,703	53,993	2,318	108,971	(106,653)	2,161,871
1925	1,484,951	409,631	1,075,320	961,866	234,335	727,531	237,147	32,466	204,681	1,896	5,194	(3,298)	2,004,234
1926	836,351	657,941	178,410	1,842,216	217,363	1,624,853	218,119	157,800	60,319	5,170	N/A	5,170	1,868,752
1927	1,226,644	666,517	560,127	2,054,581	112,700	1,941,881	231,320	50,200	181,120	93,365	887	92,478	2,775,606
1928	906,261	131,568	774,693	882,644	85,030	797,614	270,010	56,820	213,190	224,977	22,400	202,577	1,988,074
1929	188,171	211,674	(23,503)	454,228	180,740	273,488	122,172	32,475	89,697	20,691	3,831	16,860	356,542
1930	85,811	145,691	(59,880)	442,525	1,222,468	(779,943)	88,616	27,640	60,976	12,773	7,836	4,937	(773,910)

* 1909-1930 Gold Coast data are taken from *Trade Reports*, 1935, p.22.

1895-1908 Import Specie Data are taken from *Annual Colonial Reports* for respective years. The *Blue Books* were silent on this matter.

Sierra Leone data are taken from *Blue Books*.

Table 4.2 Currency in Circulation, BWA, 1931-1936					
Year	Silver Coins	Alloy Coins	Nickel and Bronze	Currency Notes	Total Circulating Currencies
1931	1,860,590	6,327,436	599,464	668,964	9,456,454
1932	1,677,891	6,168,317	597,700	628,122	9,072,030
1933	1,543,730	6,710,944	606,193	705,140	9,566,007
1934	1,432,050	5,374,078	624,628	697,024	8,127,780
1935	1,348,318	7,276,567	663,065	717,295	10,005,245
1936	1,290,300	9,541,138	732,474	976,247	12,540,159
1937	1,257,241	14,748,387	888,574	2,374,909	19,269,111
1938	1,208,067	11,710,310	949,096	2,500,324	16,367,797
Total	11,618,187	67,857,177	5,661,194	9,268,025	94,404,583
Percentage	12%	72%	6%	10%	100%
Source					

Table 4.3: Trends in Kola Trade in Nigeria, 1924-1937

	Quantities (in tons)						Blue Book Recorded Value in (£)	Ave. Price per ton in (£)	Estimated Value of Locally-Produced Kola (£)
	Imports from West Africa			Total Imports from BWA	Recorded Railed Kola	Estimated Locally-Produced Kola			
	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Others						
1922	5,381	562	8	5,951	7,000	1,049	625,381	105.08	110,211
1923	5,505	626	6	6,137	8,000	1,863	522,885	85.20	158,752
1924	7,706	814	16	8,535	9,000	465	729,014	85.41	39,708
1925	5,962	941	36	6,939	10,000	3,061	615,663	88.72	271,583
1926	5,787	1,066	36	6,889	10,000	3,111	603,476	87.59	272,460
1927	5,083	2,047	26	7,122	10,000	2,878	606,172	85.11	244,951
1928	4,551	1,683	33	6,267	10,000	3,733	533,425	85.12	317,752
1929	2,648	1,775	43	4,466	11,000	6,534	341,500	76.47	499,658
1930	3,259	1,401	46	4,706	12,000	7,294	224,700	47.75	348,326
1931	795	830	30	1,655	12,000	10,345	78,260	47.28	489,056
1932	144	1,068	36	1,249	13,000	11,751	58,744	47.04	552,775
1933	64	764	36	862	13,000	12,138	40,835	47.35	574,701
1934	4	48	4	55	19,000	18,945	2,610	47.09	892,027
1935	120	22	9	151	17,000	16,849	7,095	47.00	791,945
1936	115	259	5	379	17,000	16,621	17,821	47.01	781,395
1937	477	16	5	497	24,000	23,503	23,412	47.08	1,106,493
Source: <i>Blue Books</i> , Nigeria, 1922-1936.									
Note: Volumes in pounds (lbs) were converted to imperial tons using the conversion factor 0.00044.									
*The railed kola figures are taken from Table 3.2 on p.152.									

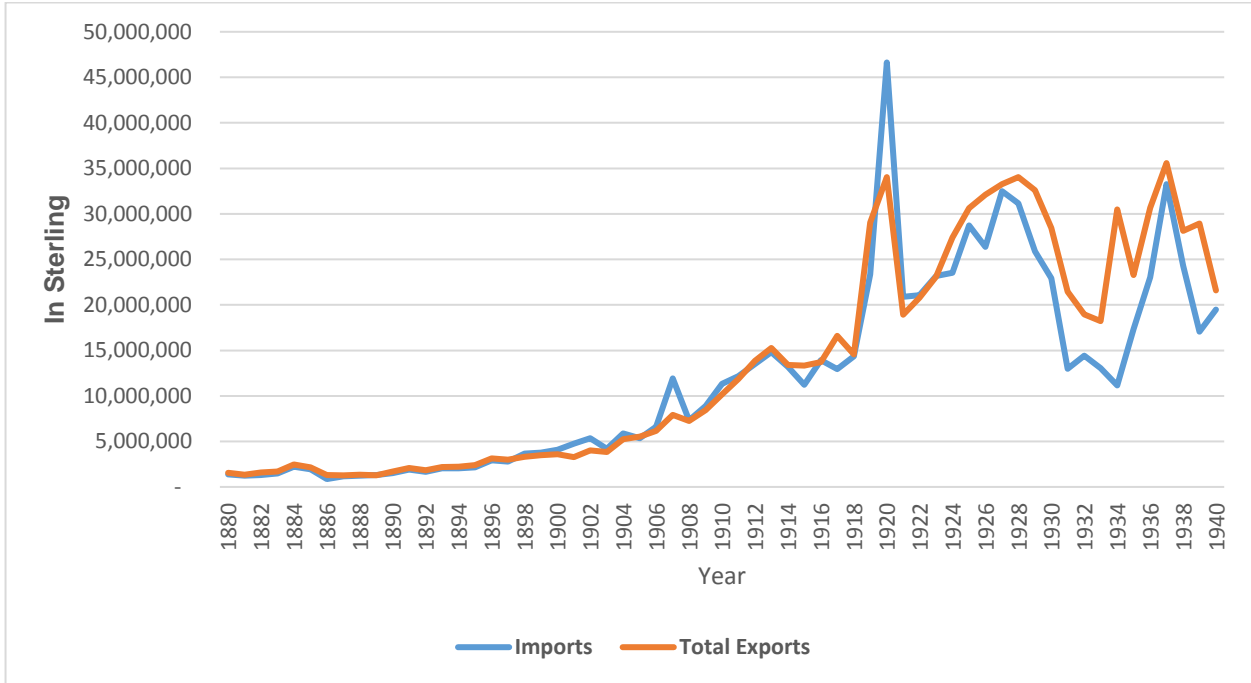
Table 4.4: Export of Kola from Sierra Leone to Main Markets, 1919-1938					
	Volume (in tons)		Total Volume	Total Value (FOB) (£)	Ave. Price (FOB) (£)
	BWA	FWA			
1919	1,341	1,345	2,686	417,154	155.29
1920	1,654	959	2,614	626,811	239.81
1921	1,554	945	2,499	313,010	125.26
1922	1,722	935	2,656	207,875	78.26
1923	1,713	793	2,506	187,392	74.77
1924	1,563	851	2,414	174,857	72.42
1925	1,559	790	2,350	210,339	89.51
1926	1,981	991	2,972	246,716	83.03
1927	3,096	1,303	4,398	268,912	61.14
1928	2,235	750	2,985	281,989	94.47
1929	2,394	686	3,079	266,411	86.51
1930	1,974	260	2,234	185,952	83.24
1931	1,420	131	1,551	47,469	30.60
1932	1,916	165	2,081	41,274	19.84
1933	1,642	159	1,802	43,373	24.07
1934	1,062	378	1,440	18,056	12.54
1935	1,517	329	1,845	39,036	21.15
1936	1,681	558	2,239	40,968	18.30
1937	1,638	552	2,190	59,776	27.29
1938	686	721	1,407	29,292	20.82

Source: Blue Books, Sierra Leone, 1922-1936.

Notes:
 (i) Volumes in lbs were converted to imperial tons using the conversion factor 0.00044.
 (ii) CWT weighted volumes from 1932-1935 have been converted to imperial tons using the conversion factor 0.05.

List of Figures
Chapter Two

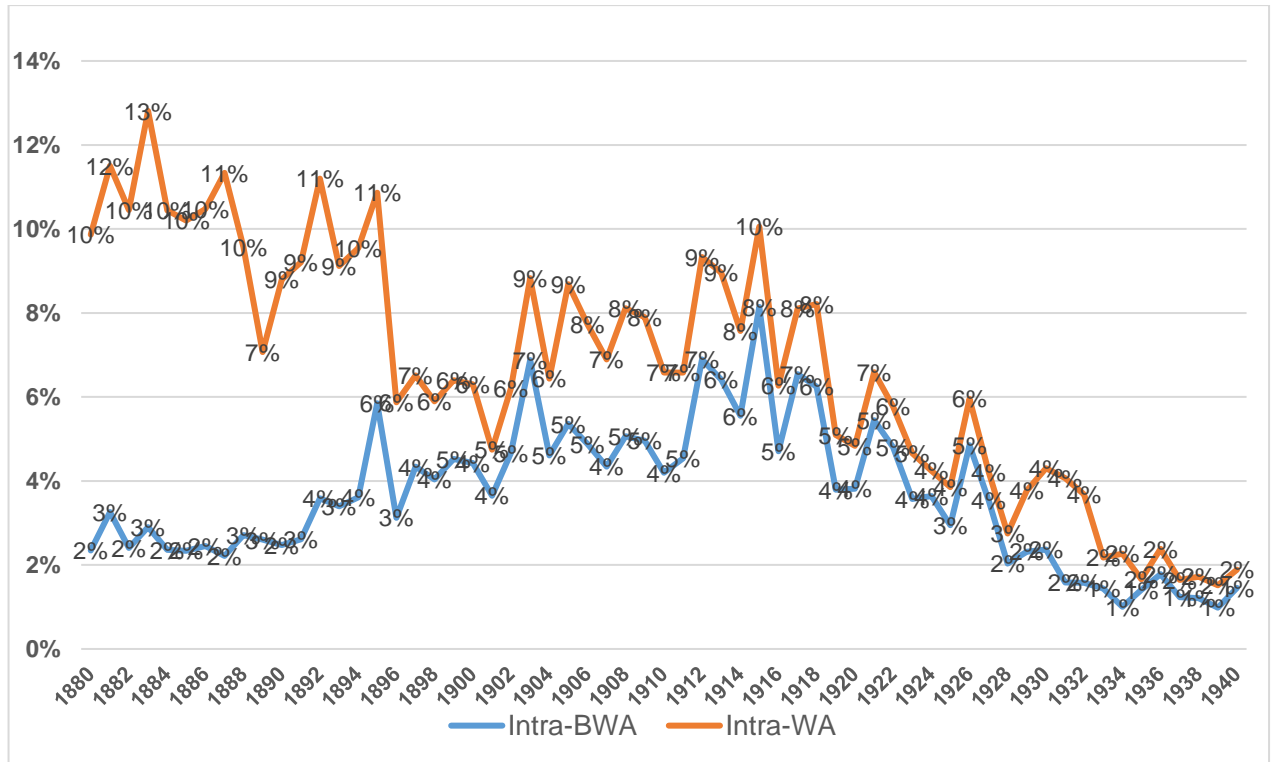
Fig 2.1 Patterns of Total Exports and Imports of BWA, 1880-1940



Source: Based on the *Blue Books* of the BWA.

Note: Total exports refers to the sum of exports and re-exports to foreign territories.

Fig 2.2: Proportion of Inter-Territorial Trade of West Africa to Total BWA Foreign Trade, 1880-1940



Source: Based on the *Blue Books* of the BWA.

Note: Total exports refers to the sum of exports and re-exports to foreign territories in WA

Fig 2.3: Comparison of Proportion of Export Based Intra-BWA Trade for Benchmarked Years

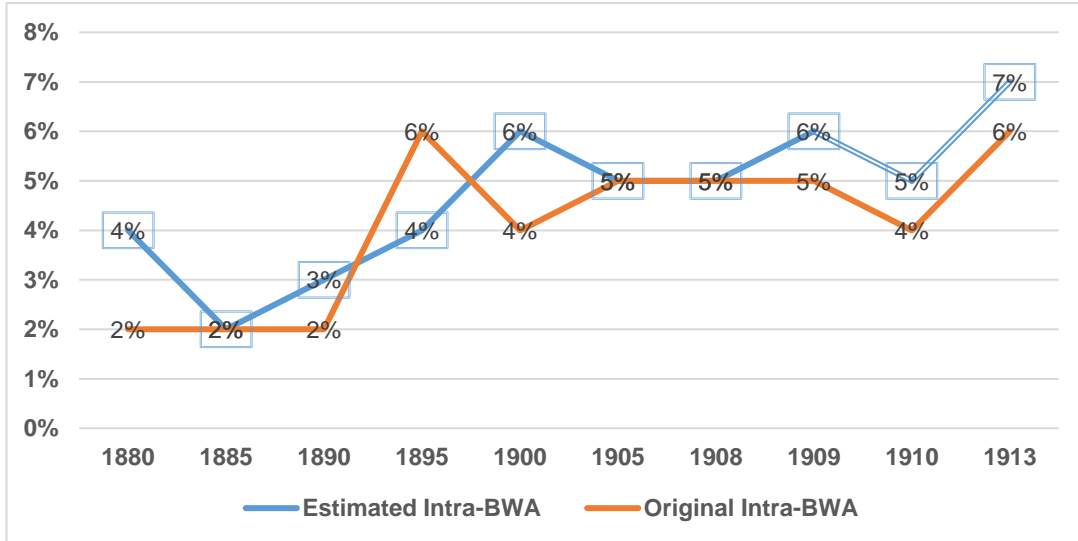


Fig 2.4: Comparison of Proportion of Export Based Intra-WA Trade for Selected Years

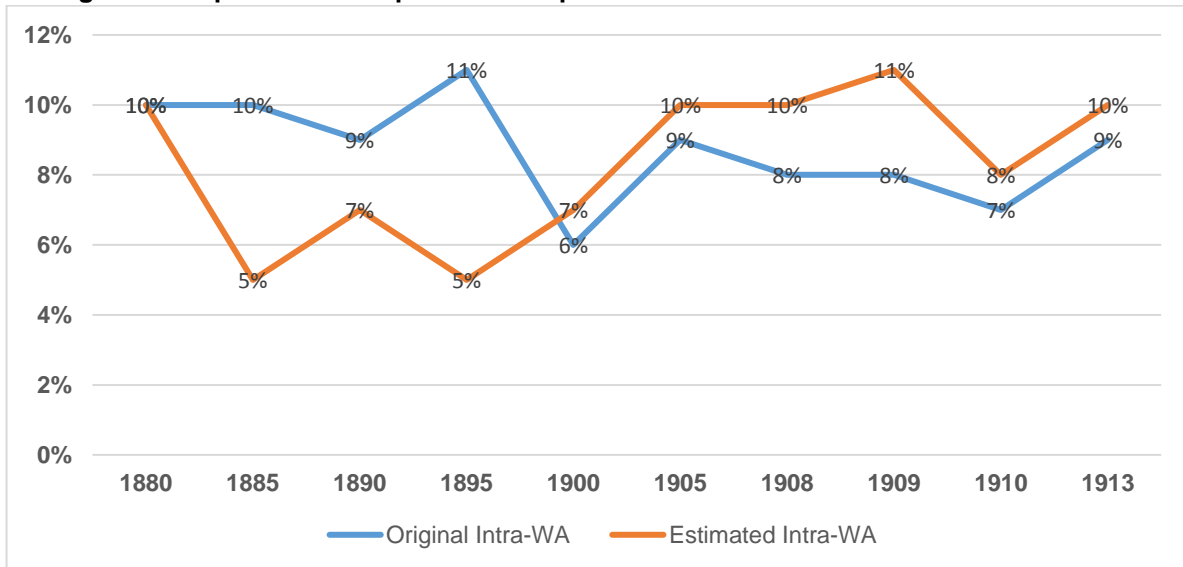
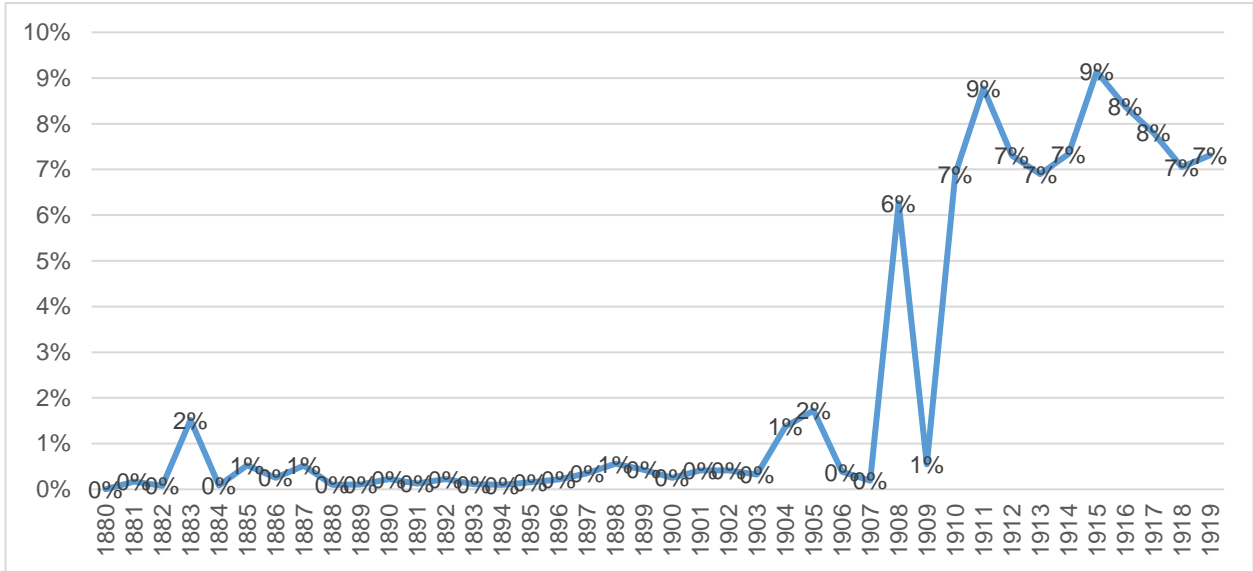


Fig 2.5: Proportion of Domestic Trade to Total BWA Trade, 1880-1919



Source: Based on the *Blue Books and Annual Colonial Reports* Gold Coast and Nigeria, 1880-1919.

Fig 2.6: Proportion of Internal Trade to Total BWA Trade: 1880-1940

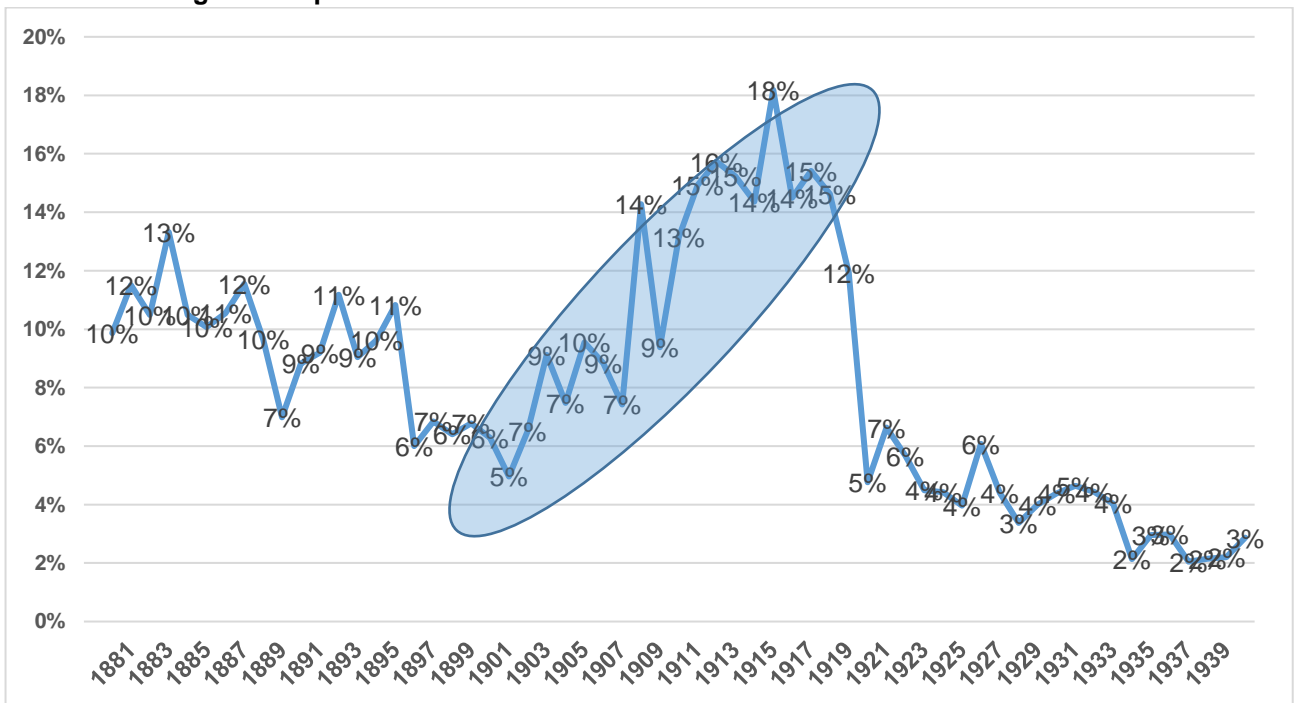
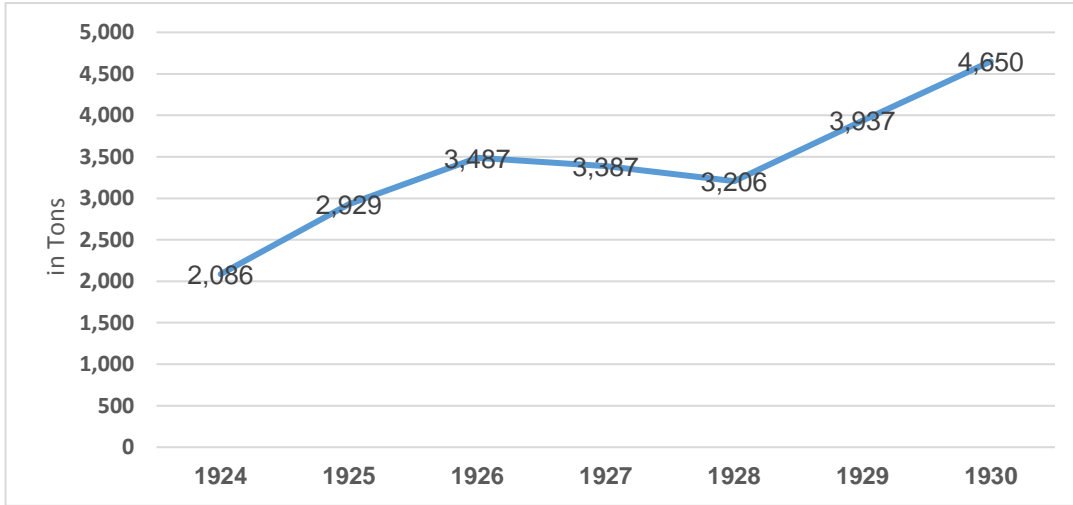
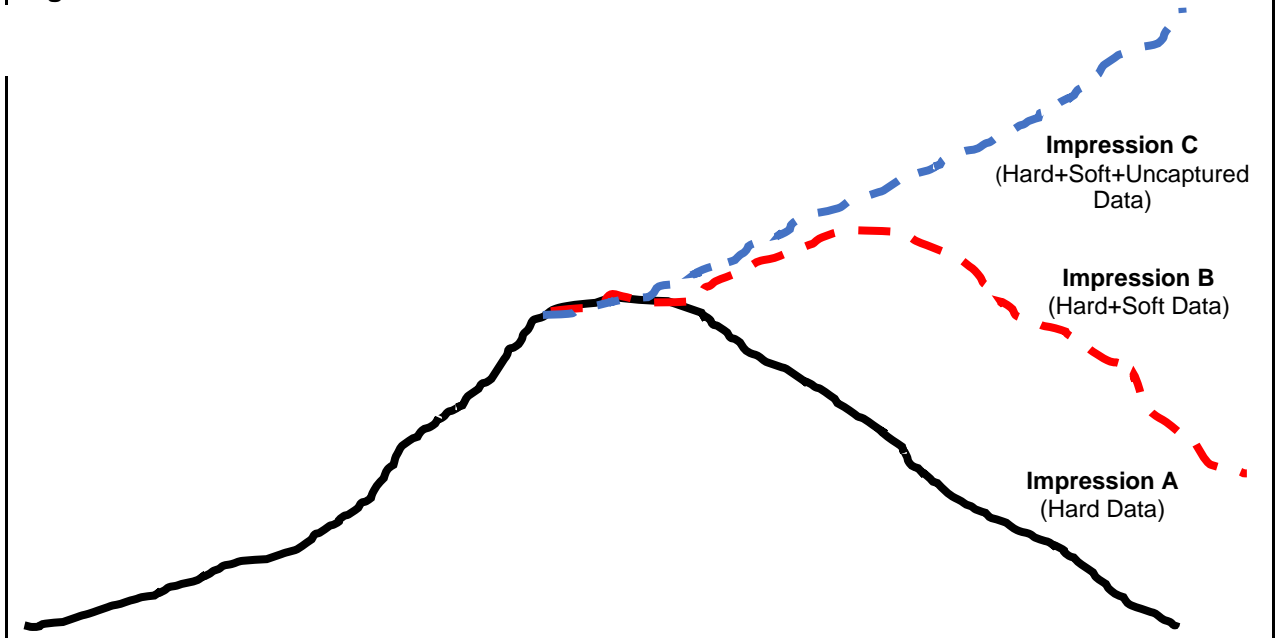


Fig.2.7 Land Borne Kola Exports from Mainly from Ashanti (in tons)



Source: Data from 1924-1930 is from Miles, A.C. (1932) *Cola Survey Report: Eastern Ashanti Area, 1930-1931*

Figure 2.8: Data Constraints and Estimated Trends in Internal Trade - An Illustration



Source: Author's Construct

Fig 2.9: Schematic Of Structure Of Trade Integration In West Africa

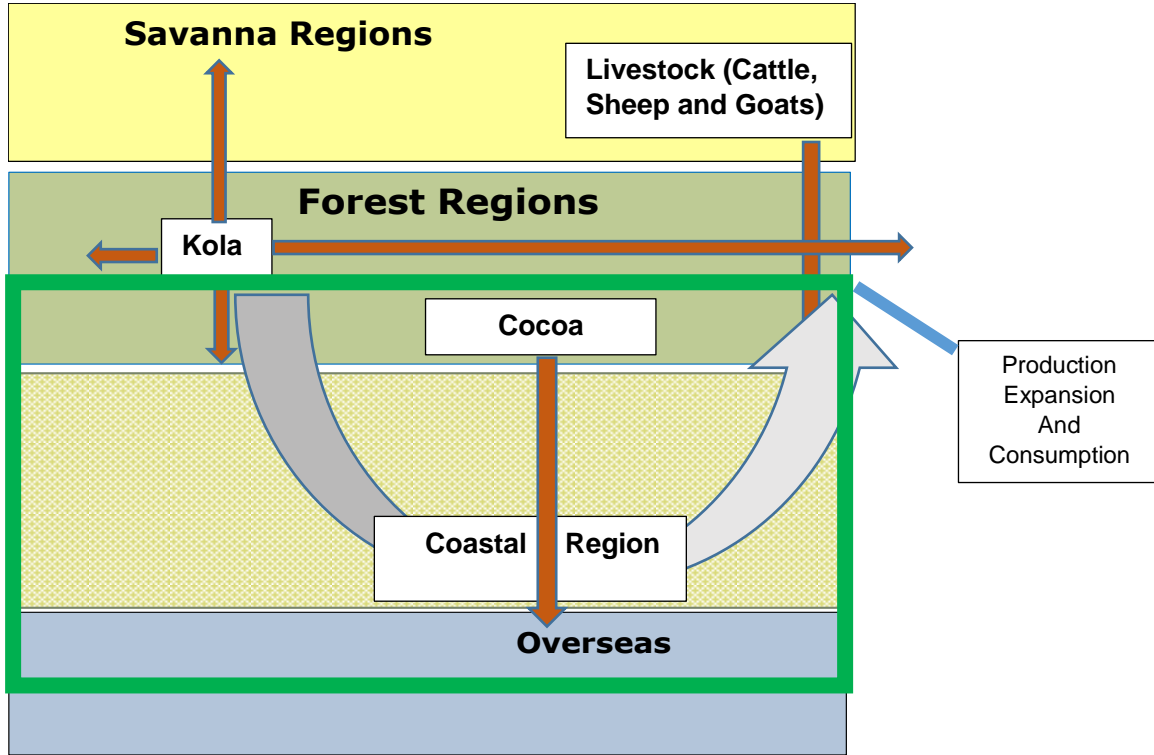
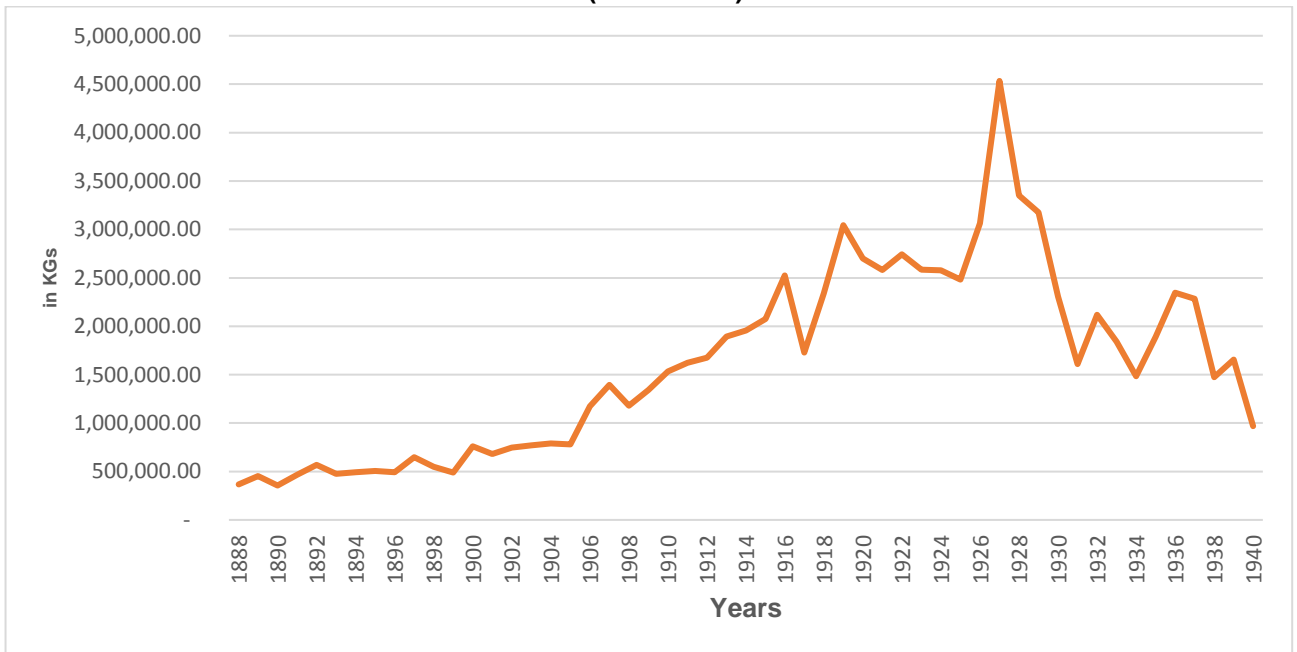


Fig 2.10: Total Exports of Kola Output by Traditional producers in BWA, 1880-1940 (In volumes)



Chapter Three

Fig 3.1 A Schematic of Representation of a Network of Regional Merchants and Traders

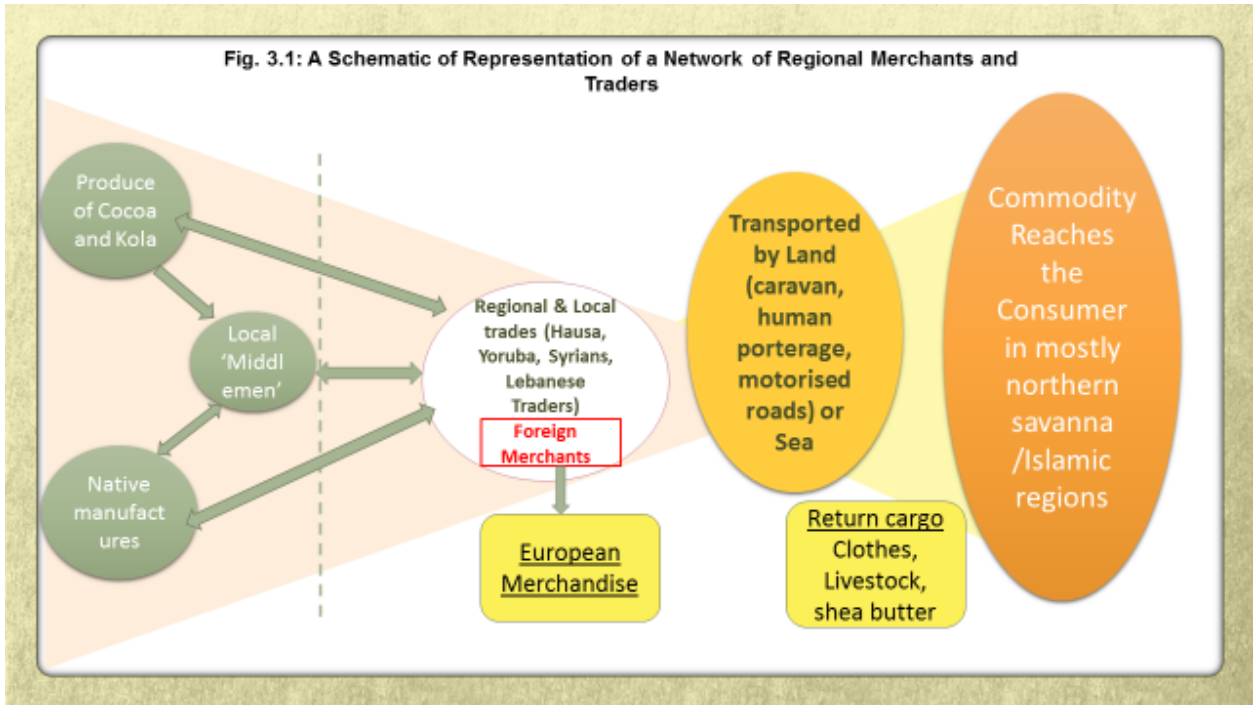


Figure 3.2: Proportion of Domestic Intra-Territorial Goods on BWA Railways (in volume), 1905-1940

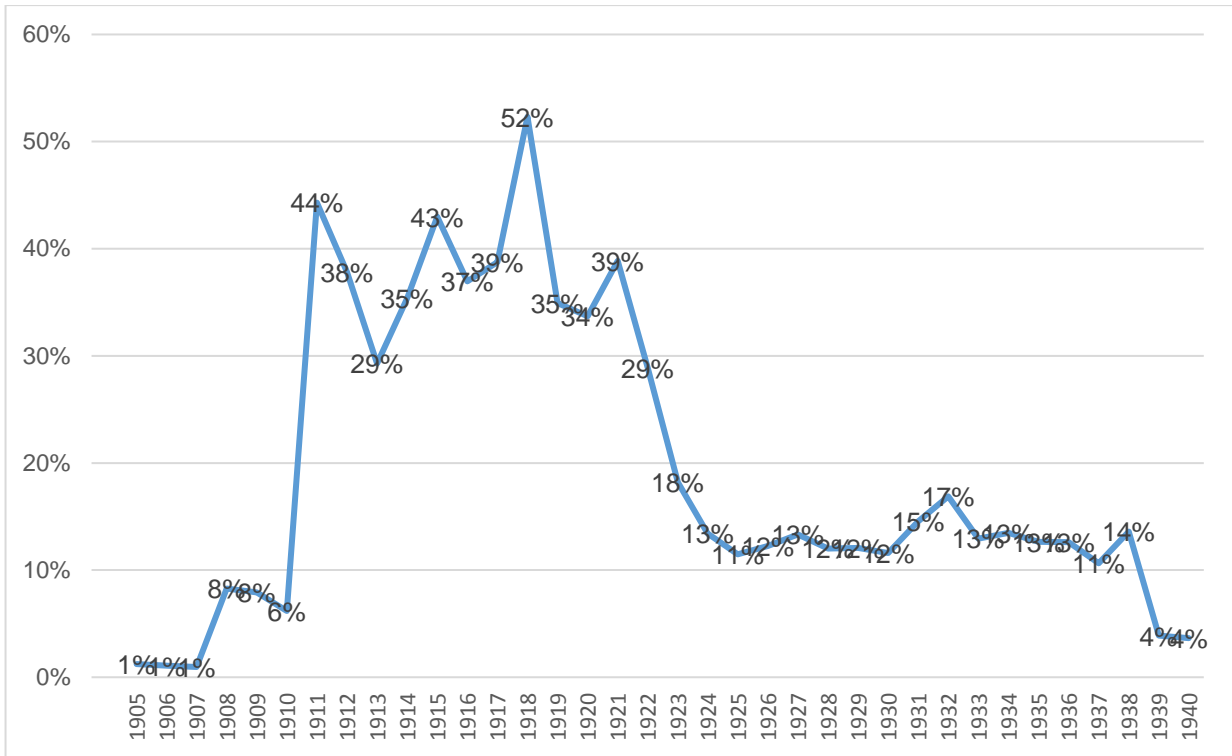


Fig. 3.3: Re-birth of Land-Borne Kola Trade: 1924-1939 (in tons)

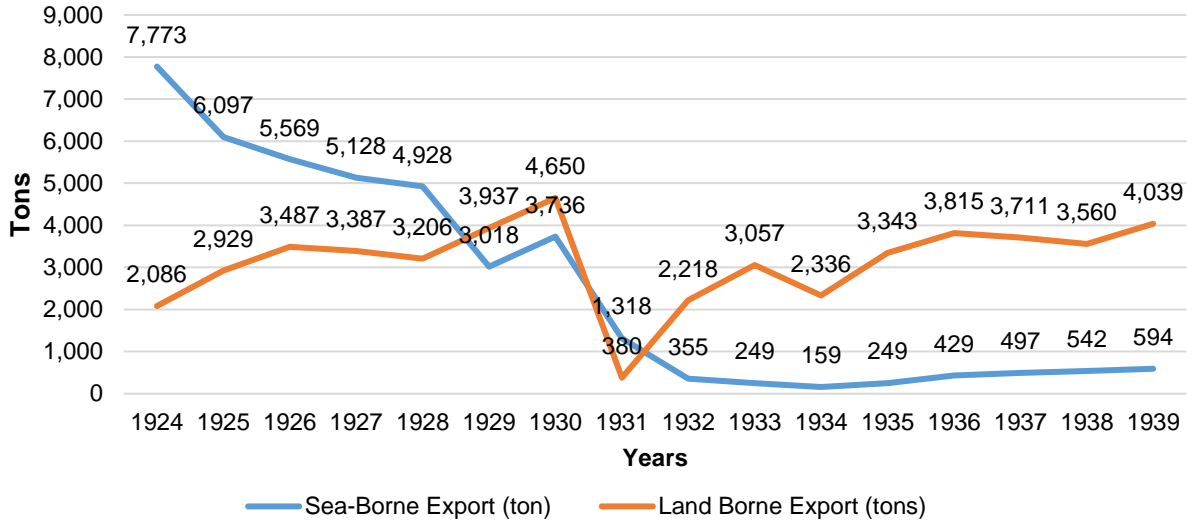


Fig 3.4 Comparison of Lorry and Head Loads on the Great Northern Road, 1926-1932

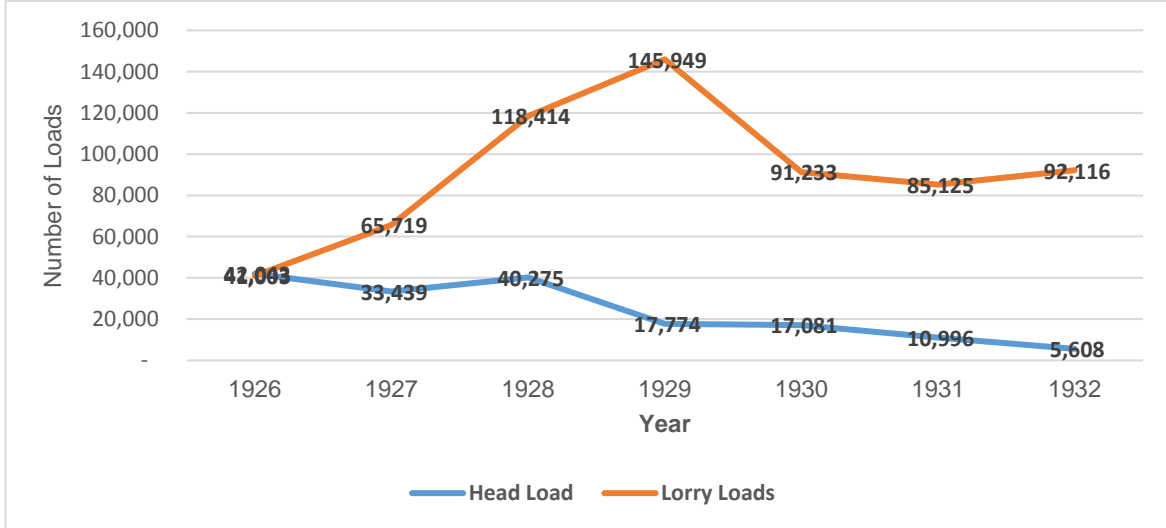
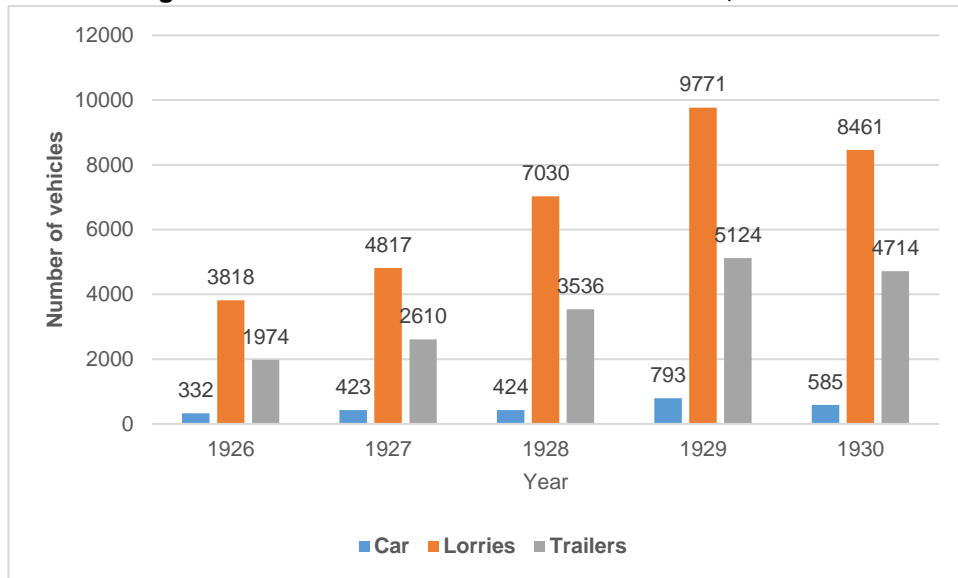


Fig.3.5 Motor Vehicles on Great Northern Road, 1926-1930



Chapter Four

Fig 4.1 Total Currency in Circulation, BWA, 1931-1938

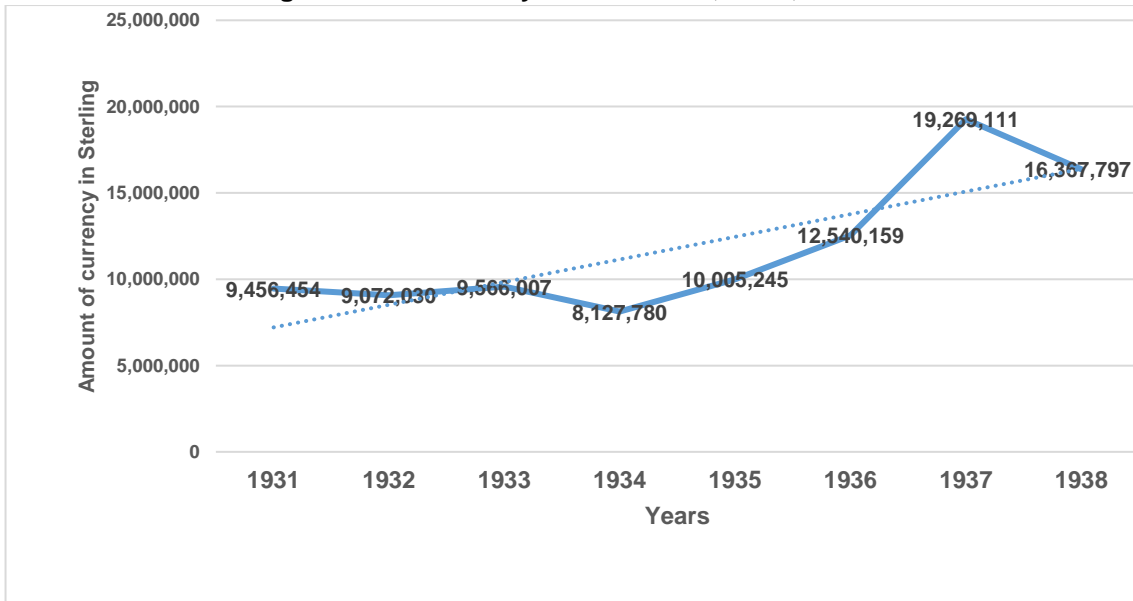


Fig.4.2: Proportions of Intra-BWA and Inter-FWA Trade, 1880-1940

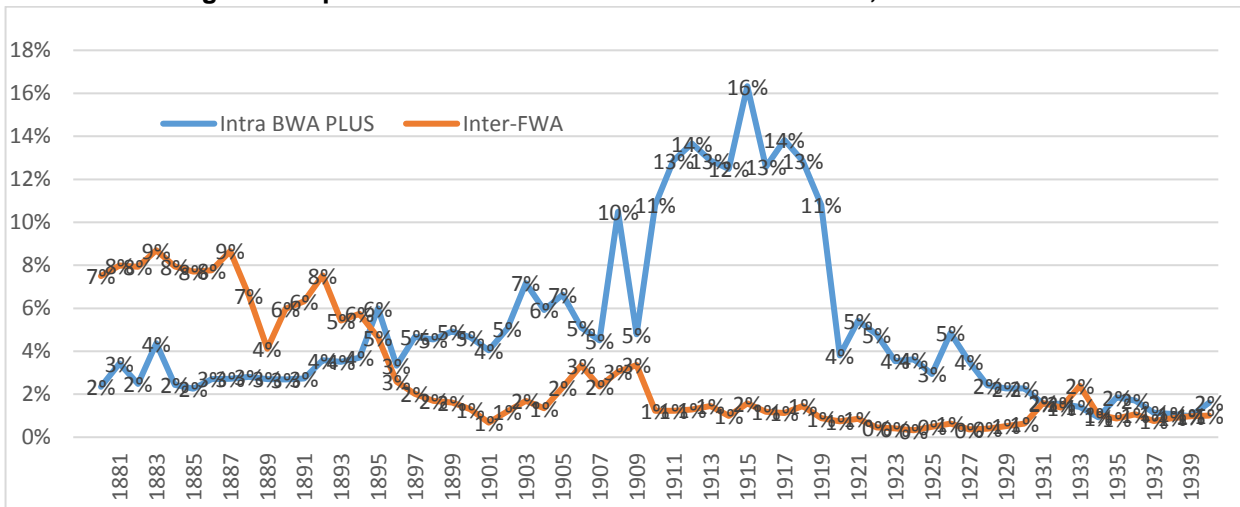
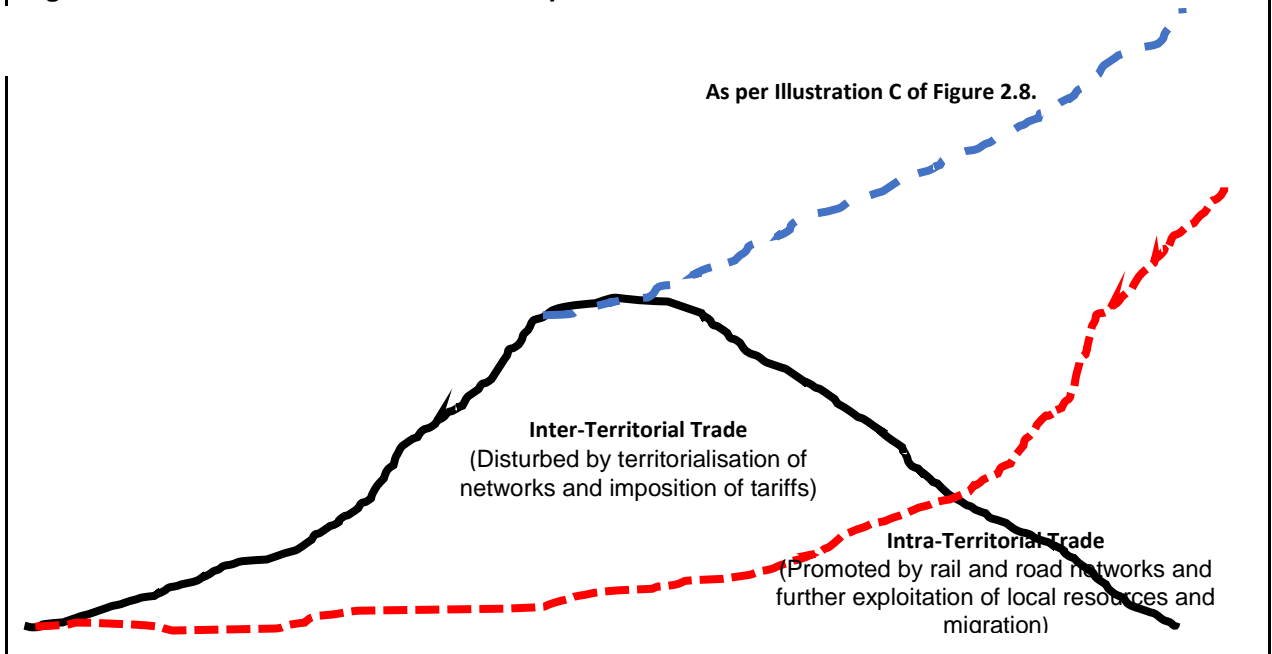
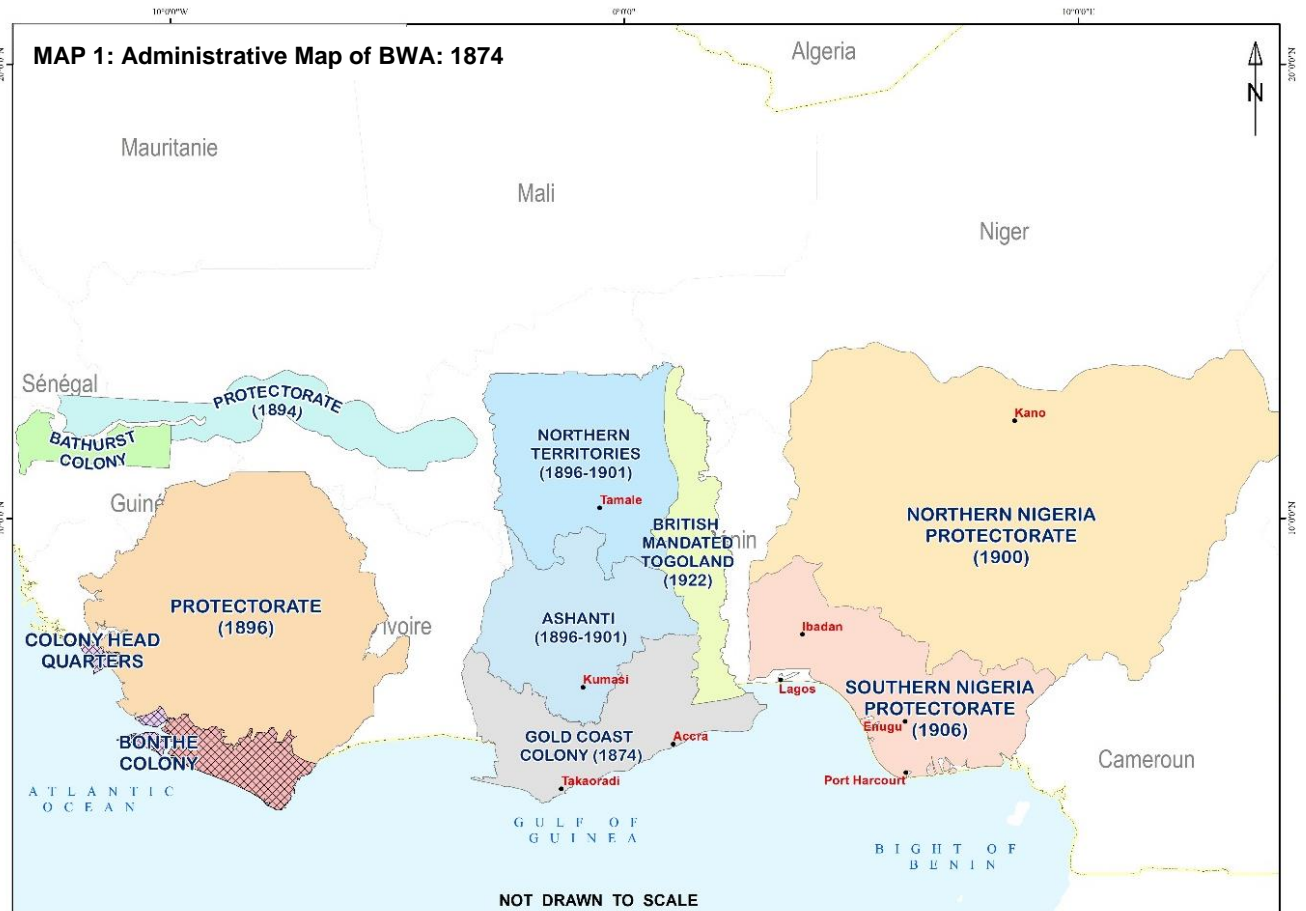


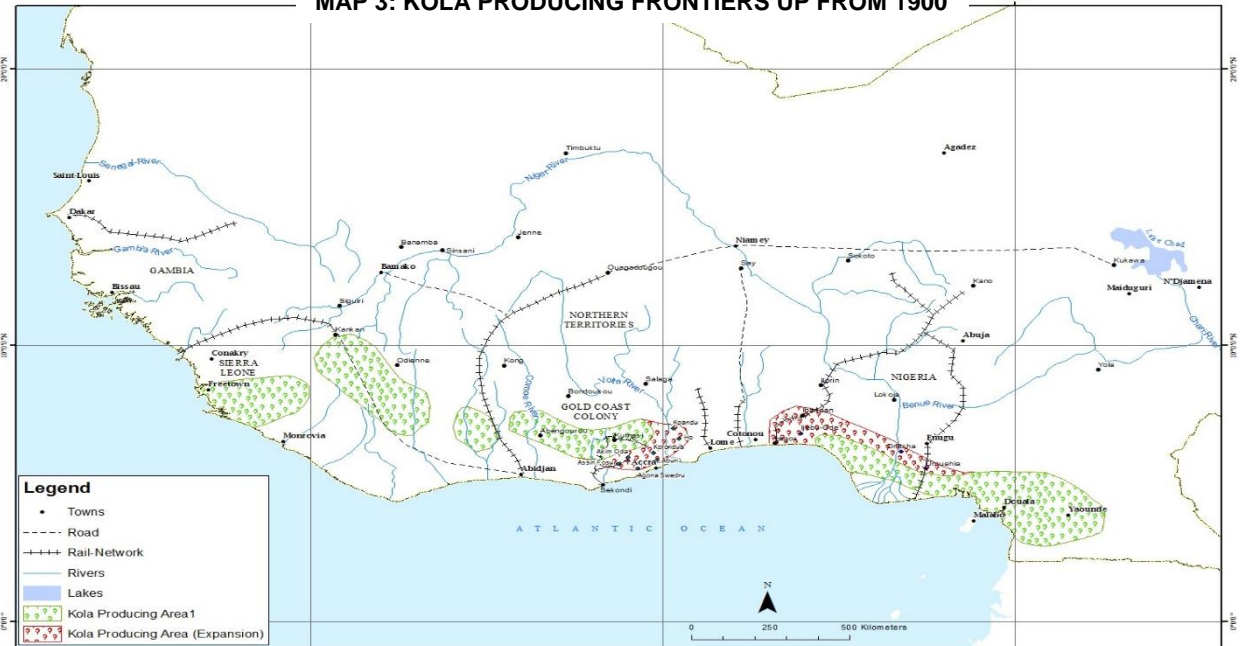
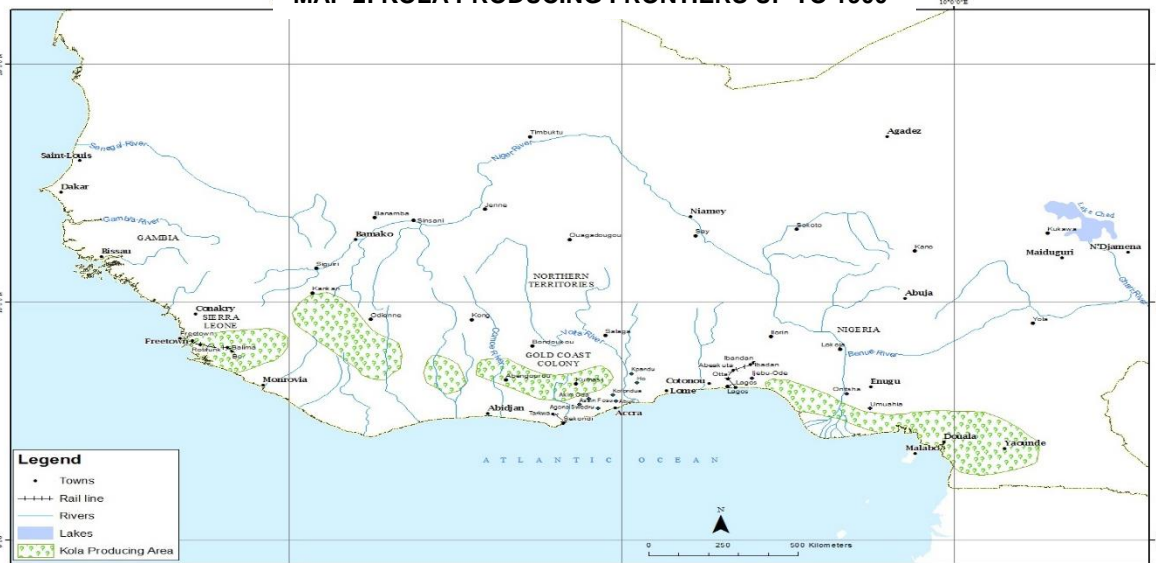
Fig 4.3: Direction of Internal Trade Development: An Illustration



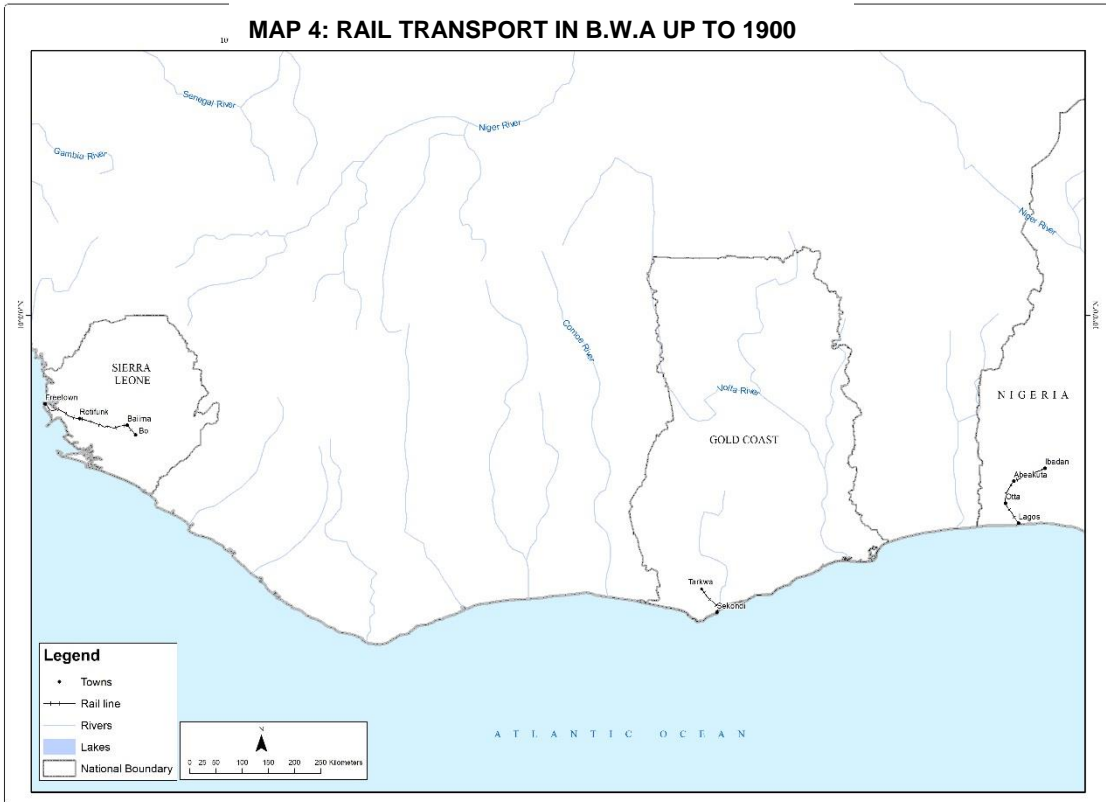
List of Maps



MAP 2: KOLA PRODUCING FRONTIERS UP TO 1900



MAP 4: RAIL TRANSPORT IN B.W.A UP TO 1900



MAP 5: RAILWAY, HARBOURS AND PORTS IN WEST AFRICA, 1913-1940

