

## PRECOLONIAL AND COLONIAL NIGERIA - GHANA RELATIONS

**Chinwe A. Alazor (PhD)**

Department of History and International studies

Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka

ca.alazor@unizik.edu.ng

+234-7068969633

### ABSTRACT

Precolonial and colonial periods have been the most effective periods in African history. For Nigeria and Ghana, both periods among other things shaped the structure of their socio-economic relations. Although the colonial period is perhaps considered as the harbinger of African ordeal, scholars of history have not given profound attention to certain precolonial and colonial factors which African nations can glean as historical lessons and strategy for future socio economic cooperation and integration. Using historical analysis and relying on both primary and secondary sources of data, it was found that trade and migration fueled Nigeria-Ghana relations in both periods but was also sustained by other social interactions like sports, nationalism and quest for freedom and independence in the colonial era. Both precolonial and colonial periods have several untapped areas that historical scholars can garner peculiar panaceas to the challenges of Africa.

**Keywords: precolonial, colonial, Nigeria, Ghana, relations**

### Introduction

Nigeria and Ghana are two countries in West Africa known to relate more than others. Both nations have been in contact since the pre-colonial period, although their relationship became more pronounced in the colonial period when both nations were brought under the British West African colony. Nigeria and Ghana adopted English Language as official language of communication due to the influence of British based educational system introduced in the areas, as well as the British administrative pattern that brought different peoples, cultures and traditions into one entity. Both nations have basic connecting factors that shaped the trajectory of their relations significantly during the precolonial and the colonial periods. Through trade and migration Nigeria and Ghana maintained socio-economic relations that spanned through precolonial era into the colonial when it was taken a nudge further by the British colonial administrative structure which allowed for policy uniformity within British colonies. This gave rise to proliferation in the movement of goods and people within the countries and as such projected both dividing and uniting elements in their relations. Quite a good number of scholars from the past decade including Ocheni and Nwankwo<sup>1</sup>, Gareth Austine<sup>2</sup>, Merima Ali et al,<sup>3</sup> and Ikechukwu Kanu<sup>4</sup>, among others have projected the ills of colonial rule and its negative legacies in Africa, or attempted to puncture other factors of African poverty other than colonialism. Meanwhile, only a few scholars like Dan O. Chukwu<sup>5</sup>, have attempted studies along the line of positive colonial legacies, not along the line of infrastructure development and other acclaimed colonial investments, but on legacies that accrued from some colonial administrative

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen Ocheni and Basil Nwankwo, "Analysis of Colonialism and its Impact in Africa", *Cross-Cultural Communication*, Vol 8, No.3, 2012 pp. 46-54 [DOI:10.3968/j.ccc.1923670020120803.1189]

<sup>2</sup> Austin, Gareth. *African economic development and colonial legacies*. No. 1. Institut de hautes études internationales et du développement, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Ali, Merima, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, Boqian Jiang, and Abdulaziz B. Shifa. "Colonial legacy, state-building and the salience of ethnicity in sub-Saharan Africa." *The Economic Journal* 129, no. 619 (2019): 1048-1081

<sup>4</sup> Kanu, Ikechukwu A. "The colonial legacy: The hidden history of Africa's present crisis." *Afrrev Ijah: An International Journal of Arts and Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2012): 123-131.

<sup>5</sup> Chukwu, Dan O., and JG Nkem Onyekpe. "ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: DOES MODERN WEST AFRICA NEED ANY HISTORICAL LESSONS?." *Researchers World* 5, no. 4 (2014): 188.

structures and institutions which could be adopted in its fullness or modified for sustainable growth and development of modern Africa. This study however, projects to analyse the Nigeria and Ghana precolonial and colonial relations and accentuate the dividing and uniting factors that formed the trajectory of their relations, to find possible ways through history to accelerate future progressive socio-economic relations between Nigeria and Ghana.

### **Historical contact**

Nigeria and Ghana are located in West Africa. Nigeria is bordered by Cameroon, Benin, and Niger, but has no land border connections with Ghana; although both territories have been in contact since the precolonial period. During colonial rule, they were led under the British West African colony, which made them the closest English speaking countries in West Africa. Nigeria and Ghana have had similar history especially in the colonial and post-colonial periods. Found in the same sub-Saharan region, they share similar weather conditions, physical peculiarities and trait, while the majority of the people come from the same kwa group of languages<sup>6</sup>.

Ghana is made up of about 100 ethnic groups, four of which are most popular. The Akan people make up about 44% of the entire population, followed by the Mole-Dagbani or Moshi-Dagamba, the Ewe and the Ga people<sup>7</sup>. Ghana people are said to be majorly matrilineal in nature, although patrilineal practices are found in some aspects of their structural lives. They were agrarian based and were involved in long distant trading in the pre-colonial period. Ghana is endowed with gold, ivory among other resources which encouraged their involvement in local gold mining that enhanced their trading activities particularly during the pre-colonial period.

With more renowned evidences from oral tradition, archaeology, unpublished records of the Dutch, Portuguese and others, it has been proved against the belief of some Eurocentric writers like W. Claridge and J.D Fage who claimed that the people of Ghana especially those of Akan and Ewe have not been in their present location far more than the Europeans have been. A. Boahen however insists that not only did they exist for more than one thousand years ago, but they also had built social and political institutions, exploited their natural resources and have had trade relations with communities around them through the seas<sup>8</sup> and the deserts. Evidences are found in their economic prowess in gold mining during the Trans Saharan trade. The emergence of prominent kings who were in control of the gold market, their powerful control of caravan routes due to the strategic location and the power and authority espoused by Ghana empire from the 5<sup>th</sup> Century to the 12<sup>th</sup> Century proves that Ghana have been active in their interaction with other parts of the world before the coming of the Europeans.

Nigeria on the other hand is the largest populated country in Africa, with a population of over 200 million people. It is bounded in the north by Niger, in the west by Benin and the east by Chad and Cameroon<sup>9</sup>. Nigeria is made up of more than 250 ethnic groups with three major ones – Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. Nigeria is known to have existed thousands of years before the coming of the Europeans in the area. They are economically involved in agricultural production, trading, and craftsmanship. The people were majorly engaged in subsistent agricultural production, although a significant commercial production also existed. Domestic trade in the forms of community and inter community trade as well as long distant trade were very prominent during the precolonial Nigeria. People of what is called Africa today traded among themselves without restrictions; they moved around freely into neighbouring territories including the

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<sup>6</sup> R.S Gocking, *History of Ghana*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2005), 8.

<sup>7</sup> R.S Gocking, *History of Ghana*, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Adu Boahen, "A New Look at the History of Ghana", *Oxford Journal of African Affairs*, vol.65, no.260 (Oxford University Press July 1966), 212-222.

<sup>9</sup> A.C Burns, *History of Nigeria*, (London: Unwin Brothers Ltd, 1929), 21.

territories that constitute today's Nigeria. There were however no inter-territorial boundaries that restricted free movement of people.

### **Pre-colonial relations and inter-migration**

The existing relations among the West African countries, including Nigeria and Ghana were based on trade and migration. The Hausa in the northern part of Nigeria traded in textile materials, slaves and also re-exported kolanut from Gonja in present Ghana<sup>10</sup>. Other prominent trading communities from Nigeria includes the Aro of Igboland, the Egba and Ijebu of Yoruba, who majored on trade articles like livestock, hides and skins and kola nut, tobacco, ivory and textiles. Trading territories were "linked into a broad commercial network", which connected areas in southern and northern Nigeria to Western Sudan, Lake Chad and Gold Coast and even as far as North Africa<sup>11</sup>. Through this trade, Islamic religion was introduced to northern Nigeria where its stronghold was later established by the Usman Dan Fodio's jihad of 1804.

Nigerians from the Hausa and Bornu traded with the Gonja and the Ashanti regions, where goods like salt, sword, iron and horses from Nigeria were exchanged for kolanut and gold from Gold Coast. Some of the popular markets and trade routes in Ghana includes: the Kumasi, Yendi and the Salaga markets<sup>12</sup>. These markets hosted traders from various parts of West Africa and North Africa. Kano in northern Nigeria was also a popular commercial site where large quantity of salt from Bornu was marketed. More so, Aremu Johnson stated that the Portuguese traders sold slaves from Nigeria to the Akan people in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century to work at the gold mining sites as well as the kolanut plantation at the Gold Coast<sup>13</sup>. Meanwhile, the massive trading relationship between Kano, in Nigeria and the Ashanti of Ghana was said to have attracted merchants to reside in their opposite territories even up to the colonial period. This however implies that trade and migration had been the major trait of Nigeria and Ghana relations.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, Nigeria and Ghana as well as other parts of West Africa, experienced the Atlantic trade in the forms of slave trade and legitimate trade (trade in commodity). It started with trade of ivory, pepper, and some slaves for European goods like iron bars and textile materials, guns and gun powder, among others. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to set foot on the Gold Coast in 1471 and Nigeria in 1472. They built the castle of Elmina at the Gold Coast in 1482, from where they traded slaves, gold, beads, knives, gun, and rum<sup>14</sup>. The need for labour in American plantations in the New World, hiked the demand for slaves from Africa, causing a complete change of the Atlantic trade into slave trade by the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. After the trade in slaves had continued for centuries unabated, the British in 1807 abolished slave trade following their discovery of the use of machine to replace slave labour<sup>15</sup>. This development referred to as Industrial Revolution, expanded the need for raw materials to feed European growing industries. Slowly but surely, trading patterns between Africa and Europe changed; and articles of trade transformed from slaves back to commodities.

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<sup>10</sup> Yusuf Umar Madugu, *Transportation and Trade in Pre-colonial Kano*, [https://t2m.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/M%20Yusuf%20Umar\\_Transportation%20and%20Trade%20in%20Precolonial%20Kano.pdf](https://t2m.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/M%20Yusuf%20Umar_Transportation%20and%20Trade%20in%20Precolonial%20Kano.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> Njoku Onwuka, *Economic History of Nigeria, 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries 2<sup>nd</sup> edition* (Nsukka: Great AP Publishers Ltd, 2014), 120-121.

<sup>12</sup> Njoku, *Economic History of Nigeria*, 120-121.

<sup>13</sup> Aremu O. Johnson, "Exploring the Role of Trade and Migration in Nigeria-Ghana Relations in the Pre-Colonial and Colonial Period", *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, Vol.3 (4), S/No 12, (September, 2014), 143.

<sup>14</sup> Frederic P. Miller, Agnes F. Vandome, and John McBrewster, eds., *History of Ghana*; (USA: Alphascript Publishing, 2009), 2-4.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Addo-Fening, "Ghana under Colonial Rule: An Outline of the Early Period and the Interwar Years," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*. No.15 (2013), 39-70.

Trade in commodities also known as legitimate trade, continued on the coastal areas of Nigeria and Ghana until the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. In 1821, the British established at the Gold coast and dominated other European interest (Dutch, Portuguese and Danish) in the area, while expanding along the coast through invasion of kingdoms like Ashanti and Fante. It was in these two territories that major resistance were mounted especially from the Ashanti people<sup>16</sup>. In the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, European trading company, the Royal Niger Company boycotted the local merchants in Nigeria territories, who served as middlemen between the Europeans and the local producers/farmers in the hinterland. The direct access of Europeans into the hinterland engendered political dominance as a strategy for complete economic control (colonialism) of the territories in Nigeria. Although there were initial peaceful trade relations between West Africa and Britain, overtime, they began to interfere into the political affairs of the people, fueled by their monopolistic decadence to control the trade. As the Europeans stamped their foothold in these territories, the Christian missionaries rode on the attained political dominance to penetrate the hinterland. This combination strategy sponsored by the British crown disarmed whatever was left of the resistance mounted by the local people. By the 1900, most part of Nigeria and Ghana had been brought under colonial rule, while Asante was conquered in 1901<sup>17</sup>. It is worthy to note that long distant trade continued between Nigeria and Ghana until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when most parts of the territories were brought under colonial rule.

### **Incursion of colonialism and socioeconomic realities of colonial institutions**

The colonial period gave Nigeria – Ghana relations quite a nudge further. The colonial era captured boundless and extensive cooperation made possible by colonial administrative structures. The British adopted indirect rule system in Nigeria and Ghana, just as they did in most of their colonial territories. By the twentieth Century, they introduced developmental structures (Schools, postal services, railroads and telecommunication) in the socioeconomic lives of the people, most of which were established to enhance British activities and maximize exploitation of indigenous resources. European exclusive interest in cash crop production encouraged the introduction of certain crops into the colonies according to the adaptability of the crops to local soils. Crops like cocoa and groundnut were introduced in Nigeria and Ghana, although cocoa which was introduced in Ghana in 1898<sup>18</sup> flourished to become the main stay of Ghana economy even after independence. On the other hand, oil palm, groundnut and cocoa became major cash crop export from Nigeria with oil palm on the lead<sup>19</sup>.

Colonial rule did not discourage relations between Nigeria and Ghana; as both territories fell under British West African colony, and as such experienced more intense relationship than ever before. The pattern of British colonial administration allowed for the establishment of harmonized institutions such as West African Currency Board, West African Airways, West African Frontier force, West African Court of Appeal and later West African Examination Council in 1951. The establishment of West African Currency Board in 1912 facilitated the use of common currency among British West African colonies, where a single currency was used throughout the territories that constituted the British West African Colony from 1912 to 1958, when Ghana pulled out after her independence in 1957<sup>20</sup>. The establishment of West African Frontier Force (WAFF) was occasioned by the Ashanti wars of 1873 – 1874, when the British combined forces from Northern Nigeria and the Volta region, Gold Coast against the Ashanti region. This combined forces were later merged with other military formations in British West African territories to form WAFF in 1887.

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<sup>16</sup>Miller et al, *History of Ghana*, 2-4.

<sup>17</sup>Addo-Fening, *Ghana under Colonial Rule*, 49.

<sup>18</sup> Miller, et al, *History of Ghana*, 2-4.

<sup>19</sup>Njoku, *Economic History of Nigeria*, 120-121.

<sup>20</sup> Johnson Olaosebikan Aremu, “Administration of British West African Colonies and the Furtherance of Nigeria-Gold Coast Relations, 1885-1960”, *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* Vol. 1 Issue 4, (March 2015), 54. ISSN 2356-5926 <http://ijhcschiefeditor.wix.com/ijhcs>.

Johnson Aremu attests that it was these elements that formed the soldiers redeployed to fight on the British side in the First World War against Germany in German East Africa<sup>21</sup>.

In 1928, the WAFF received a royal charter and became the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF). Apart from military engagement, the group also engaged in football tournaments, one of which took place in 1944 in India when the RWAFF represented the West African team including players from the Zik's Athletic Club and other players from Gold Coast, Togo, and Sierra Leone.<sup>22</sup> Football was however one of the social factors that united Nigeria and Ghana both during and after colonial rule. Friendly matches and tournaments were usually scheduled most of which Ghana beat Nigeria. Ghana football dominance over Nigeria was quite significant, particularly the tournament held in celebration of Nigerian Independence. While Nigeria beat Guinea Bissau 4-1 on the 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1960, Ghana defeated Nigeria the following week at the finals and won the Nkrumah Gold Cup. In August before the October 1960 tournament, Ghana beat Nigeria over the qualifying match for the Rome Olympic game, denying Nigeria their first global tournament.<sup>23</sup> However, from the 1950s, Nigeria and Ghana were usually involved in tournaments which most times ended in violent attacks on players of the team who defeated the other at the end of games. By 1951, the narratives between Nigeria and Ghana changed in organized football. The Nigerian team defeated Ghana by 5-0 considered as the widest margin in the football history of both nation.<sup>24</sup> In 1954, Nigeria defeated Ghana by 3-0 while in 1955, Nigeria lost 7-0 to the Gold coast.<sup>25</sup> The relationship between Nigeria and Ghana grew tremendously in the area of football in the period between 1950 and 1960. Although this relationship was not in the field of sports alone as has been proven. Azikwe recalled his commitment to cultural diplomacy between Nigeria and Ghana as follows: "personally I have caused to be presented in my name certain trophies to encourage individual name certain trophies to encourage individual performance and to maintain goodwill and friendship between Nigeria and Ghana".<sup>26</sup>

In 1959, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe donated the 'Azikwe Cup' that was competed between Nigeria and Ghana teams, the Green Eagle and the Black Stars which Nigeria won<sup>27</sup>. Between 1960 and 1964, the Ghanaian team who built around the philosophy that Nigeria is not superior to Ghana worked assiduously and defeated Nigeria in every football match played between the two countries<sup>28</sup>. This more or less created undue tension, competition and comparison among citizens of both nations. One could however conclude that football was both a uniting factor as well as a dividing tool in Ghana – Nigeria social relations.

Furthermore, Nigeria-Ghana relations were also boosted in the colonial period through the establishment of research institutions. Establishment of research institutes flourished particularly in Nigeria and Ghana between 1940s and 1950s for the improvement of cash crop production. Some of the notable ones are the West African-Territorial Research Organisation, West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI), West African Institute for Oil Palm Research (WAIFOR), and the West African Council for Medical Research (WACMAR)<sup>29</sup>. These listed institutions had either headquarters or branches in Nigeria and Ghana with leadership and administrative staff from both countries. Under the British colonial administrative system, uniform policies guided institutions, thus creating a much closer nexus between both territories. Colonial institutional uniformity also encouraged trans-territorial movement between Nigeria and Ghana, where two

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<sup>21</sup>Aremu, "Administration of British West African Colonies," 59.

<sup>22</sup>Wiebe Boer, *The History of Football in Nigeria 1904 to 1960*, (Ibadan: Book craft, 2018), 58-59

<sup>23</sup> Boer, *The History of Football*, 58-59.

<sup>24</sup> Boer, *The History of Football*, 78

<sup>25</sup> Boer, *The History of Football*, 79

<sup>26</sup> Azikwe, *My Odyssey*, 411

<sup>27</sup> Okey Anyichie, *Zik and Sports: The Youth Motivator*, Enugu, Snaap Press, 1997, 25

<sup>28</sup> Anyichie, *Zik and Sports: The Youth Motivator*, 26

<sup>29</sup>Aremu, "Administration of British West African Colonies," 60.

categories of migrants – civil servants and labourers migrated in larger numbers. Njoku<sup>30</sup>, Ogunremi and Faluyi<sup>31</sup>, Aremu<sup>32</sup> as well as Olajide<sup>33</sup> attested that colonial improvement in cocoa farming and Gold mining in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century pulled greater number of Nigerians to Ghana than the other way round. Apart from the advantage of uniform policies, there was labour deficit occasioned by indisposition of Ghanaians especially from the Akan area, who preferred agricultural production to underground mining. It was recorded that underground mining reminded the Akan people of experiences of slave exploitation, and as such regarded as debasing. The colonialists however, encouraged labour migration from other colonies to fill the vacuum. In addition, cocoa production and gold mining attracted both skilled and unskilled labourers to Ghana which perhaps may have increased the number of migrants from Nigeria to Ghana. The existence of uniform conditions of service and unrestricted movement attracted civil servants from Nigeria to Ghana and vice versa. This implies that economic factors, structural and systematic colonial administrative patterns became the major migratory attraction for Nigerians to Ghana.

In the Aviation sector, there was the West African Airways Corporation (WAAC). In 1946, following an Order of Council, an agreement was reached between Nigeria and Ghana in the area of air transport.<sup>34</sup> The WAAC was formed and subsidized by Nigeria, the Gold coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. The first aircraft used by this Corporation was the eight seater de Havilland Dove aircraft acquired in 1947 and by 1948, the number increased to eleven. The arrangement was functional that the Dove took over the internal Nigeria Service and the Lagos-Dakar was operated by the Gold coast Services.<sup>35</sup> The cooperation of both countries in providing air services for British West Africa lasted up to 1957 when late Kwame Nkrumah established the Ghana Airways.<sup>36</sup>

Additionally, prostitution became another form of migratory attraction that flourished during the early colonial period. Transnational migration of prostitutes in the early period of colonial rule from Nigeria to Ghana thrived as transnational business, involving both women and underage girls. It is recorded that women from Southern parts of Nigeria, particularly from Calabar, Ogoja and Owerri went into the business of prostitution in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. They cajoled and manipulated underage girls into prostitution in Nigerian urban towns and cities and later advanced into migratory prostitution to Ghana. Saheed Aderinto had it that the business of prostitution became very lucrative that in the late 1930s, Nigerian prostitutes from Ghana repatriated about 2000 pounds to their homeland on a monthly bases.<sup>37</sup> Chi Mgbako however stated that the presence of male migrant workers at the gold mining camps and military settlements encouraged the growth of prostitution and made it a lucrative venture engaged in by many migrant women.<sup>38</sup> In 1939, a rough estimate of above 1,200 prostitutes operated in different cities in Ghana, a good number of whom resided in brothels located in Tarkwa, Dunkwa, Sekondi and Tekoradi.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Njoku. *Economic History of Nigeria*, 120-121.

<sup>31</sup>Ogunremi, G.O and Faluyi E.K. *Economic History of West Africa Since 1750*, (Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, 1996), 43.

<sup>32</sup>Aremu, O. Johnson, “Exploring the Role of Trade and Migration in Nigeria-Ghana Relations in the Pre-Colonial and Colonial Period”, *International Journal of Arts and Humanities* Vol.3 (4), S/No 12, (September, 2014), 143.

<sup>33</sup>Aluko, *Ghana and Nigeria*, 12.

<sup>34</sup>Michael Ogbeidi, “The Aviation Industry in Nigeria: A Historical Over view” *Lagos Historical Review* Vol.6, 2006, 136

<sup>35</sup>Tunder Decker, *A History of Aviation in Nigeria, 1925-2005*, (Lagos, Dele Davis 2008),92

<sup>36</sup>Decker, *A History of Aviation in Nigeria, 1925-2005*,12

<sup>37</sup>Saheed Aderinto, “The problem of Nigeria is Slavery, not White slave traffic: Globalization and the politicization of prostitution in Southern Nigeria, 1921-1955”, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, (UK: Routledge publishers, 2012), 1-23.

<sup>38</sup>Chi Adanna Mgbako, “Sex Work/Prostitution in Africa” *African History Oxford Research Encyclopedias* (Oxford University Press 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.562>

<sup>39</sup>Aderinto, “The problem of Nigeria is Slavery,” 11.

Continuous group movement of women and girls from Nigeria to Ghana during this period became a worrisome activity. While many indigenous Ghanaians feared proliferation of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) in their towns<sup>40</sup>, others believed that all Nigerian women were prostitutes.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile, the National Youth Movement (NYM) established in 1934 and considered to be the first real nationalist organization in Nigeria, took it upon itself to propagate the ills of prostitution and created awareness of the illicit women and girls trafficking in the Gold Coast. To this end, many complaints and reports were sent to the colonial government to make illegal the activities of prostitution. Unfortunately, the efforts of the NYM did not yield any significant result, although communications were made to Nigerian colonial offices to curtail illicit movement of women and young girls. The British colonial government felt that prostitution had no effect on colonial administration and therefore was not of major concern. It was not until 1941/1942 that an anti-prostitution law was considered by the colonial government;<sup>42</sup> the major reason being that the Second World War recorded increase in venereal diseases amongst the European military in the Gold Coast, which was linked to the military patronage of prostitutes in the Gold Coast.<sup>43</sup> In March 1943, the anti-prostitution law was enacted which required travelers from Nigeria and Ghana to possess travel document before embarking on transnational migration. Before this law was passed, there were no restriction to transnational movement, which promoted mass movement of prostitutes to Gold Coast. By March 1944, repatriation of Nigerian prostitutes began with the first set of ninety four women.<sup>44</sup> Notwithstanding the presence of the anti-prostitution law and the subsequent repatriation, women continued to migrate to Ghana. In May 1944, the Commissioner of police complained that natives of Ogoja province who were majorly women from the peasant class arrive Lagos in groups to make several applications to the immigration officer, requesting for travel documents to Gold Coast for the purpose of trading.<sup>45</sup> Trading was however a camouflage used by the traffickers to validate the issuance of travel documents to them for onward migration to the Gold Coast. Transnational prostitution was thus one of the major attracting factors for women migrants in Ghana during the colonial period, which also encouraged inter-marriage and mixed breeding.

British administration in Nigeria and Ghana was generally discriminatory in every aspect – education, development, civil service, and provision of amenities among others. This caused series of protests and agitations in the bid to express grievances over land bills, discriminatory conditions in the civil service and other issues of concern. The discriminatory peculiarities of colonial leadership in both Nigeria and Ghana gave rise to diverse forms of resistance, which also became a uniting factor in the Nigeria-Ghana relations. Africa resisted colonial rule in various ways and capacities since the European incursion. The early resistance took the form of physical combat and wars between the Europeans and African people. Occasional riots and uprisings by groups who felt suppressed in their field of endeavor: the trade union over tax and wages; the civil servants over underemployment and unfavourable conditions of service; tax payers over excessive taxes; and constant complaints on all other forms of discrimination and inequality experienced by Africans in general.

Colonial rule and the introduction of western education gave rise to African influx into America and Europe to acquire education. Exposing indigenous African students abroad to the ideals of Pan African movement, helped to awaken the hunger for nationalism/independence and the need for African unity. Suffice it to say

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<sup>40</sup> Chi Adanna Mgbako, Sex Work/Prostitution in Africa *African History* Oxford Research Encyclopedias Oxford University Press 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.562>

<sup>41</sup> Carina E. Ray, “Sex trafficking, prostitution, and the law in colonial British west Africa, 1911-1943”, *Trafficking in Slavery’s Wake: Law and the Experience of Women and Children in Africa*, (Ohio University Press, 2012), 101-120.

<sup>42</sup> AB: 12/15: Exodus of Nigerian Women to the Gold Coast Colony. 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1941. ADIST 2/1/371.

<sup>43</sup> Ray, “Sex trafficking, prostitution”, 101-120.

<sup>44</sup> Saheed Aderinto, “Journey to work: Transnational Prostitution in Colonial British West Africa”, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol.24, no 1, (January, 2015), 99-124.

<sup>45</sup> Travel to Gold Coast, South Africa, (19 December, 1940), AB: 1110. AIDIST 2/1/318 Enugu Archives.

that major nationalism and decolonization processes in Africa were influenced by diaspora Pan African activities. The early period of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the rise of Pan African Movement, which was initially a movement of solidarity, to create connection of Africans and people of African descent, to stand against inequality, injustices and discrimination. The Pan African movement pioneered by individuals like Henry Sylvester Williams, Edward Blyden, Casely Hayford, Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. DuBois, among others, propagated their idea through movements/congresses, journalism and literatures which became working tools for later pan Africanists<sup>46</sup>. The movement continued and attracted African diaspora students and elites, who took interest in the course of African freedom and development. The second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century saw the formation of several Pan African associations like the West African Students' Union (WASU) and the Pan African Federation (PAF) by Africans and the people of African descent to promote the spirit of cooperation and brotherhood among African race and to provoke sympathetic feeling for African situation<sup>47</sup>.

The end of Second World War in 1945, with the subsequent institution of the Atlantic charter, provoked the Manchester congress of October, 1945. This was the first Pan African congress that was led by Africans and was massively attended by representatives from "all over the coloured world".<sup>48</sup> The Manchester Congress is considered very significant in Pan African history as it was the first of its kind where demand on African independence was made. The tone of the congress created a clear shift from what previously obtained in Pan African Movement to become an instrument for African nationalism and decolonization. Notable participants in this congress were George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and Nnamdi Azikiwe. One could clearly state that the Manchester Congress ushered in the new wave of pan Africanism with Africans to direct the process of reclaiming African sovereignty. It was in this that profound nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah emerged alongside other prominent Africans like Nnamdi Azikiwe and Julius Nyerere. With the support of eminent Pan Africanists and nationalists like George Padmore<sup>49</sup>, Kwame Nkrumah was able to pull efforts to fore-stall the independence of Ghana on 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1957. The teachings of Pan Africanism created a sense of African unity and oneness among these nationalists, and formed the basis of their teachings and ideology which saw the eventual political independence of African states. The 1945 Manchester congress however gave direction and definition to the goal that Africa pursued. It ignited the fire needed to do that which only Africans could do for themselves, which is to fight for their freedom. Nigeria and Ghana were however at the fore front of this pursuit for African unity.

Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe particularly cooperated based on shared ideology, to inculcate the idea of freedom and self-rule in their people, through congresses, journalism and rallies. Nkrumah and Azikiwe were both American trained scholars who became heavily influenced by their experiences in America and by the teachings and writings of Pan Africanists such as W.E.B DuBois and Marcus Garvey whose ardent philosophy projects the ills of colonial rule, inequality, and racial discriminations. Their devotion to pan African philosophy provoked the determination to liberate and unite Africa. Azikiwe began to pursue this dream on his return to Africa and settlement in Ghana in 1935. His editorial position in African Morning Post Daily Newspaper availed him the opportunity to reach out to larger number of African people, particularly Ghanaians, creating awareness on the need for colonial emancipation and African unity. Through his efforts and tenacity, he took African Morning Post from a bimonthly to a widely read daily newspaper<sup>50</sup>. Azikiwe's return to Nigeria in 1937 birthed the West African Pilot, which was a

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<sup>46</sup>Esedebe, "The Growth of the Pan African Movement," 22-33.

<sup>47</sup>Adekunle Ajala, "The Rising Tide of Pan-Africanism, 1924-1963", eds. In *Tarikh: Pan-Africanism*, A.I Asiwaju, Michael Crowther and P. Olisanwuche Esedebe Vol.6 No.3 Historical Society of Nigeria, (London: Longman Group Limited, 1980), 35-38.

<sup>48</sup> Adekunle Ajala, "The Rising Tide of Pan-Africanism, 35-38

<sup>49</sup>Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, "Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois", *Research Review*, vol.7 Nos. 1&2, (1991). <http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/africanjournals/>

<sup>50</sup>Azikiwe, "My Odyssey: An Autobiography", 283.

significant tool he used to expand tremendously the idea of colonial emancipation and African unity. The West African Pilot, bearing nationalist and anticolonial contents that roused the interest of ordinary people against British rule, was said to have outsold other newspapers in Nigeria. It could thus be argued that Azikiwe more or less revolutionized newspaper journalism in West Africa.

Nkrumah on the other hand was spurred to more notable actions after the 1945 Manchester congress. He attested that the Manchester congress showed him a definite direction to go<sup>51</sup>. In 1947, Nkrumah returned to Ghana on invitation by the leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), Dr. J.B. Danguah and Mr. Ako Adjei to join the movement as Secretary General. Nkrumah made landmark achievements in UGCC. Determined to take the movement to all levels of people including the grassroots, UGCC which had just two branches upon Nkrumah's return opened over 500 branches within six months of his arrival, living true to the motto of the organization "self-government at the shortest possible time"<sup>52</sup>. UGCC leadership could not bear with Nkrumah's radicalism and swiftness, as they accused him of being impatient, confrontational and nursing unripe ambition. Nkrumah, who was eager for Gold Coast independence felt no apology for their feelings, stating that "the right of a people to govern themselves is a fundamental principle, and to compromise on this principle is to betrayal it"<sup>53</sup>. Continued disagreement in the group resulted into division. Nkrumah with the support of the youth wing of UGCC formed the Convention People's Party (CPP) on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1949 with the slogan "forward ever, backward never"<sup>54</sup>. Nkrumah became the Prime Minister of Gold Coast in 1952 and eventually through the CPP led the Gold Coast to independence on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March, 1957.

### Conclusion

It is true that colonial incursion in both Nigeria and Ghana had similar effects and as such, created semblance challenges which both nations in particular and Africa at large have struggled with since independence up to this present dispensation. Some of such challenges include: perpetual dependency, neocolonialism, gross class division, ethnic divisions, indigenous inferiority, brain drain and cultural extermination. Africa have struggled with these issues for decades without significant positive improvement.

However, amidst these challenges occasioned by colonial rule, there are still some values that could be gleaned from the colonial period especially those that sustained territorial cooperation and regional policy harmonization. Nigeria and Ghana precolonial and colonial relations was fueled by trade and migration but has also been sustained by other social factors which constituted both uniting and a dividing force to their relations. The uniting factors such as friendly football matches, establishment of research institutions and policy harmonization as was evident in the 1940s and 50s should be considered for reinstatement to accelerate the dare need of sustainable economic cooperation, integration and development of both countries.

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<sup>51</sup>Kacea Omeje, "Celebrating the Manchester's 5<sup>th</sup> Pan African Congress Meeting of 1945", *The Black Curriculum, National Spring Board Programme*. <https://theblackcurriculum.com/blog/celebrating-manchester-pan-african-congress-meeting..>

<sup>52</sup>Etim E. Okon, "Kwame Nkrumah: The Fallen and Forgotten Hero of African Nationalism", *European Scientific Journal*, Vol. 10, No.17 (June 2014), 54. ISSN- 1857-7431.

<sup>53</sup>Okon, "Kwame Nkrumah: The Fallen and Forgotten Hero", 55.

<sup>54</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1957),