Administration of British West African Colonies and the Furtherance of Nigeria-Gold Coast Relations, 1885-1960

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Abstract
This paper examines the process of codification of peaceful relations between Nigeria and Ghana (then Gold-Coast) as members of British West African colonies. It submits that the long established pre-colonial interpersonal interactions among citizens of both countries were further enhanced and codified by the common colonial institutions of government established by Britain in her West African colonies. It further reiterates that the cordiality of relations was taken to higher levels through cooperation among educated elites of both countries through nationalist agitations for independence in the decolonization period. The paper notes that though all these colonial institutions were not fully sustained in the post-independence period, they however formed a strong basis for peaceful relations among the peoples of both British dependencies between 1885 and 1960 and laid the foundations for Nigeria-Ghana diplomatic relations since independence. The study employed the eclectic method of inquiry adopting a combination of historical, descriptive and interpretative methods of data collection and analysis. The study relied heavily on secondary data sourced from journal articles, textbooks, archival materials, newspapers and magazines and other relevant materials including theses, dissertations, and government gazettes. Facts and information obtained were however subjected to corroboration and critical analysis to enhance objectivity.

Key words: Gold Coast, Nigeria, British Colonies, Decolonization, Nationalism
Introduction

Britain had four colonies in West Africa. These were The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. As members of the British West Africa, Nigeria and Ghana shared common administrative, economic and social institutions and structures. The administrative set up of British West African colonies enhanced mutual interaction between the Gold Coast and Nigeria in the colonial period. It was indeed very instrumental to forging the feelings of oneness among the educated elites of the two colonial dependencies. Though between 1886 and the 1930’s, Britain decided to administer the two colonies separately, she however encouraged uniform laws to cover a wide range of subjects in both territories and in the whole of British West Africa. Henceforth, up till the 1950’s, both colonies had uniform laws in matters such as labour relations, sedition, customs duty, international conventions, marriages and import quotas among others.¹

Common Administrative Institutions

One of the common administrative institutions established by Britain for coordinating the administration of all her colonies in West Africa was the West African Governor’s Conference inaugurated in Lagos between 10 and 18 August, 1939. The Conference, which was largely instituted to enhance periodic appraisal of development in each of the colonies and cross-fertilization of ideas among the Governors, was devoted to the discussion of ways and methods of coordinating policies such as agriculture, culture, higher education, immigration, research programmes and subversive propaganda.² It is interesting to note that Nigeria was chosen as the Secretariat of the Conference while the Governor of Nigeria was unanimously appointed as its permanent chairman. An officer of the Nigerian Secretariat was also designated as the Secretary to the Conference. Though the Conference was billed to meet regularly, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 halted its regular meetings. A make-shift arrangement of coordinating the affairs of the colonies was therefore established in 1942 when a Resident Minister was appointed for West Africa with headquarters in Accra, Gold Coast. The Resident Minister, Viscount Swinton inaugurated a War Council involving the Governors’ conference and the three heads of the armed forces in each colony.

The post of the Resident Minister was abolished in 1945. It was replaced by the West African Council under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Council comprised of all the Governors of the British West African colonies, as members and a Chief Secretary with a permanent secretariat situated at Accra. The Council was established solely to secure the coordination of the policies of the four territories in all matters of common interest.³ Unfortunately however; the Council could not meet until 1948. Olajide Aluko trying to explain
why the Council became stagnated for three solid years noted that perhaps the greatest undoing of the Council was its composition made up largely of expatriate officials at a time when agitations for constitutional and political reforms were in top gear across the four British West African colonies, rendering it largely out-dated for the time.\textsuperscript{4}

The West African Council was dissolved in 1951. It was immediately replaced the same year by the West African Inter-territorial Conference with headquarters in Accra. The Conference had an enlarged membership comprising largely of all the Governors of the four colonies, two ministers from each of the four territories and some top officials of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat.\textsuperscript{5} The Conference, presided over by the Governor of Nigeria, met annually. It was dissolved in 1962.

**Common Economic Structures**

Nigeria and Gold Coast also enjoyed mutually rewarding interactions in the economic field, especially in the areas of establishment of business organizations across national boundaries by citizens of both Colonies; currency matters and marketing. The task of establishing limited liability companies on a cross-colony basis within the West African region was championed by Mr. Winnifred Tete-Ansa, a Gold Coast businessman. He established three limited companies in quick succession between 1925 and 1931. The first was the West African Cooperative Producers Limited established at Accra in 1925. The Company was later registered in Nigeria in 1928. Prominent indigenes of both the Gold Coast and Nigeria became directors of the company. These were P.H. Williams, A. Ocansey and R.M. Lamptey from the Gold Coast and Dr. C.C. Adeniyi-Jones, T.A. Doherty, Dr. J.C. Vaughan and D.T. Sasegbon from Nigeria.\textsuperscript{6} The second company established by Tete-Ansa was the Industrial and Commercial Bank Limited located in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. It was formed in the 1928/1929 financial year. Directors of the banks were from Nigeria and the Gold Coast.\textsuperscript{7} By 1931, the Nigerian Mercantile Bank Limited was established by Tete-Ansa. All the Directors and Chairman of the bank were Nigerians.\textsuperscript{8} Though these companies became moribund shortly after 1931, they none-the-less enhanced mutual coexistence of peoples from the Gold Coast and Nigeria in economic matters during the colonial period.

Another aspect of economic relations between the Gold Coast and Nigeria in the colonial period was in the area of common currency. In actual fact, cooperation in monetary matters between them went back to 12 November, 1912 when the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Rt. Honourable Lewis Harcourt inaugurated the West African Currency Board (WACB)\textsuperscript{9} in line with the recommendations of the West African Currency Committee (WACC) headed by Lord Emmott.\textsuperscript{10} This conforms with the argument of Eric Helleiner that during the age of imperialism, “currency boards were created by European powers in their respective colonies.
for economic ends, including the reduction of international and intra-colony transaction costs, and to promote imperial political tendencies”.

Under the aegis of the Board, West African silver coins were introduced in 1912. It was in 1916 that the Board began to issue notes in three denominations of 20 shillings, 10 shillings and 2 shillings (20s, 10s, 2s) to Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone where they became popular among the educated elites and colonial civil servants. By 1920, the silver coins were replaced by the West African alloy coins of the same denominations. In 1918, the WACB issued 1 shilling notes while the 100 shillings (5 pounds) notes were introduced in 1953. The colonial currency became the sole legal tender for British West Africa between 1912 and 1958. As such, the colonial economy was integrated into the capitalist world market. Henceforth, the pre-existing African economic institutions and relations of production in the domestic economy were totally overhauled. All the British West African colonies embraced the market economy and used a common currency for exchange purposes between 1912 and 1956. In 1957, Ghana broke out from the WACB following her new status as an independent state. Nigeria followed suit in 1959.

Another economic aspect of relations between Ghana and Nigeria during the colonial era was in the area of cocoa marketing. Despite the fact that Britain started the purchase and shipping of cocoa from the Gold Coast and Nigeria in 1939, the first inter-territorial organization responsible for the purchase and sale of cocoa from the two territories on behalf of the British government was established only in September 1941. The agency which was known as the West African Cocoa Control Board (WACCB) was reconstituted in July 1942 under a new name – the West African Produce Control Board (WAPCB). Henceforth, the activities of the Board would no longer be limited to Cocoa alone, but to other cash crops such as groundnuts, palm oil, benni seed and palm kernels. By 1947, the West African Produce Control Board was replaced by separate Cocoa Marketing Boards established in the Gold Coast and Nigeria.
Common Socio-Cultural Institutions

Nigeria and the Gold Coast also had meaningful interactions in the field of education. In its effort to enhance educational cooperation among her West African Colonies, Britain set up the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) in 1953 with headquarters at Accra and branch office at Yaba, Lagos. Its essence was to promote educational development in British West African Colonies. The establishment of WAEC has a long history starting from 1948 when the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Matriculation Council and the West African Departments of Education met and concluded plans for educational cooperation and development in West Africa. At the meeting, Dr. G.B. Jeffery, the then Director of the University of London, Institute of Education, was appointed to visit some West African countries so as to appraise the general standard of education in West Africa. At the end of Dr. Jeffery’s three month visit to the four colonies between December 1949 and March 1950, he tendered a report recommending the establishment of a West African School Examinations Council. The report also made a detailed recommendation on the composition and duties of the Council. The report was adopted fully.

The Council was formally established through the West African Examinations Council Ordinance No. 40 in December 1951 by the Legislative Assemblies of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. Liberia later issued her ordinance in 1974 at the annual meeting held in Lagos, Nigeria. The inaugural meeting of the Council was held in Accra, the Gold Coast in March 1953. The twenty-six member team was headed by Mr. A.N. Galsworthy, who was the Chairman of Council. The Council functions through three types of committees namely; the International Committees, the National Committees, and the Sub-committees.

It is worthy of note that WAEC Certificates are of equal standard with those of the United Kingdom. WAEC has been living up to its missions of maintaining internationally accepted procedures, provision of qualitative and reliable educational assessment, encouraging students in attaining academic excellence and promotion of sustainable human development, mutual understanding and international cooperation. But much more than that, WAEC is the only surviving inter-territorial sub-regional institution in British West Africa.

Nigeria and the Gold Coast also maintained close ties in judicial matters during the era of colonial rule. Both of them were subject to the West African Court of Appeal (WACA) established in 1867. Between 1867 and 1874, all appeals from all the British West African Colonies were sent to the court from which final appeals were made to the Privy Council in London. By 1874, WACA had been broken into two. One was for Sierra Leone and the Gambia while the other was for the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Records however have it that Nigeria did not accept its jurisdiction until 1934. By 1958, the WACA had jurisdiction only in Sierra Leone and
the Gambia, while Ghana and Nigeria had their own Supreme Courts from where appeals were made direct to London. But with the assumption of the Republican status in Ghana in 1960, and in Nigeria in 1963, an end was put to appeal to the Privy Council.  

Military Relations

The history of relations between Nigeria and the Gold Coast on military matters dates back to 1873 when Lt. (later Sir) John Hawley Glover of the British Royal Navy led a force of “Hausas” from Nigeria to join forces with a locally recruited force from the Volta Region of the Gold Coast against the Ashantis during the Sagrenti War (1873-74). The military group led by Lt. J.H. Glover was popularly called the “Glover’s Hausas”. Though not all the soldiers in the “Glover’s Hausas” were from the Hausa ethnic group, they assumed that name largely because it was the Hausa language which served as the medium of instruction and communication for the soldiers during and after their military training. The Hausa force detachment was later deployed at Elmina and was subsequently formalized as a separate “Gold Coast Constabulary” in 1879. All the constabulary forces in British West African territories were amalgamated in 1897 by Captain Frederick John Dealtry Lugard to form the West African Frontier Force (WAFF). It came to be known as the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) as from 1940. It was a multi-battalion field force formed by the British colonial office to garrison the West African colonies of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. It was under the command of an Inspector General who was not below the rank of Colonel.

Between 1914 and February 1916, during the First World War, both the Nigerian and Gold Coast Regiments of the WAFF provided battalions and much of the combatants of the British forces that fought the German colonial armies in Togo and the Cameroons. By April 1916, Britain dispatched her West Africa colonial troops to German East Africa to help contain the German colonial soldiers known as the askaris, and conquer German East Africa, (later Tanganyika) now known as Tanzania. Hence, the Gold Coast Regiment and the Nigerian troops, popularly called the “Green Caps,” fought alongside other ‘British’ troops from East and South Africa in the German East African campaign. They captured several enemy positions, including the banks of the river Mgeta, the hills of Mkimbu and the banks of river Rufiji, near Kimbabwe, in Tanzania. The men of the West African regiments also performed the arduous task of portage in the East African campaign. Due largely to the lack of roads and the destruction of the beasts of burden by the tsetse fly, each regiment had to be served by large numbers of carriers from April 1916 to the end of the war in 1918. But despite such collaborative military actions, they remained essentially territorial armies and were run as national forces. Hence, the effective administration of forces was vested in the hands of each colonial Governor who acted as Commander-in-Chief of the forces in his territory. A structural change was however effected in the command structure of the RWAFF in July, 1940 when the War Office, London, acting as the
Board of the WAFF, appointed Lt. General G.J. Giffard as the General Officer Commanding West Africa with his headquarters situated at Achimota, Gold Coast. It thus became more or less the West African command arm of the British Army and was run essentially as one henceforth.  

In a related development, a military training school was established at Teshi, near Accra, Gold Coast in 1940. The school effectively served in training military personnel from Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia till 31 March 1960 when Nigeria ceased to use it. At Teshi, Nigerian and Gold Coast military officers in the fifties interacted and attended the school for regular courses. They also met on special preliminary training courses for about six months as a pre-requisite for the regular commission at the Royal Military Academy (RMA), Sandhurst and the short-service commission at the Officer Cadet Training Unit (OCTU) at Aldershot, England.

Another major military formation that brought Nigerian and the Gold Coast officers together was the West African Forces Conference established in the forties after the Second World War. Members of the Conference were representatives of the War office, the United Kingdom Treasury and of the four British West African colonies. It was chaired by the Colonial Secretary. Apart from becoming the supreme policy-making body on military matters in the four British West African Colonies, harmonizing their war policies, plans and actions; it also ensured further military cooperation in British West Africa. Ironically however, it was this same Conference that spearheaded its dissolution in March 1959. Ghana became the first nation to pull out of the RWAFF. The organization finally went into extinction on 1 August 1960.

The West African Inter-Territorial Research Organizations

The Gold Coast and Nigeria had interactions through series of common research institutes under the aegis of the West African Inter-Territorial Research Organizations (WAIFRO). These research institutes were established between 1944 and 1951 to generate research findings to aid improved cash crops production in the British West African colonies. They included the West African Cocoa Research Institute, (WACRI); the West African Institute for Oil Palm Research (WAFOR); the West African Council for Medical Research; and the West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (WAITR). We now take a look at the establishment and achievements of these research organizations.

The West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI)

The West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI) was established in 1944 with headquarters at Tafo, in the Gold Coast. Largely owing to shortage of staff, the WACRI had no other station outside Tafo until 1953 when a sub-station was established at Ibadan, Nigeria.
WACRI was established initially for the purpose of coordinating research into the methods of controlling swollen diseases and in the vegetative propagation of high yielding strains of cocoa. Subsequently, the mandate of the WACRI was extended to investigate all matters affecting the cultivation of cocoa and the preparation of the beans for the market.

The Institute was administered by a management committee chaired by the Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat. Other members were four nominees each, representing the Gold Coast and the Nigerian governments as well as the Director of the Institute. Funds were sourced from contributions from the two colonies; contributions by the colonial office in London as well as funds from the Cocoa Marketing Boards of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Conferences were held regularly between the top officials of the Tafo and Ibadan stations where papers on various aspects of cocoa industry were presented and robustly discussed.

The West African Institute for Oil Palm Research (WAIFOR)

The West African Institute for Oil Palm Research (WAIFOR) was established in 1951 through the Nigeria No.20 Ordinance of 1951 with headquarters at Benin City. It began operations on 1 April, 1952. The Institute served all the British West African colonies, except the Gambia that had no oil palm to develop. It was established for two major reasons namely to: undertake research into, and conduct investigations of problems and matters relating to the oil palm and its products and; provide information and advice relating to the oil palm. Between 1952 and 1954, WAIFOR’s operations were largely limited to Nigeria. In 1954, its first sub-station was opened at Njola, Sierra Leone. Later in 1955, two experimental stations were opened at Aiyinaisi and Bunsu, by the Gold Coast Department of Agriculture.

WAIFOR was administered by a Management Committee headed by the Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat with six other officers representing Nigeria, one each from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone and the Director of the Institute. Funds for the day-to-day administration of the Institute were sourced from the three affected colonies in varying proportions, but with Nigeria providing the lion share of the fund. It was dissolved on 30 September, 1962.

The West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (WAITR)

The West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (WAITR) was established in 1947 by Act No. 36 of 1947 of the British Parliament. Its headquarters was located at Kaduna, Nigeria. It had a mandate to conduct research on all aspects of Trypanosomiasis: human, animal and entomological. It was also saddled with the responsibility of developing appropriate
technologies, as well as processes for the control and elimination of the tsetse fly and Trypanosomiasis diseases and their vectors. The Institute further served as a clearing house for information about Trypanosomiasis, as an advisory bureau, and as a centre for the training of expert technical personnel.\textsuperscript{50}

From inception up till October, 1950, the Institute was managed by the Nigerian Colonial Government. But from November 1950, a substantive Management Committee was constituted for the Institute. Membership included the Director of the Institute, four representatives each from Nigeria and Gold Coast; one representative each from the Gambia and Sierra Leone; while the Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat served as the Chairman.\textsuperscript{51} The Federal Government of Nigeria took over the control of WAITR in 1960 and renamed it the Nigerian Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research (NITR) through the Act No.33 of 1964.\textsuperscript{52}

\textbf{The West African Council for Medical Research (WACMAR)}

The West African Council for Medical Research (WACMAR) was established in August, 1954. Its administrative headquarters was located in Yaba, Nigeria. Its day-to-day management was vested in a Management Committee made up of the Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat who served as the Chairman; the Administrator of the West African Research Office; three nominees each of the Gold Coast and Nigerian governments; two of the Sierra Leone government and one from the Gambian government.\textsuperscript{53} The Council met in each of the four capitals in rotation. Apart from Yaba, other centres established by WACMAR included the Child Health Unit based at the Wesley Guild Hospital, Ilesa, Nigeria; the Tuberculosis Research Unit at Kumasi and also in Bolgatanga, in the Upper Region of Ghana\textsuperscript{54}

\textbf{Interactions in the Transport Sector}

Apart from the area of research, another inter-territorial institution that linked Nigeria and Gold Coast in the colonial era was in the transportation sector. In order to promote air transport between Nigeria and the Gold Coast, the West African Airways Corporation (WAAC) was established on 1 June, 1946 through The West African Territories (Air Transport) Order-in-Council of 1946.\textsuperscript{55} WAAC was managed by the West African Air Transport Authority made up of representatives of all the four British West African Colonies. Funds for the running of the corporation were provided by all the four colonial governments, though Nigeria provided more than sixty percent of the running cost.\textsuperscript{56} The Corporation enjoyed the technical and financial support of the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) and Elder Dempster Lines for its efficient transport services in West Africa.\textsuperscript{57} As at 1954, the WAAC operated internal services within the Gold Coast and Nigeria; inter-colonial services between Accra, Gold Coast and Lagos, Nigeria and international services between Lagos and Dakar and between Lagos and
Khartoum in Sudan. WAAC operations were highly effective in combating the perennial problem of transportation and communication between Nigeria and Gold Coast.

In April 1957, Ghana pulled out of WAAC to establish the Ghana Airways. On 1 October, 1958, WAAC was dissolved and its assets and liabilities were inherited by the West African Airways Corporation (Nigeria Limited), though with some shares owned by the British Overseas Airways Corporation and Elder Dempster. On 1 May 1959, the Nigerian Government bought over the shares of the company and renamed it the Nigeria Airways.

Meanwhile, aviation contact between Nigeria and Ghana may really be said to outdate the WAAC’s existence. According to a publication of the Nigeria Airways released in 2002, the British Royal Air Force Transport Command aircrafts had been operating across the British West African territories since the early 1920’s. In fact, it was stated that by 1930, civil and military aircrafts were carrying passengers across boundaries and touching down in places like Lagos, Kano and Accra. Lagos and Accra later became hubs for flights enroute the Middle East and the Far-East (India). The Royal Air Force Transport Command was reportedly operating a twice-weekly ‘bush’ service from Accra to Lagos, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Jos and Kano returning direct to Accra via Kaduna and Lagos. This ‘bush’ service was suspended with the emergence of the WAAC but was reopened with some modifications by Nigeria Airways beginning from 1960.

However, these inter-territorial institutions and agencies did not survive the colonial period, except the West African Examinations Council (WAEC). A number of reasons have been given for this development. These include: the emergence of local nationalism in Nigeria and the Gold Coast as against Pan-West African nationalism on the eve of their independence; exigencies of independence and the need to maintain full control over critical issues such as the military and currency as a mark of their newly-won sovereignty; mutual jealousy among the peoples of both countries; and post-independence political discord between the leadership of both countries in the immediate post-independence period.

**Nationalist Agitations as Stimulants of Interaction between Nigeria and the Gold Coast in the Decolonization Period**

Nationalist agitations in the Gold Coast and Nigeria went a long way at stimulating closer links between the elites of both countries during the decolonization period. Major political platforms that brought the elites of both countries together in their agitation for independence included: the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), the West African Students’ Union (WASU) and the Youth Movements. A closer examination of the workings of these associations is very essential at this juncture.
National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was established in March 1920 at Accra, Gold Coast. It was the first extra-national-body that attempted to promote unity of purpose among the nationalists of British West Africa. The inaugural Conference was convened by J.E. Casely Hayford. It was attended by forty delegates from the Gold Coast, six from Nigeria, three from Sierra Leone and one from the Gambia. Its headquarters was at Sekondi, Gold Coast, but meetings of the Congress were held in each of the four capitals of British West Africa in rotation. This gave members the opportunity to visit each other’s countries and to exchange ideas on issues of common concern. It pursued a policy of conservative constitutionalism and cooperation with Great Britain to obtain African participation in the colonial government. This was well attested to by the Constitution of the Congress which declared inter alia that:

The policy of the Congress shall be to maintain strictly and inviolate the connection of the British West African Dependencies with the British Empire, and to maintain unreservedly all and every right of free citizenship of the Empire, to aid in the development of the political institutions of British West Africa under the Union Jack, and in time, to ensure within her borders the government of the people by the people for the people, to secure equal opportunity for all, to preserve the lands of the people for the people.

It is worth noting that the NCBWA did not only address itself to political matters but also ventured into matters of economic concern. For instance, in 1921, the Congress made a very important resolution stimulating economic cooperation among British West African States that:

…and the time has come for the formation of a corporation to be known as the British West African Co-operative Association…to found Banks, promote shipping facilities, establish co-operative stores and produce buying centres, in such a wise as to inspire and maintain a British West African National Economic development.

Though the NCBWA went into extinction in 1930 owing largely to the death of its mentor, the organization succeeded largely in creating political awareness of enhanced participation of educated elites in colonial administration of British West Africa. But much more than that, it promoted closer relationship between Nigerians and Gold Coasters.
West African Students’ Union (WASU)

Political cooperation between Nigeria and the Gold Coast was further enhanced by students from both countries studying in Britain in the 1920’s. On 7 August 1925, Ladipo Solanke, a Nigerian of Yoruba ethnic origin and twenty other West African students studying in Britain, formed the West African Students’ Union (WASU). The nucleus of the Union was formed by the merging of the Nigerian Progress Union and the Gold Coast Students’ Union, London. Some of the founding members of WASU included J.B. Danquah and E.O. Asafu-Adjaye (from the Gold Coast); Ladipo Solanke, Kusimo Soluade and Olatunde Vincent (from Nigeria), as well as Dr. Herbert Bankole Bright, a Sierra Leonean medical doctor. The objective of WASU was to discuss all matters affecting West Africa politically, educationally and economically, and especially to cooperate with the National Congress of British West Africa.

In an attempt to woo more members, WASU ventured into a humanitarian project to assist members in need of accommodation. To this end, WASU opened a student hostel in Camden Town in 1933 for West Africans and acquired a second hostel in mid-1940’s at 69, Warrington Crescent, London W9. WASU’s other activities included regular meetings and discussions among members, consultation with British political officials and the publication of a magazine (Waasu) which covered issues of importance to West Africans in London and in the colonies. Although it was not published regularly, the magazine was in circulation between 1926 and 1958.

WASU also encouraged individual and collaborative publications among its members. This perhaps encouraged the publication of United West Africa at the Bar of the Family of Nations in 1927 by Ladipo Solanke and Towards Nationhood in West Africa in 1928 by J.W. de Graft-Johnson from the Gold Coast. Through the magazine publications, public lectures and publication of pamphlets, WASU made a great leap towards influencing constitutional and political developments in the British West African Colonies. For instance, in April 1942, WASU submitted a memorandum to the British Undersecretary of State for the Colonies in which it demanded “internal self-government now” and complete self-government within the four British West African colonies on or before 1947.

Before it went into oblivion in 1958 after the death of its founder-leader, Ladipo Solanke, WASU made some remarkable achievements. In the first instance, it assisted in arousing political consciousness in West African students both at home and abroad. This was actualised largely through the opening of branches across the British West African colonies. Secondly, it provided a major platform for interaction among future political leaders in both Ghana and Nigeria, and served as a crucial training ground for future nation-builders. Some of the
prominent members of WASU who later played prominent roles in the political developments of their countries were Joe Appiah, Kwame Nkrumah and J. Annan from Ghana; as well as Chief H.O. Davies, Chief S.L. Akintola and Mr. Kola Balogun from Nigeria. 83

The Youth Movements

The Nigerian Youth Movement was formed by Herbert Macaulay in 1934. J.B. Danquah followed suit with the formation of the Gold Coast Youth Movement in 1938. 84 Both movements established very strong links in the decolonization period. Hence, people like J.B. Danquah and Casely Hayford from Gold Coast interacted freely with peers such as Herbert Macaulay, H.O. Davies and Nnamdi Azikiwe from Nigeria. It was such collaborations between political elites of both countries that paved way for the political exploits of Drs. Nnamdi Azikiwe and R.A. Savage in the Gold Coast between 1934 and 1945.

The activities of these aforementioned politically-inclined associations were however further enhanced by the effective use of the press as an instrument for the dissemination of nationalist ideas during the decolonization period. After the First World War, a number of anti-colonial newspapers sprang up all over West Africa. 85 The newspapers helped to accelerate the process of “mental emancipation” of Africans from colonial values. 86 Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe perhaps made the most decisive impact on the development of the press in British West Africa. Having settled in the Gold Coast in 1934 after completing his studies in America, he founded and edited the African Morning Post whose maiden edition was published on 22 December, 1934 in Accra. 87 His publications succeeded in stimulating political awareness among the peoples of Gold Coast 88 to the extent that he was deported by the Gold Coast colonial government to Nigeria in 1937 following his trial for sedition earlier in 1936. On his return to Nigeria, Azikiwe founded the West African Pilot, a pioneer daily newspaper that became an effective forum for stimulating political consciousness among Nigerian masses.

Conclusion

In this paper, it has been established that Nigeria-Ghana diplomatic relations had its foundations firmly laid in the pre-colonial era through intergroup relations among the citizens of both territories. The common colonial institutions and agencies of government established by Britain in her West African colonies enhanced the pre-colonial and colonial interpersonal interactions among the peoples of both countries and promoted close relations between the citizens of both Nigeria and the Gold Coast. This cordiality of relations among citizens of both countries enhanced effective collaborative nationalist agitations for independence in the decolonization period. It is however disheartening to note that all these pre-colonial and colonial interactions and structures were not fully sustained in the post-independence period. This
notwithstanding however, they formed a strong basis for Nigeria-Ghana diplomatic relations in the post-independence era.
Notes and References

1. Some of these Common Bills that were in operation in all the four British West African colonies were: Sedition Bill, Customs Tariff Ordinance (Amendment) Bill, Workmen’s Compensation Bill and Colonial Service Law. For details, see Olajide, Aluko, Ghana and Nigeria: 1957-70: A Study in Inter-African Discord, (London: Zex Collins, 1976)

2. Ibid p.49.
5. At the first meeting of the Conference held in July 1952, Nigeria was represented by Shettima Kashim and Mohammadu Ribadu while the Gold Coast was represented by A. Casely-Hayford and Kojo Botsio.
8. Ibid. p.145. These were Dr. C.C. Adeniyi-Jones, as Chairman and Dr. A.M. Maja, Mr. T.A. Doherty and Mr. H.A. Subair as Directors.
14. For instance, Nigeria introduced a new currency in 1959 during the tenure of Chief Okotie Eboh as Federal Commissioner for Finance.
16. Ibid.
19. Ibid.

Other members were Dr. G.B. Jeffery (Chief Secretary of the West African Interterritorial Secretariat), Mr. J.L. Brereton (Secretary of the Cambridge Syndicate), 13 members nominated by the Governments of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia and 10 other observers.


26. In 1863, Lt. John Hawley Glover of the British Royal Navy formed a local security force made up of about 18 people of Hausa descent. Available records suggest that Glover’s exploration ship got wrecked at Jebba on the River Niger on his way to Lagos. For security reasons, he picked up a band of run-away Hausa slaves whom he employed as a security force to escort him on his journey. This particular decision to hire ex-slaves as security agents by Glover probably reinforces the submission of Nowa Omoigui that “all through the various battles of British conquest, former slaves, individuals and mercenaries formed the bulk of fighting troops under the command of British officers”. It was this same security outfit that was used to police the Lagos Colony, protect the British traders and to prosecute some raids into the hinterland. The group was later referred to as “Glover’s Hausas”. It was renamed the Hausa militia or Hausa Constabulary in 1865 and later the Lagos Constabulary in 1873. For more details, see Nowa Omoigui, “From Glover’s Hausas to 4 Guards Battalion 141 years later”. Available online.
28. Nowa Omoigui, “From Glover’s Hausa’s to 4 Guards Battalion 141 years later”.
West African Field Force, the Sierra Leone Battalion and the Gambia Company.


44. Even after the breakup of the WACRI, top officials of Ghana and Nigeria Cocoa Research Institutes used to attend research conferences organized by each national organization. Hence in 1963, Mr. R.H. Kenten, the Director of the Nigeria Cocoa Research Institute and his Deputy, Dr. J.K. Opeke attended the Cocoa Mirid Control


48. Between 1952/53 and 1956/57 fiscal years, Nigeria was required to pay €126,000, Sierra Leone €16,000, and Gold Coast €8,000. This was increased to €230,000, €20,000, and €16,000 for Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gold Coast respectively. See WAIFOR, *Annual Report*, 1961 – 62, p.14.

49. See Nigerian Institute for Oil Palm Research.


52. An account of the work of the Institute between 1947 and 1962 given by its Director, Dr. K.G. Willett as contained in the Institute’s *Annual Report*, 1962, pp. iv-ix.


60. Ibid, p.136.


63. Ibid.


68. The inaugural meeting of the NCBWA was held in Accra between 11 and 29 March 1920. The six Nigerian delegates to the meeting were: Patriarch Campbell, Prince Ephraim Bassey Duke, P. Deniga, Chief Essien Offiong Essien, Adeniyi Olugbade and J.E. Shyngle. For details, see Abba, Alkasum, The Northern Elements Progressive Union and the Politics of Radical Nationalism in Nigeria, 1938-1960(Zaria: The Abdullah Smith Centre for Historical Reasearch, n.d); O. Omosini, “Nationalist Movements in French and British West Africa, 1900-1939”, in A.Fajana and A.A.Anjorin (eds.), *From Colony to Sovereign State: An Introduction to the History of West Africa Since 1900*, (Middlesex: Thomas Nelson, 1979), p. 140.


71. Leaders of the NCBWA were quoted by the *Nigerian Pioneer* saying that “we should all wish to go forward in March of progress, but it must be on constitutional lines”. For details see E. Yekutiel, “Common Goals, different ways”.

72. See David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p.1

73. See Becky Givan, “West African Students Union (WASU)”, on http://diaspora.northwestern.edu/mbin/webobjects/DiasporaX.woa/wa/displayArticle?mid=688

74. West Africa, 31 October, 1925.


76. Becky Givan, “WASU”.

77. “Waasu”, WASU Magazine, London 1926, no 1. (Waasu is a Yoruba word which means to “preach”)


79. Ibid. p.54.

80. James Coleman even described these two works as “the first major literary works of a nationalist character to appear since Blyden’s writing in the late 19th country”. See J.S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, p.125.

81. See Memorandum from WASU to Under Secretary of State for the colonies, 6 April, 1942.

82. WASU Branches included eleven in Nigeria, five in Ghana and two in Sierra Leone, all formed between 1928 and 1930.

83. S.L. Akintola was the Premier, Western Region between 1960 and January, 1966; J. Annan became Ghana’s Secretary of Defence; Kwame Nkrumah became Ghana’s first Prime Minister and later President; Joe Appiah became a prominent Member of Parliament in Ghana’s National Assembly and Kola Balogun became Nigeria’s first High Commissioner to Ghana.


86. Ibid. pp.158-159.

87. Ibid.