

LAGOS THE ORIGINAL SOUTHERN LADY OF MEANS BY SOLOMON ASEMOTA SAN

Introduction

My country, Nigeria is a creation of the Imperial British Empire. Imperialism is a type of advocacy of an empire, a policy of extending a country's (Britain) power and influence through colonialism to another country (Nigeria) by the use of military force or other means such as treaties and diplomacy. The process entails a system of domination and subordination organized with an imperial centre (London) with periphery throughout the Commonwealth. Nigeria after colonialism has become a jigsaw puzzle that requires solution in many ways.

The title of my presentation is derived from the speech at a Colonial Service Dinner in 1913 by Lord Harcourt the then Secretary of State of the Colonies, (after whom Port Harcourt was named). He summarized in a humorous metaphor, the dependence of Northern Nigeria on the British Treasury for sustenance, when he said:

“we have released Northern Nigeria from the leading strings of the Treasury. The promising and well-conducted youth is now on an allowance “on his own” and is about to effect an alliance with a Southern Lady of means. I have issued the special license and Sir Frederick Lugard will perform the ceremony. May the union be fruitful and the couple constant! The Nigerias are not designed to be a great “Trust” but a great “Federation”.¹

I shall attempt, within the short time and space available, to examine whether after 102 years of this “marriage”, Nigeria has been “fruitful”, “constant” and, above all, a great “Trust” or a great “federation” I will leave you to decide whether the marriage has failed in any or all the aspirations enunciated by Lord Harcourt.

By “original”, I mean “existing at the beginning of a particular period, process or activity”. Lagos existed Nigeria before Nigeria got its name. Lagos was a Yoruba settlement, conquered by the Benin, Edo people who gave it its name “Eko” before the Portuguese came and named it Lagos which means ‘Lakes’ in Portuguese. Lagos, in addition to being a Yoruba settlement was also a slave centre and, when slavery was outlawed, attracted mass migration in that “in the whole of West Africa, only the island and coastal areas of Senegal, the town of Freetown and its environs (now in Sierra Leone), the southern parts of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), the coastal areas of Abidjan in Ivory Coast and Porto Novo in Dahomey (now Benin) and the island of Lagos (in what is now Nigeria), had come under the direct rule of Europeans.”² “The agencies and

¹ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, pg. 30

² General History of Africa VII: Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935 pg 1

methods that the British adopted to bring the whole of modern Nigeria under their control varied, as did the initiatives and reactions on the part of the Nigerians. Yorubaland was won by the missionaries and the Lagos government; the Oil Rivers by the missionaries and the consuls; and Northern Nigeria by both the National African Company (from 1886 the Royal Niger Company) and the British government. The main weapons used by the British were diplomacy and military confrontation. Nigerian reactions therefore varied from open military confrontation to temporary alliances and submission. As a result of the activities of the missionaries, British influence and trade had penetrated from Lagos, occupied in 1851, to most parts of Yorubaland, and a number of anti-slave trade and trade and protection treaties had been concluded between the British and many Yoruba rulers by 1884. In 1886, the British administration was also able to convince Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo (comprising the Ekiti, Ijesha and Egba), who had been at war since 1879, to sign a peace treaty.”³

An important group of 130 Brazilian and Sierra Leonean returnees arrived in Lagos and increased to 1,200 in 1872. The Sierra Leoneans, in Lagos at that time, numbered about 1,500. “Contacts between Brazil and the west coast of Africa were facilitated by the establishment of regular mixed cargo and passenger lines, which thus replaced the slave ships. The British African Company and the African Steam-Ship Company, to mention but two, regularly plied between the ports of Bahía de Todos os Santos and Lagos. According to the Weekly Times of 11 October 1890, the steamer Biaffra returned to Lagos after its maiden voyage with 110 passengers and 400 tons of merchandise on board. --- A large number of emigrants had been negros de ganho in Brazil. In other words, slaves living in the cities who plied their trades (as masons, carpenters, caulkers, and so on) quite freely and shared their earnings with their masters. Bringing with them their technical know-how, a few outstanding builders created residential districts in Porto Novo, Whydah and in particular, Lagos, where the Brazilian Quarter was built. Here, to this day, in what is now Tinubu Square and Campos Square, storeyed houses reminiscent of those of Bahia can be found, as well as large buildings such as the Catholic cathedral of Lagos or the mosque erected in the town centre. The style of these storeyed houses is to be seen in a few buildings in inland areas inhabited by the Yoruba.”⁴ “In Lagos, alongside the Brazilian community, an Afro-Cuban community came into being, composed of the smaller number of individuals who had returned from Cuba. The population of Casablanca rose from 2026 in 1910 to over 2500 in 1936, that of Lagos from 740,00 in 1914 to 230,000 in 1950. The spread of Christianity, Islam and western education was another important impact of colonialism. There is

³ Ibid pg. 135

⁴ General History of Africa VII: Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935 pgs.752 - 754

no doubt that taking advantage of the peace and order as well as the patronage and, in some areas, the positive encouragement provided by colonialism, Christian missionaries and Muslim clerics pushed their activities further inland.”⁵ The new Lagos was made up essentially of the Christian villages of the different missions joined together. Yoruba, Brazilians, Cuban, Nd’igbo, Hausa and other tribes from the riverine areas of the Coast of West Africa. Lagos provided the first metropolis in Nigeria. The point being made here is that as a cosmopolitan city, Lagos had the benefit of all owners for its growth and development “the 1963 census recorded the following religious affiliations 55 per cent Christian; 44 per cent Muslim. The increased Christian representation in Lagos was caused by the influx of easterners, especially Igbos – of which many were Catholics.”⁶

Lagos was the first location where political party or parties were formed, the first in Nigeria where Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) were formed, the first where strikes took place, the first where Churches, Schools, Colleges were established, where the first Executive Council in Nigeria held its meetings. In 1906 and in preparation for amalgamation, the colony of Lagos and Southern Nigeria were merged and named the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Thus Lagos became the original “Lady of means”.

The marriage between the “well conducted Youth of the North and the Southern Lady of means” became necessary for two reasons (1) the well conducted Youth relied on the British Treasury for subsistence and (2) the affection the British colonialists had for the Fulani people (the Negroids) at a time when racism was an important factor in human history. The British knew that sooner than later, the British Treasury would stop augmenting the finances of Northern Nigeria. “The Negro South or Southern Lady of means, on the other hand, had surplus as a result of import duties collected at Lagos Port especially import duty on liquor which grew from 3s to 3/6p per gallon in 1901 - 5/6d in 1912 and, by 1913, the revenue from Gin was £138,000. The grant of British tax payers to the well conducted Youth averaged £314,500 for 11 years ending March 1912.”⁷ Southern Nigeria on the other hand, helped to complete Northern railways from Baro to Kano, thus the need to have one treasury for the two countries Southern and Northern Nigerias became apparent. A common railway policy was preferred to two. These were the main factors responsible for amalgamation. To this day, the “South” based on arbitrary latitude, remains the Lady of means as an oil producing Region with Lagos as the original.

⁵ Ibid pg. 796

⁶ A History of the Church in Africa Bengt Sundkler & Christopher Steed, Pg. 733

⁷ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria A. H. M. Kirk-Greene pgs. 58 - 59

Status of the Couple and Matchmaker

The North had a mixture of Negroes and Negroids of Arab descent who provided Muslims education and culture in the 18th century. The Arab descent of the Kanuri stock occupies parts of present day Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroun. The Arab descent of Fulani occupies part of present day Nigeria, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Cameroon, Chad and Sudan. The Negro of the North were the indigenous people of the Middle Belt including Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau etc. The Fulani, Hausa and Kanuri had dominated the North as rulers and elite class with the indigenous Negroes who were able to access Western education and civilization through Christian Missionaries as their subjects. The spread of the Fulani/Hausa and the Kanuri in other West African countries may be responsible for their divided loyalty to Nigeria. They see themselves first as Muslims, Fulani, Hausa or Kanuri before their status as Nigerians. To them, the Nigerian passport is valuable but Sudanese passport is priceless. Other Ethnic nationalities in Nigeria with dual nationalities see themselves first, as Nigerian before their acquired country. The well conducted Youth was thereby classified as Muslim North and the Southern as Lady of means, made up mainly of indigenous Negroes as Christian South. The Europeans that came to Southern Nigeria through the Bights of Benin and Biafra in the 15th Century returned home and, for 300 years, were unable to return to Nigeria until after the period of slave trade in the 18th century. When slave trade was outlawed in 1833, missionaries and returning slaves provided education along the coast of West Africa and, by 1914, the Lady of means (South) was better educated, wealthier and more sophisticated than the well conducted Youth (North). We must not forget that Nigeria was protected from European invasion by mosquitoes unlike South Africa, Kenya and Zimbabwe. "Of the forty-eight Europeans who had steamed up the River Niger in three ships in the years 1832 - 4, thirty-eight had died of fever."⁸ Otherwise Nigeria would have had European settlers as was the case in East and South Africa. It must be appreciated however that "everywhere on the continent, the bond between religion and society remains strong. As Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the late President of the Ivory 'Coast, told us (and he, as a Roman Catholic, knew what he was talking about): that "from African archbishops to the most insignificant Catholic, from the great witchdoctor to the most insignificant Moslem, from the pastor to the most insignificant Protestant, we have all had an animist past."⁹

In 1939, the South was divided into East and West to form what Willink described as "a Federation of an unusual composition, in that one of the three constituent elements was slightly larger in population than the other two put together, while in each of the three Regions, it was possible to distinguish between a majority group of about two-thirds of the population and

⁸ Ghost of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pg.

⁹ Culture Matters Edited by Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington pg. 67

minority groups amounting to about one-third.”¹⁰ Thus Nigeria federation was not only unusual but also a tripod of three tribes Hausa/Fulani North, Yoruba, West, and Nd’igbo, East. Nigeria was created in the image of the matchmaker - Great Britain made up of England, Scotland and Wales. The difference, of course, is that Nigeria has over three hundred and eighty-six other Ethnic Nationalities, unlike Britain with only three. The well conducted Youth as head of this polygamous household, became adept in “harem politics” whereby he ensures that his two “wives” never united to prevent conspiracy against him. The youth comes closer to the East when it suited him, then he turns to the West but always ensures that his two “wives” Nd’igbo and Yoruba though part of the Christians South never agreed. The superior education of the two wives seemed to be ineffective.

Matchmakers

The metaphor of Lord Harcourt showed that the marriage was arranged. It is therefore necessary, at this stage, to understand what the matchmaker (British colonial power) stood for in 1914. In the book **Ghost of Empire**, Kwasi Kwarteng wrote:

“the empire was not simply a forerunner of the modern pluralist democracy so valued in the West. It was something entirely different. It is simply misleading to describe the British Empire, as one historian has done, as the champion of 'free -market liberalism' and democracy.' Such a judgment pays too little attention to what the empire was really like, or to the ideas that motivated the people who actually administered it. Notions of democracy could not have been further from the minds of the imperial administrators themselves. Their heads were filled with ideas of class, loosely defined, of intellectual superiority and of paternalism' 'Benign authoritarianism' would be a better description of the political philosophy that sustained the empire.”¹¹

Kwarteng continued

“Britain's empire was not liberal in the sense of being a plural, democratic society. It openly repudiated ideas of human equality and put power and responsibility into the hands of a chosen elite, drawn from a tiny proportion of the population in Britain. **The British Empire was not merely undemocratic; it was anti-democratic.** The United States, on the other hand, despite its difficult history, proclaims itself to be democratic, plural and liberal. Its avowed values could not be further removed from those of the British Empire.”¹² [Emphasis supplied]

The above facts can be deduced from the background of Lord Lugard and one then asks the question - has the union been fruitful and the couple constant? Please be free to pass your own judgment, but the answer to this question will be found in the concluding paragraph of this presentation.

¹⁰ Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities & the means of allaying them pg. 1

¹¹ Ghost of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng Pgs. 6 - 7

¹² Ibid pg. 7

The population of Nigeria in 1914 was estimated at 17 million by Lugard, today the Nigerian population is estimated at 170 million. Does this constitute consistency? Kwarteng continued:

“transition from British rule to independence were difficult, because the Pax Britannica was itself transient and without any firm foundation. The British Empire was nothing more than a series of improvisations conducted by men who shared a common culture, but who often had very different ideas about government and administration. There is very little unifying ideology in imperial story. It was grand and colourful but it was highly opportunistic, dominated by individualism and pragmatism. **The British Empire is a bizarre model to follow for fostering stability in today's world. Indeed, much of the instability in the world is a product of its legacy of individualism and haphazard policy making.**”¹³ [Emphasis supplied]

As a one-time subject of colonialism and Colonial Police Officer, I subscribe to Kwarteng's view to place matters in perspective. Kirk-Greene wrote “one is reminded of the quip about the mutual hostility and regional loyalty of the Administrative staff of the Northern and Southern Provinces up to 1939; if all Nigerians had withdrawn from the country, there would have been a civil war between the two groups of Europeans.”¹⁴ This hostility has existed till this day by those who still regard themselves as Northerners in the competition against a non-existent Southerners. Divide and rule and made-in-Nigeria (MIN) colonialism and is the practice that has polarized the nation. Some people still classify Nigeria into monarchy, chiefs and subjects contrary to the provisions of the Constitution that provided for equality of all Nigerians.

Sudan also played an important role in shaping Nigeria in two ways; British officers stationed in the North were mainly ex-soldiers who got their first taste of colonial assignments from Sudan before coming to Nigeria. The last Governor General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson was transferred from Sudan to Nigeria and he guided Nigeria to independence modeled after the Northern and Southern Sudan pattern. The second, was Nigerians who visited Sudan before independence.

Sheikh Gumi who had part of his Quranic training in Sudan, wrote: “what struck us particularly as we came to know the place (Sudan) better, was the large population of Hausa speakers. It was believed that there was nearly a million West Africans in the Sudan, the majority of whom spoke Hausa. Some were temporary settlers who had come on foot and wanted to stay for a short time and earn enough money either to complete their pilgrimage to Mecca or return home. Among these, only a few settled there, eventually to found their own homes. There were others, however, with a more sedentary history, who arrived in exile with Sultan Muhammad Atiku Mai

¹³ Ibid Pg. 8

¹⁴ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria A. H. M. Kirk-Greene pg 37

Wurno, in the wake of the colonial conquests by Frederick Lugard. Altogether, the Hausa speakers lived around Khartoum and other places, mainly in the Gezira area. --- **Looking back at it, one can say that, in a way, all of us had been individually affected by our stay in the Sudan. Personally, I count the time as the first close training I had in Arab life and culture.** I was able to understand the Arab social world and situate it within the context of my Islamic reading.¹⁵

It can therefore be safely concluded that the odds were very much against the “Southern Lady of means” a Negro, non-Arab and a Christian. The Christian South of Sudan has since pulled out and formed a New Country - Southern Sudan.

The above facts, also explain the strategy behind the political manifesto of the Sokoto Caliphate of the 21st century Nigeria, reflected in Fani Kayode’s statement thus:

“there is a view, which is that the herdsmen are actually a tool of conquest, who are being carefully cultivated, coordinated, controlled, organized, armed and funded by a sinister and dark hidden hand: That they are something akin to a Fulani “death squad” or armed militia. Those that share that view, and yours truly, is among them, often refer to the troublemakers from the North as Nigeria’s “Janjaweed,” after the ruthless camel-riding Arab Muslim militia, which Sudanese President, Al Bashir commissioned, armed and employed to decimate, slaughter and commit genocide against over one million defenceless black African Sudanese Christians in the vast region of Darfur for many years. It is also why the US-based Global Terror Index describes them as the “Fulani Militants” and has designated them as the “fourth most deadly terrorist organization” in the world.”¹⁶

The grandstanding by some Fulani in Nigeria, constitute a bravado because, unlike Sudan, with the Nile linking that country to Egypt, the Middle East and Arab world, the Fulani Hausa and Kanuris of Nigeria have no such access. They will be, in my view, the last Ethnic Nationality in Nigeria that would want to leave Nigeria. All they are asking for, to my mind, are two caliphates, one in the West, the other in the East that are opposed to Democracy and, in the process, promote Sharia as the source of all legislation in Nigeria not a Constitution. The concept of superior individual or religion is fascism which is an ideology of hate that cannot succeed in 21st century Nigeria.

¹⁵ Where I Stand Sheikh Gumi Pgs. 66-67

¹⁶ The Trouble makers from the North – Fani kayode – DailySun August 30, 2016

Successors to the Imperial British and the Promotion of Made-in-Nigeria (MIN) Colonialism

Lord Lugard had planned that the British would be succeeded by the Fulani. He wrote thus:

“I believe myself that the future of the virile races of this Protectorate lies largely in the regeneration of the Fulani. Their ceremonial, their **coloured skins**; their mode of life and habits of thought, appeal more to the native population than the prosaic business-like habits of the Anglo-Saxon can ever do. --- My desire to utilize the Fulani as rulers has been described in a former report and has met with the approval of the Secretary of State. They are unfit at present to exercise power except under supervision; nor do I hope for any great success in the present generation, but I hope and believe that with careful guidance, **their sons and grandsons will form invaluable rulers under British supervision, and that their superior intelligence can be developed as a useful asset in our administration ...**”¹⁷ [Emphasis supplied]

Lugard did not stop there even after retirement. “In a lecture at London’s Birkbeck College in 1928, Lugard stated firmly that ‘only those institutions will survive which are in harmony with native mentality and tradition. He praised what he called the ‘African system of Indirect Rule’, in which rulers would continue to be under the guidance of a ‘higher civilization’. He recognized that they would ‘not be fitted for independence within any period of time now visible on the horizon’. His attitudes to race sired some of the patronizing assumptions of his time: he urged that native culture should be protected from the dis-integrating effect of the impact of civilization. Ever the military man, Lugard loved order and wanted to preserve the ‘fabric of native society’ by protecting the power of the chiefs. He wanted to prevent the chaos which follows the premature destruction of tribal authority’. Although his lecture was given in 1928, Lugard was still beating the drum of 1890s imperialism. He told the students of Birkbeck College, many of whom would have been too young to have fought in the First World War, that England was ‘writing our epic on the world’s surface’, which, he believed would be a mark that would endure even if England herself should cease to be.”¹⁸

It is also necessary to point out that “the colonial powers were, by and large, suspicious of the new African elites and sought to restrict their growth by slowing down the expansion of schools, while those who succeeded in graduating from the schools were frustrated through being denied fitting jobs in the colonial service. Also their scope for participation in the new commercial ventures was narrowed down to a minimum.¹⁹ Lugard also faced media accusation thus: “one further weapon was placed in the press’s hands when a copy of a confidential dispatch to the

¹⁷ Nigeria: Political Power Imbalance Sir Olaniwun Ajayi, Pg. 66

¹⁸ Ghost of empire Kwasi Kwarteng Pg.291

¹⁹ General History of Africa Vii: Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935 pg. 506

Colonial Office on educational policy sent by Lugard on his way home in S.S. Mendi, was leaked to the Nigerian Chronicle. They printed it in full under the contentious title of 'The Proposed Installation of Mental Slavery' and, linking it with the remarks the Governor had made when opening the exhibition of school work in Lagos, made it the cause of a severe attack on him for his alleged plan to curb the educational genius of the South."²⁰

"In 1934 the Nigerian Youth Movement was formed which, as a recent Nigerian scholar has shown, 'embraced almost all the young intellectuals of the period - H . O . Davies, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Dr Vaughan, Dr Kofo Abayomi, Obafemi Awolowo'. These clubs and associations were led either by the missionary educated elite or the young lawyers, doctors and businessmen."²¹ It is suggested that it is because the well conducted Youth (North) did not struggle for jobs in the hands of the colonialists nor participated in the struggle for independence that resulted in their being favoured by the British. Olaniwun Ajayi wrote:

"On the question of delimitation of constituencies which Lord Merthyr T.D, Deputy Speaker in the House of Lords was appointed to Chairman, and which he executed illicitly favouring the North, with 'unmerited 174 seats of the 320 seats based on population instead of basing them on size of electorate, MG. Smith of the Colonial Office rejoiced at the unfair delimitation and said: " .. **it is therefore clear that the North, if it can stay united, has every prospect of dominating the Federal Government for many years to come.** "The truth is that Her Majesty's Government, Colonial Office and the British officials in service in Nigeria disliked intensely that which would put the North at a disadvantage. Hence, Sir E Sharwood-Smith's paper on 'safeguards' for the North forwarded to T. B. Williams, Assistant Secretary, Head of the West Africa Department, arising from Sharwood-Smith's discussion with Sir Tafawa Balewa on 14 May 1957." Sharwood-Smith remarked to Tafawa Balewa and said: " the key was to avoid fragmentation of the North; an undivided North was one that would be the major player in an independent Nigeria. The government must therefore stand firm against demand for a Middle Belt Region ... " Even after decolonization, the British intensely disliked a southerner becoming the president of Nigeria."²²

This explains why the Hausa/Fulani, Kanuri never forgave General Gowon to this day for the 1970 creation of twelve states with six in the North and the others in the South. However, they were able to neutralize the effect of Gowon's twelve states creation by splitting Nigeria further to 36 states, with the North having nineteen and a Federal Capital Territory, while the South has seventeen. The above historical perspective is intended to show that the marriage between the "well conducted Youth" of the North and the "Southern Lady of means" was ill-conceived in some ways. The human elements within Nigeria were less hostile to one another because Lagos, the "original Lady of means" provided the manpower and platform for Nigeria's unity. For this

²⁰ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria A.H.M. Kirk-Greeen pg 24

²¹ General History of Africa Vii: Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935 pg. 628

²² Nigeria: Political Power Imbalance Sir Olaniwun Ajayi Pgs. 76-77

purpose, the presenter has chosen three Nigerians: Mohammed Shitta Bey one of the returning slaves, pre and after amalgamation, Chief H.O. Davies a legal and political Icon and Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson, a soldier and gentleman as models in the hope that Lagos will return once more to its position of leadership for the new Nigeria of the 21st Century.

Mohammed Shitta Bey

By the late nineteenth century, the name of Mohammed Shitta Bey was being identified with the entrepreneurial success of the immigrant Saro community in Lagos, and across Nigeria. He was increasingly identified with religious piety, primarily because of his role in single-handedly financing the construction of the first modern mosque in Lagos, which was opened with great fanfare in 1894. Shitta also demonstrated great political dexterity and cultural flexibility to the extent that he came to exemplify the capacity of the Saro to not only fit into their new surroundings but also exercise great social and political clout in the Nigeria. Following the cession of Lagos in 1861, with the political state of affairs complicated by the ill-defined status of the Oba of Lagos, the Saro emigrants, particularly the Muslims, found themselves in a state of colonial limbo as "subjects" of the British Crown who also exhibited fealty to the traditional Yoruba sovereign.

These were Saro immigrants obliged to follow their leader into exile when Kosoko was expelled by the British in 1851. However, the presence of the Saro Muslims and those from Brazil had transformed the social and political dynamics of Lagos, and served to further the entrenchment of Islam in the city.

Many of the Muslim Saro in Lagos took the stance that education was the most assured route to **"a better way of life,"** and thus assumed the role of an agency of modernity. Mohammed Shitta was a teenager when his father, Sallu, decided to relocate the family from Freetown to Badagry in 1844. In 1893, there were 42 Muslim students officially enrolled in the government-assisted mission schools in Lagos, which was said to have accounted for about "12 per cent of the total number of children in these schools" and many other Muslims remained adamant about placing their offsprings under the supervision of Christian missionaries. In an attempt to assuage the fears and suspicions of the Muslim communities, the colonial government instituted a legal proviso in the Education Ordinance of 1887, essentially requiring the government-assisted schools to refrain from imposing mandatory attendance on Muslim children in classes for scriptural instruction.

An increasingly equally strident voice appeared in the younger generation of Muslims, who preferred a "**path of accommodation**" with the colonial establishment and welcomed the opportunity to share in the positive attributes of Western Education. By the April 1894 arrival in Lagos of the Muslim Saro scholar, Harun Al Rashid, the emergent progressive stance of the younger generation eventually won the day following the death of Shitta, who was, by then, developing a strong identification with a Pan-Islamist worldview championed by the sultan of Turkey. His brother, Yusufu, ultimately acquiesced when the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, in a July 1894 letter, urged the **Muslims to embrace Western education for the betterment of the younger generation.** "Many of the Saro Muslims in Lagos took the stance that education was the most assured route to a "better way of life" and thus assumed the role of an agency of modernity in advocating the establishment of schools in their communities."

"The Yoruba people demonstrated great tolerance for religious diversity and, consequently, the efforts of the Muslims hard-liners were not always successful; this was the case in 1859, for instance, when Muslims in the Ibadan town council unsuccessfully sought to prevail on a Saro Muslim, Atere, to block the Reverend Hinderer (a CMS missionary) from engaging in evangelical activities in the town."²³ Has the Yoruba man changed? My answer is I hope not, that is why Nigeria in this peculiar mess [penkelemesi] must look to the original "Lady of means" for leadership and direction.

Shitta did not live long enough to see the completion of the mosque in Central Lagos that still bears his name to this day. The completion of the mosque remains the singular most important testament of his contribution to the development of Islam in Nigeria. The formal opening of the mosque on 4 July 1894 was a momentous occasion for the Muslims of Lagos, especially the Saro immigrants. The Shitta Bey Mosque remained a prominent part of historical Lagos Island, with its distinctive Brazilian architecture, which is, itself, reflective of the religious and social solidarity of the Saro and Aguda communities of Lagos. By 1910, Muslims, Christians, and those who still adhered to traditional religious practices, or became enmeshed in religious syncretism or dualism, found common ground in their shared cultural, commonality, and the existential realities of commercial self-interest.²⁴ It is therefore strange to some of us that some Muslims could declare "Boko Haram" - Western education a sacrilege 100 years after amalgamation.

²³ The Krio of West Africa, Gibril R. Cole pg.139

²⁴ The Krio of West Africa Gerbil R. Cole Pgs. 144-146

Chief Hezekiah Oladipo Olagunju Davies

Chief H. O. Davies was one of the few in politics that was trusted. A nationalist, who participated in the anti-colonial struggle in the 1940s, he was also involved in The Trial (defence) of Jomo Kenyatta. Davies was “a formidable lawyer and pan-Africanist politician”. His grandfather belonged to the Ogunmade Ruling House of Lagos, a Wesleyan and, one of the young princes who stood round King Docemo of Lagos when he signed the Treaty of Cession of Lagos to the British Crown in 1861. His grandfather was known as Prince Ogunmade of the Ogunmade Royal House of Lagos but when he became a Christian, had to change his name to Davies because the Missionaries objected to ‘Ogun’ meaning the god of iron. Davies attended the Wesleyan School, Olowogbowo Lagos, Wesleyan Boys High School and Kings College, Lagos. He was, in 1924, appointed Assistant Master at Kings College where he taught Mathematics. He was later employed as a civil servant and posted to the Northern Provincial Civil Service in Kaduna, where he discovered how and when Certificate of Occupancy became a legal instrument. He wrote that the Governor of Northern Provinces Mr. H. R. Palmer, was a prolific writer and in a pamphlet, explained the origin, significance and consequences of the Certificate of Occupancy:

“According to him, several landlords confronted with the Jihad War ran away to seek refuge elsewhere. Land and buildings (mostly mud huts) were abandoned, and remained so, until the advent of the British in 1914. Later, the protectorate in the North was promulgated. The Government soon wanted land for public purposes, like offices, hospitals, railway stations and post offices, and they asked the Emirs to certify who were the lawful owners to whom compensation should be paid under the public Lands Acquisition Ordinance. It was an inviolate rule to the British system of Government, that no land should be acquired for public purposes without just compensation being paid to the owners. It turned out that the owners of the land required by the British Administration, had fled the towns and villages and were refugees in unknown parts of the country. So it was left to the ingenuity of the British official to work out a compromise that led to the idea of “Use and Occupation.” This meant that the land could not be bought or leased in the absence of the owners, even though it was simply because such owners could not be found or identified. So the British dubbed the paramount rulers in each area the trustees for the asset owners or landlords. Token payments were made to them in exchange for the right to “use and occupy” such land only. To that effect, the Land and Native Rights Ordinance were claimed in 1916. Certificate of Occupancy was then issued by the residents to the users and occupiers. By this process, the land remained the property of the absentee owners or landlords, who were entitled to collect the token fees if, and when, they returned. This was merely a temporary expedient by the Government who thought that the refugees would soon return. But as the refugees never returned, the land became perpetual trust and, indeed, the law persists up to today as the Land and Native Rights Ordinance 1916. There was a clause in that ordinance: if

anyone could establish satisfactorily that the land which was occupied belonged to him or his ancestors, he would be given a freehold conveyance.”²⁵

It is this method that was used to deny all the 389 ethnic nationalities of their land through the back door and without compensation under the Land Use Act.

Chief Davies formed the Lagos Youth Movement in 1934. His activism ensured in 1944 that Africans were enrolled as members of the European Ikoyi Club formed in 1938, six years after. He was also one of the founding members of the Island Club in 1947. H.O. Davies was both a lawyer and a nationalist. So was late Chief Rotimi Williams. My other mentor, Professor Nwabueze is very much around. Today, African democracy has stalled-or even gone on the reverse, a situation which requires Lawyers and Activists (not just Lawyers) to do something about. It is my hope that lawyers will not shy away from this responsibility as activists. Chief H. O. Davies was in the forefront in the struggle against colonialism. He was there in defence of Udi miners in 1949. He was there in the defence team of Jomo Kenyatta on charges of organizing Mau Mau in 1952. Today, the Nigeria Bar Association of which I was one-time National Treasurer, has, unfortunately, turned **‘lawyers in the protection of the status quo** or lawyers in the protection of hate ideology. The Nigeria Bar Association is in dire need of more activists in the protection of Democracy and, at the same time, in opposing to hate ideology. Only Democracy can provide the conducive atmosphere for an emerging middle class and the Legal profession.

Mobolaji Johnson

Mobolaji Johnson aka Mubu Gas and size 13 feet, the Original Administrator of Lagos, the Southern Lady of means, defined intuition or sixth sense or hunch as “that inkling within you that provides the assurance for a certain view - you just ‘know that you know’, although there is no logical proof to your conviction! When women display such conviction, it is popularly termed a ‘woman's intuition’. The benefit of intuition is derived where people have developed their sensitivity to receive instructions from sources external to their conscious mind.”²⁶ There is no doubt that intuition played some part in his successes as the Original Governor of Lagos State.

On May 31, 1967 at the age of 31, thrust with responsibility of building Lagos from scratch, Mobolaji Johnson was not only interested in reading history books, he made history. He was investigated along with other State Governors under an ideology of hate. His narrative on his

²⁵ Memoirs of H.O. Davies Pgs. 52-52

²⁶ Autobiography of Brigadier-General, Mobolaji Johnson: Lagos State – My Life of Service with Integrity: The Making of an Icon, Pg. 104

retirement from the army runs thus: "We were then asked if we had any question, to which I raised my hand. I said, "None of us wanted to be retired at this early age. Will you assist our integration into the society, so that we would get a chance to discover ourselves? I have been a soldier all my life and I have never known anything else." They promised to assist with our re-settlement. On the following day, Brigadier Olusegun Obasanjo addressed us, and this second meeting now included all the military governors. We were told that Murtala was now the Head of State, and he, Obasanjo, was the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters (Second in Command). Further, we were informed of our retirement from the military. Afterwards, Obasanjo said that Murtala had asked to see Brigadier Oluwole Rotimi, who was the Military Governor of the West, and myself. When I went in to see Murtala, he said, "Bolaji, you know that we have done our own investigation and we know that you are clean. We would not like to waste your type of talent, and so we would like you to join us." Johnson replied, "Murtala, sorry I am not used to addressing you as Head of State yet. It is like a football match. Once you have given a red card to a player and side-lined him, he cannot be brought back into the team. I would like to stay on the side and give everything I can to support you. I cannot join the team." Effectively, I turned down Murtala's invitation to join his government."²⁷ Those that were found guilty and their properties seized, had them returned by Babangida after the coup of 1985, the beginning of the hate ideology in Nigeria. The best that can be said of Mobolaji Johnson, apart from being an officer and gentleman is the fact that he lived true to the dictum that "what touches us ourself shall be last served" [Julius Caesar: Act 3, Scn 1] unlike hate ideology that promotes "what touches us ourself shall be first served". Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson and his boss, General Yakubu Gowon are Sandhurst trained officers. Bolaji Johnson and Brigadier Rotimi were not found guilty in the ideological hate investigation of 1975. Bolaji Johnson still lives in his Ilupeju house, renovated by Julius Berger and, did not as Governor, establish a private empire or build a mansion for himself. The same applied to General Gowon about who, at his 80th birthday, Chief Kiagbodo Clark, Professor Jerry Gana and the presenter sent a petition to President Jonathan requesting him to establish one Federal Tertiary Institution in Gowon's village that has only one tarred road. President Jonathan did not acknowledge the petition and nothing was done. The appeal still goes to those in authority today because those who served Nigeria honestly need to be rewarded here on earth. Bolaji touched many lives, including that of late Dr Gabby Williams, who wrote concerning Brigadier Johnson:

For example, many of us who own property in Victoria Island today would not have been able to achieve this without him. Hundreds of boys and girls benefitted from this programme. He was never intoxicated by the position he held, the power he wielded, or

²⁷ Autobiography of Brigadier Mobolaji O. Johnson: Lagos State – My life of Service with Integrity, the Making of an Icon pgs. 184-185

the patronage he dispensed. He is a man with tender and sympathetic heart. Let me give one example of this quality. Several years ago, a distinguished Nigerian administrator, sportsman, principal of a famous college, who served the nation with distinction at home and abroad, called at our house one evening to ask for my assistance in getting through to Bolaji, who was then Governor of Lagos State. This prominent Nigerian was not given an allocation in Victoria Island. I then picked my telephone and rang Bolaji that I needed to see him urgently. As usual, he asked me to come straight to his office. As soon as I presented the man's case, Bolaji was shocked. He exclaimed "what? X was not given an allocation?" Immediately, he gave instruction, in my presence, to the official handling the exercise, and an allocation was made. The concerned Nigerian was full of gratitude. He built two houses on the spot, rented one out and lived in one with his family."²⁸ [A case of teacher getting his reward here on earth]

A number of Nigerians were retired in 1975 and thereafter in the promotion of an ideology. It is only in Nigeria that a 30 year old public officer is retired, and some have been receiving pension for over 40 years. These retirements for ideological reasons continue with the retirement of 26 Deputy and Assistant Inspector Generals in 2016. Ideological retirement is mainly reasonable for 70% of Budget re-current expenditure.

Lady of means

On May 16, 2016, Lagos State Governor Akinwunmi Ambode declared that Lagos has officially joined the league of oil producing states in Nigeria following the discovery of crude oil by Yinka Folawiyo Petroleum Company Limited in Badagry, Lagos. As an Eko man by ancestry, I congratulate Governor Ambode and, through him, the people of Lagos State and Nigeria for this wonderful achievement, which now entitles Lagos to collect 13 percent derivation. It is not clear however whether the Federal Government of Nigeria through the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) provided funds for prospecting for oil in the state as is being done in some states of the North especially the Chad Basin. Governor Ambode said that it took 25 years to get to this stage costing about \$400 million dollars with the fund having the capacity to produce at least 12,000 barrels per day and a possible increase to between 25,000 to 50,000 barrels per day in the nearest future. No doubt buoyed by this achievement, he made the following demand – “unbundling” the potentials of each state by way of re-arrangement. It was reported on August 25, 2016, that Governor Ambode said:

“We need to start looking at some changes that we need to make within and among ourselves as a government irrespective of whether it is federal, state or local government – that will now unbundle the potentials of each state which is the cornerstone of the whole message we are talking about. “There is a great need for all of us to decide once and for all to unbundle the potentials of each state; take the comparative advantages of

²⁸ Autobiography of Brigadier-General, Mobolaji Johnson: Lagos State – My Life of Service with Integrity: The Making of an Icon, Pgs. 248-250

each state and fuse them together for the needs of our people. “Governors are the owners of the land in their states but underneath the land and even inside the water, the Federal Government is structured in a way that it controls those potentials in a situation where the states are being spoon-fed, because I call the federation account more or less like spoon-feeding. The federal government collects total revenue on Value Added Tax (VAT) and various revenues on behalf of all of us and make us to come to Abuja and more or less share it to us as peanuts thereby not allowing us to reach our potentials as competitive states individually,”

The Governor continued:

“there is just one economy in this country and so we need to first of all accept the fact that there is nothing like private sector as against public sector; there is nothing like Federal Government as against State Government. We are collaborating together to drive the economy of this country. So if that describes what Nigeria is and what it ought to be, we also want to say that government should be seen as an enabler; a platform that more or less creates the enabling environment for the public sector to thrive. “If we see ourselves as messengers to allow enabling environment to thrive, that means that whatever it is that we are doing, we must do it in such a way that will allow that enabling environment so that commerce, industry and our people can feel that sense of inclusion and that is why all of us are here. We are making progress because we are there because of our people and if we are there because of our people, it is just those basic little things that our people need that we should go ahead and address. “We all must be in one set and whatever that we are doing in terms of policy; what it is that we are doing in terms of what I now refer to as re-arrangement, we should now focus on people and then we should be people-friendly. And that is the only way we can create that inclusive growth,” he said.”²⁹

Nigerians who believe that the country needs to be re-structured (including this presenter) must be very pleased that Lagos, the original Lady of means, now wants to assume its leading role as the Original Lady of means in the interest of Nigerians. It is important, in the circumstance, to draw attention to the role the original Lady of means played with respect to the question of Land, Mineral and how the well conducted Youth completed what the British colonialists tried to but could not accomplish. **The Times of Nigeria** (Lagos) in the middle of 1914 wrote “by the middle of 1914, the situation came very near to boiling over when the Times of Nigeria accusation bluntly alleged in its leader ‘The Hidden Meaning’ that unification was synonymous with a sell-out of the South. ‘The amalgamation of 1914’, it asserted, ‘is, broadly speaking, the conquest and subjugation of Southern Nigeria by Northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria system, Northern Nigerian laws, Northern Nigerian land laws, Northern Nigerian administration, must be made to supersede every system in Southern Nigeria.”³⁰

²⁹ FG must allow states to develop natural resources – Vanguard August 25, 2016

³⁰ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria A. H. M. Kirk-Greene pg. 24

The Original Lady of Means and Minerals

The British, as colonial power, decided that all minerals in the colonies were the property of the Empire. Lugard wrote: “in furtherance of the desire of the Imperial Government to explore fully the mineral wealth of the Empire, a geological survey has recently been inaugurated. I thoroughly subscribe to the view that all mineral syndicates should produce proof that their capital and control are predominantly British. **Since minerals in Nigeria are the property of the Government**, this presents no great difficulty. Already, before the War, it was not permissible to export tin elsewhere than to the United Kingdom from whence a smelter’s certificate (under penalty of forfeiture of the export duty) was, at first, required. A certificate of entry, and that it is not for re-export, now suffices. The revised Mineral Ordinance and Regulations of 1916 appear to have given properties, and worked well. The creation of ‘mining right’, for low grade properties, has given much encouragement to individual holdings and small capitalists, and this class, as opposed to the Lease-Ownning Companies, is beginning to occupy an important place in the mine field. The imposition of a normal surface rent (1d. to 3d. an acre) became a necessity when the Ordinance was made applicable to the Southern Provinces, where the system of land tenure differs widely from the North”³¹ Colonialism passed on ownership of mineral in Nigeria to the British Crown, a fact that was not known to Lagosians at the time because they would have objected. The position became clear when Lugard was “on his fact-finding mission of the country, the only sign of inquietude was an editorial reference to the panic said to be spreading among Southern Nigerians that their holdings were to be converted to the Northern land tenure practice wherein all land was vested in the Crown. This rumour may have originated in the terms of reference of Committee on West African land tenure set up in 1912 by the Secretary of State to report on what improvements might be made ‘either on the lines of the Northern Nigeria Lands Proclamation ...’”³² The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society formed in 1912 with a branch in Lagos was the most successful of the mouthpieces of the elite and traditional rulers of West Africa and the greatest opponents of colonialism.

During this period, it was announced that a notice had appeared in the “Nigeria Gazette” above the signature of AR Pennington KC to the effect that all land in Nigeria would be placed under the direct control of the state. The notice was brought to the attention of the Lagos Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society under the presidency of Bishop James Johnson. It may be of interest to mention that other members included Mr. C. A. Sapara Williams, (a prominent barrister); Mr Herbert Macaulay, (a civil engineer); Dr Mojola Agbebi;

³¹ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria Pg. 109

³² Ibid pg. 19

Mr. S. R. Sanu; Mr. T. Lloyd Harrison, (also a Barrister-at-law); Mr. Candido da Rocha, (a wealthy businessman); Mr. J. G. Campbell, Mr. G. Aleshinloye Williams; Mr. Adeoye Deniga, Mr J. Bright Davies; Hon. S. H. Pearse, (of the Elephant House, Secretary); and Prince J.O. Oso Davies, (Assistant Secretary); The notice clearly stood at variance with the aspirations of the people, as represented by the Lagos Auxiliary. They decided to send a deputation to the Land Commission in London (then headed by Sir Kenneth Digby), which was charged with responsibility for all land matters in the countries within the Empire. Mr. Herbert Macaulay was assigned to lead the delegation, as its Chairman. On the eve of his departure to London, Mr. Macaulay was arrested in connection with the estate, of one Madam Mary Franklin, of which he was the executor and trustee. The arrest was a plot by his political rivals, to restrain Mr. Macaulay from going with the deputation. Naturally this caused enmity and hostility among the elite who were split into two.”³³ One of the early evidence of divide and rule. However the Bill of 1896 applicable to Gold Coast was to give control of all so-called waste or unoccupied land to the government. A delegation was dispatched to London in 1898 which met the secretary of State for colonies. This Bill was withdrawn. What the British was unable to accomplish was made possible during the Murtala/Obasanjo regime when all land in Nigeria became the property of government. Thus the well conducted Youth became the made-in-Nigeria (MIN) colonialist of our time. The Land Use Act also became part of the Nigerian Constitution. The original Lady of means needs to inform the well conducted Youth that Nigeria is independent, a free country and free economy.

The Character of the Well conducted Youth in the 21st Century

The Economist of July 25, 2016, in an article on the Niger Delta Avengers: titled: **Danegeld in the Delta**, wrote:

“The people of the Niger Delta have genuine grievances. In theory, the region gets a generous share of the nation’s oil revenue. In practice, much of the money is stolen by federal or local bigwigs before it reaches schools and clinics.”

Danegeld means an annual tax formerly laid on the English nation to buy off the ravages of Danish invaders or to maintain forces to oppose them. It afterwards became a permanent tax. The above statement, though unfortunate, is true. This, no doubt, was the basis upon which Mallam Aminu Masari, the Governor of Katsina State and former Speaker of the House of Representatives said:

“for six years, we had a Niger Delta President. Let us see what difference he made in six years when he was President. When the excess crude account became pocket money,

³³ Memoirs of H. O. Davies pgs. 39 – 40

how much of the money went to the Niger Delta?” [Alleged misuse of funds: Masari blasts Niger Delta leaders Vanguard August 30, 2016]

Before making my own comments, I agree totally with Ochereome Nnana when he wrote in the Vanguard:

“what has the North done with its own billions which it unilaterally allocated, just as it liked, through censuses, creation of states and local governments and the sharing of federal electoral constituencies? Through these, the North zaps the oil-fed Federation Account every month based on “population” and landmass which were also used as the criteria for the creation of states and local governments.”

He continues,

“the North remains the most underdeveloped in most areas of the human development index as evident in all available statistics, particularly in education, health, rural development and the welfare of the girl child. The North is also the most violent part of the country due to wrong religious orientation which appears to encourage intolerance. On the other hand, the top echelon of the Northern society is the most affluent in the country. The emirs and titled men live in heaven on earth, usually off the oil wealth of the Niger Delta; while the common people toil all over the country as shoe shiners, farmers, petty traders, artisans, water vendors, gate men (maigad) herdsmen for the big Alhajis and ready to tackle any job that locals look down on. Some of the cities in the North are more beautifully appointed than most cities in the South because they are the abodes of the ruling class, while the rural areas are dumpsites of destitution. So, the question is valid: what has the North done with over 40 years of power, and the moneys of the nation which they shared, keeping the lion’s share for themselves? --- It is no secret that the Northern elite believe the oil in the Niger Delta belongs to them, but not in the same sense that it belongs to all Nigerians. Even their professors who should know better claim the oil was washed down from the desert to the coast! Others say it to remind everyone, especially the Ijaw and other Niger Delta agitators, that they led Nigeria to defeat Biafra in the war, therefore it is their booty. “What have you done with all the money you have been given” is a query from a “master” to a “vassal” justifying his refusal to “give” more. And the now genuinely liberated Niger Deltans are replying: “what business of yours is it”³⁴

Here is a governor whose region produces less than 1% of the national income having the audacity to query the region that produces 80% of the same income to explain how the 13% allocated to it is spent. As a made-in-Nigeria (MIN) colonialist, the Governor believes that as one of the “masters” of the South/South colony of Nigeria, he has the right to demand for its report on how the 13% of is 80% was spent. That is the irony of the Nigerian situation.

The well conducted Youth, since 1960, has assumed the position of made-in-Nigeria (MIN) colonialist. He has become the owner of Niger Delta and insists that the Lady of means must account to him. It is my view that all that happened in Nigeria since 1960 did because the

³⁴ Behind North’s queries to Niger Delta - Vanguard September 5, 2016

Southern Lady of means with her education, civilization and sophistication was forced into silence as a “faithful wife” otherwise she will be “kobokoed”, “horsewhipped” and violence will be deployed against her. In other words, one section of the country has succeeded in colonizing the whole country by force and stealth jihad of Boko Haram through Fulani herdsmen. One wonders what Governor Masari’s feeling would be if his State, Katsina produced 80% of the common purse and 1% Niger Delta asked him to account for its 13% derivation. It is time that we re-negotiate Nigeria peacefully, wherein the component parts will use what they have, to get what they want.

Freedom Park

Permit me at this stage to thank my friend, Professor Wole Soyinka for inviting me to Freedom Park to make this presentation. There is no more fitting place to propose the “toast” of Amalgamation. Freedom Park (former Broad Street Prisons) reminds me of my early days as a Cadet Sub-Inspector of Police in 1959 until I left Lagos in 1970 as a Lawyer to practice in Benin City. I had a brief spell in Ado-Ekiti as Chief Officer Local Government Police in 1962, covering Ekiti, Akoko and Owo Divisions and also served in the UN Operation in Congo in 1963. I returned to be Aide De Camp (ADC) to the Governor of Midwest Region late Chief Jereton Mariere before returning to Lagos as Course Officer Course 12 for Cadet Inspectors that produced an Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Ibrahim Coomassie. In 1966, I was posted to the Central CID Interpol Division. Broad Street Prisons was “home”, for a brief period for some prominent Nigerians who fought for independence. The three Nigerians that I had referred to earlier, Shitta Bey, H. O. Davies and Mobolaji Johnson are icons of Lagos State, and show that Lagos belongs to all Nigerians. Even now that we have a new Capital City of Abuja built with surplus oil money from the Niger Delta, Lagos still remains the original Lady of means. I also lay claim to being a Lagosian, having contributed to the development of the State. I played football for Lagos Amateur Football Association (LAFA) and, later became its Publicity officer from 1959 - 1964. One of my two daughters (Ifueko) was also born at the Island Maternity Hospital, Lagos.

As has been shown above, some Nigerians a Negroid (of Arab extraction) schooled in colonialism, have succeeded in recruiting some Christians and Muslims to ensure we transit from colonialism to made-in-Nigeria (MIN)colonialism.

In the book titled **This House of Oduduwa Must Not Fall**, Sir Olaniwun Ajayi described Yoruba as having “had a tendency to become passionately committed in any spiritual war against injustice and unfairness not only when it concerns an individual directly, but also in the

name of mankind as a whole.” I agree with him. Chief Ajayi continued: “a Yoruba adage says: “*Ti ookan ba d’iya, aa fi eeji ko*” (That is, if there is cheating of one kobo, a Yoruba man will spend two kobo to avenge it). A Yoruba man would do everything and anything to protect and preserve the good image and reputation of his family.”[pgs 2-3]

Some Nigerians who call themselves Lagosians did not approve of Professor Wole Soyinka and Mrs. Ifueko Omoigui-Okauru’s participation in the affairs of Lagos State. **The Guardian** report states: “there is an uproar among prominent Lagos indigenes over the appointment of Nobel Laureate, Prof. Wole Soyinka as the co-chairman to head the **Lagos at 50** Celebrations Committee. Lagos Governor, Akinwunmi Ambode had appointed Soyinka and Rasheed Gbadamosi as co-Chairmen of the **Lagos at 50** celebrations which comes up next year. Lagos indigenes, under the aegis of Eko Foundation, decried the appointment of Soyinka who is not an indigene of Lagos State, while they lamented that Lagos indigenes had been marginalized in their own land as people from other states were taking the appointment meant for them. At a news conference at the weekend in Surulere area of Lagos, the indigenes also rejected the appointment of former Chairman of the Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS), Mrs. Ifueko Omoigui-Okauru as the Chairman of a committee to manage the N25 billion Employment Trust Fund, ETF by Ambode.” [Lagosians reject Soyinka as chair of Committee on Lagos @50, Point Blank (online) March 27, 2016] As a Benin man, I object to their use of the word Eko, especially in the context of the fact that some Lagosians do not appreciate the fact that Lagos indeed belongs to all Nigerians who have worked hard to contribute to her greatness as well as other Yorubas who claim by descent.

It is instructive to emphasize that Mrs. Ifueko Omoigui-Okauru was born at the Island Maternity Hospital in Lagos, attended St Mary’s Primary School, Lagos Island, Queens College, Lagos and University of Lagos where she made a First Class in Accountancy. She later attended Imperial College, London for her Post-Graduate Studies and Harvard University USA. Her mother, Mrs. Grace Omoigui, who was a teacher in Lagos for 40 years, attended St. Agnes Training College, Maryland Lagos and the University of Lagos where she obtained degrees in Science and Law, yet her daughter would not be accepted as a Lagosian. Professor Wole Soyinka is an international figure that can claim any city in any county in the world as his home city and country and would be warmly accepted. It is obvious that when the Lady of means lost its ideology of diversity, Nigeria also lost that ideology that made USA, China, India, Hong Kong, etc great. Ideology of diversity has been replaced by the ideology of hate. The original Lady of means must return to her former role and thus make Nigeria great.

It is not only Wole Soyinka and Ifueko Omoigui-Okauru that have had this problem; the presenter suffered the same fate. The former Governor of the Lagos State refused to see the presenter for ideological reasons the same reason why C of O for Churches and Christians are delayed and sometimes remained unsigned in the Governor's office. I have advised my grandson, Osato Ize-Iyamu Jnr now in the law school that he must not allow anyone to come between him and his profession or professional colleagues, I told him the story of when a Deputy Inspector General of Police instructed me in 1985 that I was to defend the Police but not the Inspector-General of Police, the late Sunday Adewusi at the Babalakin's Judicial Commission on FEDECO, I refused. I insisted that either I take the brief to defend Police and the IG or nothing. The IG later ruled that I should defend the Police and Inspector General. Defending the two did not improve my fees as it is like defending husband and wife, they are two in one. Lawyers must understand when to say NO to non-lawyers and how to relate to their professional colleagues. I am sure that the Governor was advised by the Intelligence Service not to grant me audience for ideological reasons. It is pertinent also to recall that Chief Etim Inyang was the Officer in charge (O/C) Interpol Nigeria during the war years 1967-1970. I was his Second-in-Command 2 I/C. He was always a step ahead of me. He was Deputy Superintendent when I joined him as Assistant Superintendent. When he was promoted Superintendent, I became Deputy Superintendent and when he was promoted Chief Superintendent, I was promoted Superintendent and transferred to head the Detective Training School. I resigned in 1970, while Chief Etim Inyang went on to become Inspector General of Police. On a flight from London to Lagos, late Major-General Joe Garba as Foreign Minister of Nigeria, saw me and remarked; 'Solomon, I hear you have left the Police' I replied, yes, and he asked why, my reply was "I don't want people like you to retire me" and his answer was "you have a point". The purge of 1975 was a calamity that retarded the progress of Nigeria. Ian Nicolson has called amalgamation "a very saddening experience.... After studying the work of his [Lugard's] forerunners who administered Southern Nigeria', he castigated Lugard's administrative plans as 'trampling on all the carefully nursed seedlings of civilized government, law and legislature, and substituting authoritarian adminstrocracy in which the whole emphasis was away from the coast, away from the law and education in its widest sense.' He concluded that Lugard's amalgamation places Nigeria in a state of arrested development, with its institutions of government left on the whole 'dormant and static' for the next thirty years."³⁵ The ideological 1975 purge left Nigeria static while promoting the ideology of hate.

³⁵ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria A. H. M. Kirk-Greene pg. 26

Now that Lagos State is an oil producing state and Governor Ambode wants authority to control land and ports of Lagos State, I have no doubt that Lagos will return to its status of Original Southern Lady of means. Freedom Park reminds us all that having escaped from British colonialism, we still need to overcome the scourge of made-in-Nigeria (MIN) colonialism of the 21st Century, which a section of the country has imposed on the rest of us.

Tourism

Tourism – my first visit to Lagos was in 1954 as a form I student at the Immaculate Conception College, Benin City. We came for the Marian Congress of that year. It was the first time I saw the Atlantic Ocean with my naked eyes. Takwa Bay and Kuramo waters were tourist attractions then. For some of my classmates, it was the first time too they saw a train. Badagry was also a tourist attraction. So was the Museum and Botanical Garden at Onikan including the Race Course now Tafawa Balewa Square. Tourism can only thrive where there is peace. Tourists do not, presently, visit Aleppo in Syria. Hiking was part of scouting and then a young Nigerian could hike from Benin to Sokoto. Tourism cannot develop in Nigeria because security as provided by the Police Force developed out of hate ideology and therefore cannot protect all Nigerians. There is the need for the preponderance of non-indigenes as, basis for attracting federal grants and in the process, help to promote accurate Census. Nigerians have to develop tourism by themselves before outsiders can come visiting. Tourism cannot develop unless we re-introduce the ideology of diversity to replace the existing ideology of hate. This must start with Lagos the original Lady of means.

Conclusion

I have tried, in this presentation, to suggest that the marriage between the “well conducted Youth” and “Southern Lady of means” was contracted in the middle of the First World War (1914) and at a time just after slavery. As a matter of fact, the Southern Lady of means was not consulted by the British matchmaker. She was, more or less, coerced into the marriage. The matchmaker was a brilliant and an “unstable” person, who did not believe (though a Christian) in the sanctity of marriage. Thus, the marriage that was supposed to be one man one woman, later became polygamous with the division of the South into East and West in 1939. There was an attempt to make land the property of the matchmaker, which the lady objected to. After the marriage, the well conducted Youth took all the land and made it property of governors as trustees of the people through the Land Use Act thereby turning the Lady of means to a tenant of her own inheritance.

One is able to establish that the Southern Lady of means was used and abused. The point being made is that colonial Project Nigeria was a British imperial betrayal, perhaps the most objectionable aspect is the situation where income from the heritage of the Lady of means was handed over to the well conducted Youth as a result of the marriage. Between the period of 1968 – 1981, the husband (youth) took all the income representing not less than 80% of Budget, and did not give the Lady of means a dime even though this money was from her inheritance. After several quarrels and negotiations, the well conducted Youth now accuse her of squandering 13% out of the 80% of her contributions. Her question now is, how much does the well conducted Youth himself contribute to the coffers of the budget? She wants a family meeting on the subject because each time there was such a conversation, the well conducted Youth would plant agents, proxies with questionable character as deplorables to speak for her and deny her the right to use what she has (oil) to get what she wants - peace, happiness and prosperity. In addition, the youth has acquired military arsenal to intimidate her and members of her family. The deplorables are quite happy with a situation that their inheritance is in the hands of third parties that allow them to eat from the crumbs from the table. The marriage became an example of domination and exploitation, a model of made-in-Nigeria (MIN) colonialism. The well conducted Youth of the North has taken the Southern Lady of means for granted which is not only unfortunate but dangerous. Now that Lagos has joined the group of oil producing states, it is the hope of all Nigerians that the Yoruba, Nd'igbo and minorities of the North and South will come together to overcome the made-in-Nigeria (MIN) colonialism. Monarchies and empires come and go. This, I should know, as a Bini of the Great Benin Empire. For anyone therefore to believe that their empire will survive forever, is to be gravely mistaken. They cannot succeed especially now when they have come to believe that education that was once regarded as a tool of civilization and happiness, is sacrilege as professed by Boko Haram.

I have also attempted to summarize the relationship of 102 years of 'marriage' into a 25-page food for thought for all well meaning patriots. The object is not to show that the Southern Lady of means has been defiled and abused as many men do to their spouses but to suggest why there should be a family meeting (conversation) to resolve the problems of this forced marriage and to chart a brighter future for the relationship. Returning to Lord Harcourt's metaphor, it is for you, the audience, to determine whether the union has been fruitful with a population of about 17 million in 1914 to 170 million in 2016 despite the prevalence of malaria, cholera, ebola, polio etc. On the question as to whether the couple had been constant. , you are required to appreciate the fact that the Southern Lady of means has always been the bread winner and remains so. The major fault however, is the fact that she has been too submissive. The matchmaker arranged a

Catholic marriage between a Christian and a Muslim when it was contracted in 1914 and he behaved as a Muslim but today, he is, in some way, behaving more as an Islamist/Jihadist and custodian of hate ideology. This fundamental change can lead to the dissolution of the “Catholic” marriage. It is my hope and prayer that the marriage subsists because the well conducted Youth will lose his allowance and the British Treasury cannot come to his aid. The Southern lady is asking for “Trust” which the British did not design for the marriage. The degree to which the Nigerian Negros (indigenes) trust the Nigerian Negroid; (Arab descendants) and vice versa, is measured in terms of honesty, fairness and benevolence of one group to the other. Trust which is the basis for unity is lacking. In any case, the British colonialists never contemplated Nigeria as a Trust but as a great Federation which unfortunately, Nigeria cannot be without trust. Thus the South is asking for a Federation not a tripod that tilts to one side, one recommends a Yoruba speaking Lagosian, Igbo speaking Lagosian, Hausa speaking Lagosian, Edo speaking Lagosian i.e. for anybody born in Lagos or has stayed in Lagos for 10 years and paid taxes in the state to be accepted as indigenes. This should be the same in all states of Nigeria. Only then can the unity necessary to build a nation be realized. We must not forget that Nigeria is a product of the British Empire which has been described as ‘a bizarre model to follow for fostering stability in today’s world. Indeed, much of the instability in the world is the product of its legacy and haphazard policy making.’³⁶ Nigeria must, therefore, based on the above facts, re-construct its strategy for growth and development as a country in the 21st century world especially now that the well conducted Youth is better educated and the world has moved from the age of discovery to that of space exploration and information.

God Bless Nigeria

³⁶ Ghost of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng Pg 8

**LAGOS THE ORIGINAL SOUTHERN LADY OF MEANS
BY SOLOMON ASEMOTA SAN**

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