

**AFRICAN SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL  
FACULTY OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION  
IMO STATE UNIVERSITY  
NIGERIA**

**VOL. 8 NO. 1 MARCH 2019**

**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD.**

**Department of History and Diplomatic Studies  
Ignatius Ajuru University of Education Rumuolumeni  
Port Harcourt**

**And**

**IVORY, SABINA TONTE**

**Department of History and Diplomatic Studies  
Ignatius Ajuru University of Education Rumuolumeni  
Port Harcourt**

**Abstract**

*The study examined intergroup relations and ethnic conflicts in the Niger Delta using the experience of Nembe and Kalabari relations from 1800-2015. It is a historic research on the emergence and development of a complex multi-ethnic society with attendant complexity of issues especially of the seeming unending intergroup conflicts that bedevil the area. The relations between Nembe and Kalabari cover trade, war, peace, marriage and culture. As regards methodology, the primary and secondary sources were used to generate required data mainly from oral interview, intelligence reports, books, journals, and articles. The study also used multi-disciplinary approach to further enrich the available data. The study revealed that Nembe and Kalabari have a long period of relation which was influenced by historical ties, markets, and political divisions for administration convenience. The finding of the study also revealed that trade, war, diplomacy, socio cultural, political, Christianity, colonial and post-colonial factors influence the relations between Nembe and Kalabari. The study therefore, recommended that the Nembe and Kalabari should transcend inter-ethnic and sub-ethnic prejudices and accept one another as equal partners.*

*Key Words: Intergroup Relations, Niger Delta, Nembe, Kalabari*

**Introduction**

Interaction between and among individuals and groups is mandatory either consciously or unconsciously. In most cases, such interactions which do occur at political, social and economic levels occasionally or continuously degenerate into intergroup conflicts. Intergroup conflict is one of the endemic social problems facing the world today and Nigeria is not free from such social ill. The contacts between these ethnic groups most especially in the Niger Delta includes all the areas of human endeavour known to the people, such as war, peace, trade, marriage, culture, migration and the more wide-ranging network of interrelations mainly economic, religious and rituals which bind the people together.

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

In other word, Nigeria, prior to the imposition of British rule, did not exist as a nation. Rather what were in existence were ethnic groups which organized themselves within their own politics. Some of these ethnic groups had highly centralized structures such as the Yoruba, Edo, Hausa, Jukun while some were highly decentralized such as the, Nembe and Kalabari,. The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria belonged to the first category of highly centralized states. Its government centred on a hereditary rule, often the descendant of the first inhabitants or settlers in that area. The Yoruba traditional ruler was never a dictator as he had to govern with a council of chiefs who represented the interest of the community in its different modes. According to Akinjogbin and Ayandele (1980) civil and religious affairs were intertwined and no major political decisions were made without the sanction of the religious chiefs who represented the various deities.

Alagoa (1972) also pointed out that among the ethnic groups in the Niger Delta area such as Nembe/Brass and Kalabari, where the societies were decentralized, order was maintained by a balance of understanding among the associations, overlapping memberships, and respect for the rules of public conduct generally recognized in the community. In all of these politics therefore, there was no situation where the will of the ruler was allowed to threaten or endanger the interest of the ruled and the society at large. Even though these various groups tried to maintain their separate entities, there were some commercial and social contacts which led to a great deal of linguistic borrowing and cultural diffusion. Efforts were also made to maintain peaceful relations in order to encourage trade and reduce the degree of tension and differences in their areas. Between the 18th and the 19th centuries, external factors brought about many changes in the social and political organization of these societies. This involved the intensification of slave trade and the introduction of foreign religion notably Islam and Christianity. This affected the social, religious and political life of the people especially through the introduction of western Education, which led to the emergence of a new group of elites, who were distinct from the traditional elites as they could aspire to positions of leadership. The absence of Christianity and western Education in the North eventually heightened the potential for conflict and distrust among the people (Horton, 1969).

This was the case between the Nembe and Kalabari in the nineteenth century, and for many centuries before that, the Nembe and Kalabari had mutual relations. There existed a mercantile class traversing the entire region as itinerant traders, facilitating the exchange of goods and services, and often times, cultural exchanges. This basically means that the people in the rainforest zone depended on the coastal zone for fish and other aquatic products while those of the coastal region depended largely on those in the rainforest for food such as yam, plantain, cocoyam and oil palm, as a result of the geographical environment. Alagoa, (1995) asserted that, the Nembe people, therefore, were the principal middlemen traders between the Delta Niger neighbouring communities and the visiting European super-cargoes, and the hinterland producers, in the nineteenth century. The Nembe and Kalabari traders traded with the visiting Europeans as sovereign partners, demanding mandatory fees and other levies from them. They negotiated prices and enforced other trade regulations at the ports. The Nembe and Kalabari chiefs also controlled prices and conditions of trade in the hinterland markets, at which they enforced codes of commercial conduct as well as marriage alliances in these

neighbouring communities in which their cultural practices became very prestigious (Alagoa, 1999).

Alagoa, (1972) further noted that, the Nembe and Kalabari are two of the Ijo clans located in the Niger Delta (in Rivers and Bayelsa States) of Nigeria. They occupy the Eastern part of the Niger Delta. According to oral traditions, Nembe and Kalabari people migrated from places in the central area of the Niger Delta. While Nembe migrated from Obiama and later from the Itsekiri Kingdom of Warri, the founders of Kalabari seem to have come from the area between Ogobiri and Kolokuma territory. Nembe shares boundaries with Kalabari on the East, Ogbia on the North, Aboh on the northwest, Ijo clans to the West and the Gulf of Gunea of the Atlantic Ocean to the South. Kalabari, on the other hand, shares boundaries with Nembe on the West, Okrika and Bonny on the East, Abua, Odual, Engenni and Ikwerre on the North and the Gulf of Guinea of the Atlantic Ocean to the South.

### **Pre-Colonial Nembe and Kalabari Relations**

Niger Delta region is replete with many long and short migrations and settlements with such a mixture of social and culture relations that, it is often difficult to separate the people into neat socio-cultural groups. The links which bind the peoples are as ancient, deep and varied; and therefore, as important as the link internal to each other (Afigbo 1980). The relations between Nembe and Kalabari cover all the areas of human endeavour, such as marriage, peace, trade, culture, and migration.

Nembe and Kalabari during this period under review had shared historical experience which surpasses ethnic boundaries for some century. There existed many cultural bonds particularly in music, dance, plays and masquerades. These have contributed toward establishing uniform practices in various areas of cultural life between the Kalabari people and Nembe people during the pre-colonial period. The Nembe and Kalabari ethnic groups are bonds through marriages or inter-ethnic marriages. The marriage institution served as an important and sacred bond between the Kalabari and Nembe people on the other hand. Inter-ethnic marriages during the pre-colonial period and even today was/is an important instrument of intergroup relations between Nembe and Kalabari people. Inter-ethnic marriages brings with it elements of the language, dances dress pattern of one ethnic group into another. This explains why the Nembe and Kalabari people understood each other's language. These inter-ethnic marriages were effective in promoting cordial relations between the Kalabari and Nembe people (Afigbo, 1980).

Nembe and Kalabari ethnic group also established a relationship through trade. Trade, Agriculture and industries were recognised by both Nembe and Kalabari as the key sector of the economy. The distribution of the products got from agriculture constituted the pattern of trade. The people of Nembe and Kalabari, share their produce with each other. The sea foods from Kalabari were transported to Nembe markets, as well as those from Nembe. Nembe and Kalabari depend on each other for their basic food requirements. Kalabari supplied the Nembe aquatic products like different species of fish and shell fish resources and salt for which they were known. Nembe people do the same. European goods like tee4obacco, pipes, foreign spirits (whiskey, brandy and others), hats, walking stick, eating and cooking utensil and other essential materials were later supplied to the Kalabari by the Nembe neighbours.

As Alagoa (2005) posited that the Kalabari communities became the ready market for the Nembe to supply not only their internal food requirements, but also produce for the

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

overseas trade. It is striking to point out that the only available means of transportation in the Kalabari-Nembe local trade in the pre-colonial period was by foot and human portage, and canoe by the Kabari and Nembe trading partners respectively. Markets which were held on rotational and periodic basis were very close and rewarding. The means of transportation was very tedious and really not adequate for the conveyance of bulky articles of trade. In the process, they highly developed system of distributive and relay trade from one village market to another which revolved on the periodic or ring system of five Kalabari/Nembe market days. Through these ways and means, centres of transactions developed.

Again, it is importation to note that given the dictate of ecology, the Kalabari communities bordering the sea or river were inclined to be fisher folk like their Nembe neighbours. As no one can lay claim to the ownership of the sea, the Nembe fishing population, apart from co-existing with the Kalabari in fishing camps like, fish in the deep with them through the use of the local dug-out canoes. The chief fishing implements remain simple gear, hooks and traps. According to Orugbani (2009) “there are cast nets, set nets and drift nets. There are also set hooks and hooks line. The traps are usually in different shapes of basketry”. The effective use of these gears led to their bountiful harvest. Some of their common catches are tilapia, sardine bonga fish croaker, barracuda *and* markerels. In this regard, it is not surprising that the Nembe travelling fisherfolk co-existed happily with their Kalabari fishing colleagues at fishing ports like Egbeburgho, Bakana, Bille, Toru, Tombia, Legamakiri, Kala kalama, Kalaikurama, Minjidukiri, Iforko, Kula, and Suku, Twon Brass, Oluasiri and others (Tanen, 2005). They lived in these fishing settlements for months and years and returned during the festive periods to sell their catches. Certainly, this contact led to huge and significant inter-flow of culture, ideas and goods between the Nembe and the Kalabari people.

All that is said is that, there were prolonged intensive and rewarding contacts between the Nembe and Kalabri during the Pre-colonial era despite occasional explosion of disagreement, bitterness and rancour. In fact, there were extensive trading links between both groups, especially with the growth of overseas trade. It is obvious; there are no relations without conflict, so conflict is an essential part of a given society either primitive or modern. However Kalabari and Nembe relation experienced a sort of conflict. Jones (1963) noted that; the period between 1830 and 1850 saw an interested demand for palm oil and price hike. Bonny and Kalabari were prominent suppliers of the product. Nembe, Lagos, Itsekiri and the Royal Niger Company after the 1850s became major suppliers of palm produce. By the Anglo-Nembe Treaty of 1856, Nembe promised to stop struggling of slaves to Portugal and other Latin American nations. Following the treaty, Nembe began to exploit the palm oil markets in the Orashi River and Oguta lake region. It must be emphasized that the entry of three new competitors’ into the palm oil trade aggravated the already violent trade in the Niger Delta. Consequently, each state developed new palm oil markets further into its neighbours or rival’s trading spheres. They were also confronted with the problem of how to deal with communities, which sought to control their passage through the waterways in order to monopolise trade in their domain (Jones 1963). But in time each of them sought to exclude its rival from buying palm oil in markets it wished to make its own. They also extended their trade empire at the rival’s expense, to restrict them plying trade with others. According to Jones (1963:146) that:

*The Kalabari developed new markets on the Sombreiro River, which was fast flowing and difficult to navigate above Degema, but their main expansion was at the expense of Nembe into that part of the delta referred to in the records as long Brass or Eganny, an area marginal to Kalabari and Nembe. Here the Engenni River, which joined the Sombreiro River at Degema, led west wards and then north wards before it divided one arm, the Ndoni Creek, leading to the lower Niger and to the markets at the northern apex of the delta, while the other, now called the Orashi River, turned northern the western Isuama Ibo oil markets. Bonny developed the Ibo and Ogoni oil markets on the mainland bordering Okrika and sought to expand at Kalabari expense by encouraging Okrika to lay claim to the 'Obiatoru' markets on the new Calabar River, and by asserting ancient rights to trade in the Sombreiro and lower Niger markets.*

Nembe and Kalabari had a fair share of wars in which each competed to oust the other to monopolise trade. One important historical phenomenon is that, no delta community had been courageous enough to make war with Nembe on her territorial waters. Therefore, in all the recorded accounts of inter-state wars between Nembe and her neighbours the wars were either undertaken at the enemy territory or border areas in the nineteenth century. The most important of the Nembe and Kalabari wars in the nineteenth century was the protracted one, which began about 1862. The war was occasioned during the reigns of Kien and Arisimo of Nembe and Abbey Karibo of Kalabari. The remote cause of this war was the trade rivalry on the Engenni or Orashi River. The immediate cause of the war was the piratical attack on Chief Bugo of Nembe, for instance, two persons died in his canoe during the attack. The war outlived most of the key players on both sides; it caused a lot of damage on trade and human wreckage. The relationship between Nembe and Kalabari tended to show that despite records of many open hostilities there were also periods of trade, politics, diplomacy and peaceful co-existence.

### **Intergroup Relations and Conflict during the Pre-colonial era**

Alagoa and Okorobia (2011) posits that the first account of a direct war between Nembe and Kalabari dates back to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century during the reigns of Kings Arismo, Kien and Ockiya in Nembe and Kings Karibo and Abbi in Kalabari. The remote cause of the war was to secure access and control of the Engenni markets. Seemingly to derive the benefit which the legitimate trade on agricultural produce especially palm oil was offered. Unfortunately, the trade started showing signs of decline towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One of the factors responsible for this decline was the problem of transportation which made it difficult for the city, states of Nembe and Elem Kalabari to reach the hinterland markets. In their quest to be in control of the market the two communities disagreed bitterly. The disagreements provided the stance on which further conflicts were triggered, (Alagoa and Okorobia 2011:42).

Alagoa and Okorobia (2011) asserted that, the immediate cause of the war was however, the capture and eventual killing of some Kalabari men by chief Bugo of Bassambiri, Nembe due to the misunderstanding between him and the victims. When King Abbi Amakiri of Kalabari heard the news, he immediately mobilized his naval men to the Engene River to arrest any Nembe person they could find. The plan leaked to some of the Nembe traders who carefully escaped through other routes. King Amakiri of Kalabari therefore joined forces with some gullible Kula people to catch the Nembe people. The Kula were sent to Nembe at night and just at the riverside they captured a young boatman, called Oluku, who was sleeping in his

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

master's trading canoe. Fortunately, Igoiwari, who was also in the canoe escaped with deep machete cuts to raise alarm. Oluku was taken as a captive to Elem Kalabari and was beheaded.

This incident obsessed the Nembe people that they decided to embark on a military campaign by patrolling the water ways up to the Sombreiro River in search of Kalabari people. When they couldn't get any Kalabari victim, kings Ebifa and Ockiya of Nembe mandated the chiefs of Bassambiri to attack Krakruma, while Ogbolomabiri was directed to invade Sin-ama, two Kalabari border communities. Following the execution of this order, a full scale war broke out between the Nembe and Kalabari which lasted for about twelve years. Alagoa and Okorobia (2011) affirm that the Nembe Brass won the war by killing a hundred Kalabari men while the Kalabari can hardly show a skull.

Consequently, on realizing the great harm the war was causing his Kingdom, King Abi Amakiri who succeeded his father Karibo of Kalabari decided to sue for peace through Consul Hopkins in 1871. The two parties were invited to Brass on November 21, 1871 to sign a peace document under the mediation of the British government represented by David Hopkins. This brought about cessation of hostilities. Among the issues for resolution, the treaty looked into the territorial claims of the two parties and ruled that the all the markets on the left bank of the Engene or Orashi River from the Sombreiro-Ologolo creek as far as Oguta, belong to Nembe and all those on the right bank belonged to Kalabari. Just immediately the treaty was signed, the kings shook hands and drank wine together as friends and dispersed (Alagoa and Okorobia 2011:44).

Again, in 1898, some young chiefs of Kalabari reopened the case and the problem was brought before the Consul General, Captain Galaway who on October 31 1898 upheld the ruling made earlier by Consul David Hopkins in 1871 and confirmed that the Engene River belonged to the Nembe people. Nelson (2006:70) affirms that King Abbi Amakiri accepted this peace resolution because he was also at war with Bonny over the Ikwerre waterside markets at that period. It was not possible for him to fight the two communities simultaneously.

### **Colonialism and Nembe and Kalabari Relations**

The colonial Kalabari- Nembe relation was somehow harmonious, for during this period, inter-group marriages exist between the Kalabari and Nembe ethnic groups. Iwokura (2019) noted that, there is hardly any compound in Nembe coastal communities without a Kalabari daughter as wives or concubines, Nembe daughters are also married to the Kalabari men. Nembe mastered the Kalabari language to the extent that during marriage negotiation for wife in Kalabari/Nembe, the Nembe spoke Kalabri, and when the Kalabari come to Nembe for the same purpose, they used the Nembe language for the negotiation. This further strengthened their friendship, which during the period led to such Kalabari/Nembe based names like Sokari, Amakiri, Iyalla, and Wokoma. Nembe/Kalabari relation had supernatural approval during the colonial period since the gods of both Nembe and Kalabari were believed to be related in spirit land (Alagoa, 1989). Relations between them were peaceful during this period and trading activities existed between in exchange of their products and industrial goods. Trade within the Eastern Delta also extended beyond the Delta to other parts of Nigeria. Traditions indicate that yam, cocoyam and other root crops were purchased from the hinterland. Livestock such as goat, sheep and cows were equally obtained in exchange, mainly for salt (Alagoa, 1989).

Political relation also existed between Nembe and Kalabari ethnic group. This existed within Nembe towns on one hand and between Kalabari and Nembe on the other hand. This was possible because of existence of identical political systems based on house system which operates in the Niger Delta. Representative from various clans were usually present at the installation of other clan heads, and could even have a particular rite to perform during the ceremony. In time of crisis such as wars, representatives from the town involved would meet for peaceful settlement of the problem (Orupabo 2001). Furthermore, the year 1900 saw drastic administrative changes of the protectorate largely because of the extra territory, which the abrogation of the charter of the Royal Niger Company added to it. Four divisions were created that year. Three of them deserve mention here: the Eastern Division centred at Calabar, which included Opobo, Qua Iboe, Bonny and Kalabari (Degema); Cross River Division seated at Ediba, which is much unspecified; and the Central Division seated at Onisha, which took charge of Nembe and her western and northern neighbours.

This remained the basic administrative structure of the area until 1906, when the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos were amalgamated into the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. The Central Province with capital at Warri was further split into districts, each under a district commissioner. With the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 came another re-organisation. This long route is made to establish the transformation Nembe and Kalabari underwent at different epochs. Therefore, the districts or divisions to which the Nembe and Kalabari were called should not eclipse their identity as elsewhere in colonial history. This essentially should not pose any problem as the various authorities often times usurp their identity such as Brass and Degema Divisions as they came to be known. All these cases of change of British policies actually affected the relationship of the two states. For instance, after the Akassa war of 1895, Nembe export-import trade declined. This basically was owing to the twin factors of the silting of the Brass River and inland movement of traders to the areas of production.

Consequently, in 1920 the colonial government shut the Nembe port, and she disposed her trade goods at the eastern neighbouring port of Kalabari (Abonnema). The loss of port and market humbled Nembe to accept the hand of friendship offered by her eastern neighbours; and so she traded there. It was an era of creating a middleman monopoly as events in the area tended to show the relationship between them. In the palm kernel trade, for example, Nembe traders were being compelled to trade on the terms and conditions imposed by the Kalabari middlemen. On 5 November 1902, the High Commissioner of the Niger Coast Protectorate reported an incident documented by Wariboko (2007:33) that:

*I was informed by the Brass chiefs, that their boys going to trade in markets in the New Calabar district are prevented by the Abonnema (New Calabar) chiefs from proceeding beyond Abonnema towns to the actual producing market so that in effect Abonnema was created a middleman market and the Brass men are compelled to purchase there. The Brass men have also... been buying up a lot of bad kernels from the New Calabar men, which they latter could not dispose of locally.*

This commercial dominance of Kalabari over Nembe in the twentieth century, as a middleman, was glaring. This was more conspicuous at the commercial centres of Kregeni, Omoku and Oguta lake region that was previously under Nembe spheres of influence, which

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

was wrested from her by the Royal Niger Company. After the revocation of the Royal Charter in 1900, Nembe and Kalabari traders rushed into the Orashi/Oguta region to resume their cut-throat commercial competition as usual. By 1907, available evidence shows that Kalabari had squashed Nembe traders in that area; the number of Kalabari traders at Omoku was already very impressive; and they occupied a separate ward in the community. In 1913 a similar case was reported between Nembe and Kalabari traders at Oguta by Pollen, the Acting District Officer of Owerri Province quoted by (Wariboka, 2007:34) stated that:

*There is a large New Calabar (Kalabari) trading colony at Oguta with various New Calabar chiefs often resident. They are competitors on trade with the Ogutans.*

The Kalabari traders in the Oguta area appeared to have overwhelmed other middlemen, including the Nembe traders, and took over the middleman monopoly in that area and other places. By 1918 Kalabari's dominance of the middleman trade at Oguta had generated bitter quarrel from the war-impooverished Nembe traders. In that year, for example, the resident of Owerri province wrote as reported in Wariboko (2007:35) thus:

*... the Brass people have now decided to renew hostilities by driving out the New Calabar settlement composed chiefly of wealthy traders from Abonnema, their labourers and personal servants.*

The foregoing evidence indicates the climax of the relations between Nembe and Kalabari in the twentieth century. This evidence demonstrates that even in the 1930s the middlemen of the Eastern Delta prospered as against Nwabughuogu that claim of the demise of the middlemen trade. According to this claim, 1916 to 1930 was "a period of their (middlemen) elimination from an effective big trading role" (Wariboko, 2007:35). This interpretation is more correct for the middlemen of Nembe and Bonny than those of Kalabari and Opobo in the Eastern Niger Delta of Nigeria.

It was however, noted that confrontational relations existed between the Nembe and Kalabari ethnic group, but that had not created any barrier between the Nembe and Kalabari relationship. War in this formed the principal agents through whom new cultural ideas cross-fertilised relations between them. This form of inter-state relations encouraged linguistic or cultural exchanges. For example, during the colonial era, Ekine or Sekiapu masquerade dance society was first known in Kalabari. It was later introduced into Nembe through the instrumentality of Orugbani, son of Mein, whose mother was Amakiri, the ground daughter of King Sara from Kula (Opusingi, 2010). This account, however, added that Nembe spread ekine dance to other neighbours as far as Ijebu-Ode in Yoruba land. Corroborating this evidence, Benjamin Okpevra has identified the popularity of the Ekine masquerade society among the Ijebu towns as one of the cultural impact of the Eastern Delta states on their neighbours. He aptly remarked that:

*The Ekine is an Eastern Delta water spirit masquerade society, up to this day, the Ijebu sing the ritual songs of ekine; in a language which appears to be a degenerated form of Ijo (Okpevra, 2005:402).*

One fundamental cultural impact of the Kalabari on Nembe was the Kalabari's language (dialect). Nembe learned the Kalabari dialect, dress habits and other cultural traits for reason of intelligence, trade and espionage. A common practice among Nembe people was the habit of

learning anything that would be beneficial to their existence. Also, parents of Nembe preferred to give their children names in the Kalabari dialect. Some of these common names include; Tamuno, Iboromo, Ibiene and Ibisio while others are given Nembe dialect colouration, as evident in, Iyozu corrupted to Inodu. These are influences of Kalabari dialect on Nembe, as it became a second language to her dialect-speakers.

Ikaonawono, (2014) asserted that, the British colonial policy in the 1940s raised dust between them in an attempt to generate finance, and to effectively administer the areas fishing tax was introduced. There arose jurisdiction problem between Brass and Degema Districts. As a result several palliatives were reached in 1944 and 1954 when an artificial boundary for administrative purpose was created for them at the Santa Barbara River. The colonial administration marshalled that the east bank of Santa Barbara River belonged to Degema Division (Kalabari), by orientation shall not collect rents but have the right to settle in the area without payment of rents. While the west bank of the same river belong to Brass Division (Nembe) where the same thing applied. All these administrative orders did not award title or deed to either of them. This means the orders were made without prejudice to the right of either party to go to court and establish its title. But, in any case, the court action in respect of the west bank settlements, must originate in Nembe Native Court; the same applied to the east bank to be originated in Kalabari Native Court.

This order was vehemently contended by Nembe that in 1871 and 1898, Consuls Hopkins and Captain Salloway had mediated between them. They fixed the boundary at the Sombreiro River as contained in the 1871 Nembe-Kalabari treaty of peace, discussed earlier on in this chapter. As we have posited previously because of political expediency the colonial government grouped culturally and politically diverse people into one local authority or another problems. This created jurisdiction or boundary problems. Sweeping changes as especially the Native Courts were not truly traditional. Not only were many of the paramount chiefs not the traditional head of the communities they represented, but also that Native Court areas did not reflected ethnic boundaries. They, there, recommended that efforts be made to correct such anomalies in the system. The essence was to gradually adjust Native Courts to agree with ethnic boundaries and to replace the warrant chiefs.

This was the time monarchs exercised an unprecedented authority over their subjects and territorial areas. Therefore, King Ben-Wari took over the territorial struggle with the Kalabari in the 1920s to his death in 1965. This era witnessed a protracted legal battle between them. Under King Ben-Wari, Nembe resentfully petitioned the District Officer, Degema to the Lt. Governor of the Eastern Province where he asserted Nembe territorial boundary with Kalabar. He vehemently protested that the boundary between the two states is the Bartholomew River (Agudatoru), which correctly defined the native boundary between the two Niger Delta states. Paragraph three of the petition is quoted here:

*My statement was that I collected rents on the Saint Bartholomew in company with late Amanyanabo, Anthony Ockiya. That due to certain misconduct on the part of Kula, I tried to eject the Kulas from the Santa Barbara altogether but Sinclair intervened and ask me to allow them (the Kulas) to use the river since they must not be starved. Kula is not a native power but a colony of Kalabari and therefore has no territorial claims.*

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

*Sinclair named no boundary between Nembe and Kula and I and I made no such statement.*

One important of this petition was to show the African sense of a state, power relations and diplomacy, demonstrating Nembe's argument that Kula was a colony of Kalabari. Hence, Kula cannot claim territory with another state. Also, in the colonial era, there was an incident reported between Nembe and Kula (Kalabari) that Kula usually purchased cow from Nembe for the celebration of her juju festival. According to this source, on April 9, 1909, they came to purchase it, amidst great fanfare, and were entertained by the heathen Nembe community. Prior to Kula's visit two indigenes of Nembe namely: Kurobo Kurogha and Francis Febo mysteriously disappeared in 1908. Kula was the principal suspect, as she was making preparation for the celebration of her juju festival and, human sacrifice was the hallmark. The cow was only slaughtered to deceive people.

According to this report, while the merry continued, Egu, who participated in the dance sighted the wrist of the Kula priest, a chalk mark. This was a native sign of having killed a human being. Egu raised an alarm accusing Kula responsible for the death of the missing two persons. They hurriedly ran into their canoes home. The case of the missing two persons was reported to the District Commissioner, Captain F. Sinclair. After careful investigation several suspects were arrested for prosecution at Degema and Calabar. Eleven of them were convicted, seven hung, one committed suicide, one died in prison and two released (Ockiya, 2008). We also gathered from Ockiya that in the 1940s, Kula attempted to commit sacrilege. He stated that Noel Ofurobo (Gila) was no longer popular with his priest-hood of Ogidiga, and so conspired with Kula to resuscitate this lost status, by celebrating the feast for Ogidiga. Kula was sumptuously entertained by the heathen community who was ignorant of the compact between them and Ofurobo. However, they perceived some foul-play and, so they kept watch over Ogidiga shrine. The Kula people came by night to Ogidiga shrine attempting to steal Ogidiga sacred emblem and were caught. Also, the source stated that in 1945, Ofurobo disposed off Ogidiga sacred emblem to a brother of his from Kula, against the custom of Nembe. He told the man that it enriches the person that possesses it. This man took home the sacred emblem without seeing the predicted fortune but rather problems, disposed it to another Kalabari man. The emblem was sold to two other persons before it was recovered (Ockiya 2008).

Furthermore, in the 1950s, as British colonial enterprise was gradually marking time of the autonomy of the Nigerian nation, each of them developed strategies to adjust relations with their neighbours. The adjustment intensified both new affinities and new hostilities between Nembe and Kalabari in the politics of decolonization. So, she began to seek ways that would redound to its own advantage.

### **Post-Colonial Nembe and Kalabari Relations**

Nembe-Kalabari relationship during this period shows changes in the relationship. Both Kalabari and Nembe people during this period see themselves as brothers and sisters. The both people originated from the same place, speak dialects of the same languages, dress alike, have similar traditions and culture, environment, trade with people from the same area, to cut a long story short, they have done the same things in history. The only problem they have is boundary related. This problem started from colonial times when the colonial government drew a map that wrongfully placed some Nembe settlements under Degema division (Kalabari). Temporary

solutions were given to this problem. When oil was discovered in commercial quantity in the Niger Delta, the problem worsened because some of the communities where oil was produced in large quantities were under dispute by Nembe and Kalabari. The presence of oil made the dispute and the insecurity at the boundary more intense. The benefits derived from these areas are too much that it is hard for the Local Governments concerned to resist. If oil had not been discovered in these areas and communities were requested to pay tax, no community will want to lay claim of ownership. Ironically, the boundary problem did not affect their cordial relationship; life still went on as usual. Analytically, I would say that just like siblings from the same parents, they can quarrel or disagree over something, but there is always that familial bond between them that cannot be broken; so is the Nembe and Kalabari relationship.

The post-colonial era took a different dimension as they came to realise the non-challant attitude of government in the relation between them. Kula (in Kalabari independently instituted a case at Ahoada high court against Nembe in 1962. It filed a statement of claim asking for declaration title of twenty-two settlements, all on the west bank of the Santa Barbara River. Nembe, accordingly, also filed her statement of defence (Dambo, 2009). But the case could not go on as a result of the Nigerian civil war. Eferobo, (1996) noted that, during this period, the Nembe/Kalabari relations was also conflictual, when in 1967 Rivers State was created, and a maiden map was drawn, Nembe protested the viability of the map, as several of its settlements or towns were drafted as part of Degema District. For example, the Oluasiri and Obioku cluster of towns in Brass District were awarded to Degema District, which Nembe agitated to be transferred to its original district. This issue became more serious, when Akuku Toru Local Government Area was created in 1991, out of the parent Degema. This time again, ceding the Oluasiri and Obioku communities in Brass Local Government Area on the west bank of the Santa Barbara River to constitute the newly created Akuku Toru.

What also compounded issues was the discovery of petroleum in the disputed area. This also fanned the flame of disharmony between them that had lingered for ages. As it is to be expected, the oil companies pay royalties to host communities, each of the parties laid claim to the buffer zone and sought to be recognized as landlord to receive royalties from companies. The possibility of open clashes became inevitable. Therefore, in the 1990s, when Shell (SPDC) paid royalties to Soku and Kula, Nembe swiftly resented this development on the part of shell by unilaterally awarding title to Kalabari, a prejudice they claim the Rivers State Government feared to tread on. Since that incident, there had been piratical attacks from either side to frustrate the other from settling close to the disputed area. But the issue was resolved with Shell under the mediation of the Bayelsa State Government, paid a whopping ten million naira to Nembe (chief Damb, 2008). He added that this subtle but effective means of relationship with Shell, the Soku/Oluasiri Gas plant palaver became manageable as both parties participated fully. One serious challenge in their relationship during the period under survey is rent collection. Both the Kalabari and Nembe chiefs customarily received rent from non-indigenes that ply their trade in their respective domains to boost their finances. The result was that each state now has the effrontery to encroach on others spheres of influence and indulge in all kinds of nefarious activities in the disputed area. This usually culminated into fighting between the rivals, which often times resulted into open clashes.

Eferobo (1996) recorded an incident on 12 December, 1993, that Kula chiefs came to collect rent at Akannanga and Owukubo fishing settlements. All the settlements are on the west

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

bank of the Santa Barbara River, and by the administrative orders of 1944 and 1954, Kula has no right to do so. Therefore, residents quickly sent messengers to Obioku, the parent town and shortly fighting break-out. As usual Obioku and Kula appealed to the metropolitan authorities (Nembe and Kalabari) for help. This often times explains the behavioural pattern of States, especially as powerful neighbour would intervene to check the excesses of an unrepentantly recalcitrant one. Therefore, Nembe had always seen Kula as a colony of Kalabari. Such was the power diplomacy between the Nembe and Kalabari that Kula could only act on behalf of Kalabari. Accordingly, any step taken by Kula for the acquisition of territory is interpreted as Kalabari's aggressive tendency by Nembe. However, Kula on account of its being a minor power looked up to some power for protection that Kalabari provided her. Hence, she could not act independent of Kalabari.

Thus, it was in the midst of fear and suspicion that the incident of Thursday, 3 February 1994, when four speed-boats, travelling to Nembe from Port Harcourt with passengers, were attacked and the passengers killed. They were attacked, near Kampala fishing port. They were suspected to be Kalabari. The result was the outbreak of a war between Nembe and Kalabari. In fact, it was the prompt intervention of the then military administrator, of Rivers State, Lt. Col. Dauda Musa Komo that ended the war, which we witnessed (Daily Sun Ray, Thursday 8, 1994: 10-11). Nembe and Kalabari local sources suggested peaceful relations between them, probably for reasons of proximity. The Kalabari town of Abonnema became a centre of local trade after the Nigerian civil war. Nembe, there, sold her produce like planks, local gin, canoes and paddles among other several household items in Kalabari without molestation. This, therefore, encouraged inter-state marriages between them, which fostered mutual trust and peaceful co-existence. Remarking on this development, Abbey noted that, "there are many influential families in both states today that would not at least boast of one of their parentage to have come from either Nembe or Kalabari. It therefore asserts that, it is these children that have brought pride to us" (Alagoa, 1970).

Furthermore, during this period under review, the basis for Nembe and Kalabari cordial relationship is not far sought. The political economy of both states were fishing and trading due to environmental factors. Fishing being the main stay of the people, they criss-crossed each other's territory in search of better fishing grounds. This was coupled with the founding of fishing settlements (Borikiri) to conduct their fishing activities, especially, the pelagic fish (sardine) like the hearing family (afare or afaru in both dialects) are migratory. Between the months of December and May, throwing and drifting nets usually catch the herring sardine. They followed it and established camps on either spheres, and had become another sources of disharmony drew their home authority into the area was well noted as we have established previously (Dike, 1956). Prior this time, individuals wove their fishing accessories. Thereafter, when the complementary industry became more specialized and commercialized, Kalabari began to engage seriously on such vocation as weaving baskets and rackets for storage and preservation of fish by smoke-drying. The industry could be found in the Nembe towns of Egweama, Beletieama, Igbabele and Okpoama, but the industry was predominant in the Kalabari towns of Bile, Kula supplied rackets through the fish mammy's women traders to Nembe fish industrialists (Tamunoemi Opusingi, 2009).

Also important in the relations between the two states was that Abissa (Kalabario) hosted many Nembe migrant canoe-makers in the early 1970s. according to a local source:

*Many Nembe migrant labours emigrated to Abissa and suggested that the host were hospitable. They settled at a place called Torubiana where they plied their trade of canoe-making. They were taxed per tree felled, which contributed immensely to the growth and development of Abissa's economy. But 1990s relations between makers about a brewing war between them. They advised that they should leave for security reasons. Thereafter they left Abissa area, hoping to return when matters between the two states might have been settled. But before they left, Abissa chiefs had a parley with them, especially, those of them that married Abissa women as families came to comfort in-laws. It was this fine relationship between the two states that the war came to shatter. (Ogote Matthew, 2009).*

### **Factors that Promoted Nembe and Kalabari Relation**

Apart from migratory story that binds the Nembe and Kalabari together, the Nembe and Kalabari are also connected through trade contact. By dictate of geography, the Nembe and Kalabari people are compelled to be fisher folks since river are at their backyards. They both so much depended on each other for their food requirements than perhaps their other neighbours due to geographical proximity. This partly explains why during the conflict between Nembe and Kalabari, the people were badly affected that they prayed for the end of the crisis. The Nembe and Kalabari people exchanged their fish and other sea food with their neighbours (Ejituwu, 1991). He further explains that "... the traditions suggest that they (Nembe/Kalabari) were engaged in vicious trade with the hinterland long before the coming of the Europeans. In this trade, they exchanged smoked fish, smoked prawns and salt for food stuffs and other vegetables products.

Nembe/Kalabari communities bordering the sea are fisher folks who even lived and stayed at their different fishing settlements since their catch was not enough. Also, the Nembe/Kalabari played prominent role in the distribution and marketing of fish between them and other ethnic groups. The itinerant wholesalers and middlemen from their neighbours perform the roles of bulk breaking, transportation, crediting, sorting, semi-processing and retailing in the chain of distribution and exchange of fish in Nembe/Kalabari. Usually, they travelled to the villages, border markets, and at times fishing ports, camps and settlements to buy directly from the fishermen. They later sold them or brought them to their market and other markets.

The Nembe/Kalabari especially the women folk, were actively engaged in the fish processing and storage in order to facilitate the channel of distribution and exchange. With the aid of the rackets fishes were arranged according to their sizes and the sizes of rackets (Aye Alfred 2018). This was promptly followed by the smoking process. All this was done to reduce or avoid spoilage of the Niger Delta sea foods due to their moisture content, microbial and enzymatic activities

The Kalabari also fed the Nembe with other raw materials like bamboo, raffia poles, piassava, and others used items for house making, and fish traps. The fish trap is used to prevent fish from running away in the river. They placed fish trap at the opening so that during the low tide fish would go into the small trap (Iwokura, Beauty, personal interview, 16, July 2018).

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

Christianity as a factor of intergroup relations brought the Nembe people together in the colonial and post-colonial period. It is important to stress that the church and western education were fused into an impermeable unit where in the Nembe/Kalabari communities, village teacher work as both teachers and preachers of Christian faith. In other word, the village teachers were both in charge of both the school and the local church. The missionary adopted many methods in order to 'catch' the children early into the missionary fold. The different ethnic groups of Rivers State both learn from each other, coastal ethnic groups Learnt first from the missionaries who brought Christianity, and in turn taught the hinterland and the intermediary natives how to read and write English and other languages as well as solve commercial arithmetic. These were achieved through the organization of Adult Education (both day and night) as well as Sunday schools for the different ethnic groups -non-literate population (Micheal, 2018). Kalabari and Nembe ethnic group benefited from each from the missionaries. The Nembe/Kalabari people attended school in the Kalabari areas as well as the Nembe areas. Through missionaries activities, schools and colleges were established for the locals and these served as centres of early learning for the Kalabari and Nembe.

The closeness between Nembe and Kalabari people in terms of boundary and long distance trade is also seen as a factor of intergroup relations. This is also seen Abua/Odual and Kalabari relation, Ikwerre- Ogoni relation, Okrika/Andoni relation and Opobo and Ogoni. Geographically, Kalabari and Nembe live in three swampy islands, by reason of her unique ecology, Nembe/Kalabari can hardly live independently of themselves, and their other neighbours like Okrika, Bonny and Opobo including their upland neighbours. They, therefore, maintain a symbolic relationship with these her immediate neighbours. So it is with the Abua/Odual and Kalabari and Nembe Neighbours.

Because of the geographical proximity between this ethnic groups, food crops were transported from one community to another, that is from the hinterland communities to the coastal ethnic communities, while sea food were as well transported from the coastal neighbours to the hinterland neighbour due to geographical proximity. Another essential article of the hinterland, intermediary and coastal ethnic group relation was palm wine. The hinterland and the intermediary ethnic groups are excellent producers of palm wine. They produced the local wine in great quantity and exchanged the surplus with their wine loving neighbours of the coastal ethnic group. This is in line with Afigbo (1981) view that long distance trade "facilitates the production of surplus products destined for exchange in order to increase the enjoyment or wealth of the producers". Apart from quenching the appetite for wine and thirst, palm wine is used for festivals, ceremonies (like burials, marriages, etc) and ritualistic purposes such as oath-taking, incantations and sacrifices, among others.

#### **Impact of Nembe and Kalabari Relations**

The various forms of contact between Nembe and Kalabari engendered some indelible economic impact on the Nembe and Kalabari society. Therefore, here, an attempt shall be made to highlight just a few economic benefits of the intergroup relations between Nembe and Kalabari. The relations between Nembe and Kalabari imparted economically to the both ethnic groups through their involvement in trade with each other. Items produce in one ethnic group were transported to other ethnic groups for exchange. This was made possible due to peace and security provided by the locals and British colonial government. The colonial situation did not only provide effective means of transportation but also provide security of lives and property as anyone who disrupted inter-ethnic peace was arrested by the colonial police. Armed with this protection offered by *Pax*

*Britannica*, more Nembe traders poured into Kalabari for the purpose of trade. A great stimulant for this trade during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period was the enlarging enthusiasm for European goods. Such exotic products included Iron Pots mirrors, zinc, sheets, swords, royal ornaments like gold, copper and brass enamel plates, and pitchers. Also, through the exchange of foodstuffs and palm produce, they were able to acquire European valuable goods like bar soap, bathing soap, kerosene, umbrella, sugar, cream cola, salt, tobacco and so on(Ockiya,1988).

Pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial trade between Nembe and Kalabri ethnic group, increased the wealth *vis-à-vis* the status of the people of the different ethnic groups involved in trading. Consequently, a new class of wealthy men emerged in Nembe communities and Kalabari communities. In line with this, Michael,(2015) observed that; “the various forms of contact between different ethnic groups in Niger Delta engendered some indelible economic impact on their society. Therefore, here, an attempt shall be made to highlight just a few economic benefits of the intergroup relations between them”. That the major traditional occupation practiced by the coastal people of Niger Delta was fishing. Every Nembe/Kalabari indigene was a potential fisherman. Fish was surplus in their environment. The second economic activity was salt manufacturing. Salt production also constituted a circle of occupation.

During this period under study, trade blossomed between the ethnic group thereby improving their standard of living of the people. The trade between them made people rich and economically prominent by the standard of that time. A lot of people were employed during this period as a result of the trade.

Politically, the Nembe and Kalabari ethnic group were intricately linked through several organs not minding the absence of a central authority. It would be interesting to recall that migration had provided several occasions and avenues for both ethnic groups to come into political contact. Both groups summoned anyone who offended them to the Elders’ Council of the community. Justice and appeals were also received by the oracles, deities and divinities believed by these people to know all hidden facts of both lands in spite of distance. In line with this, Michael (2015) asserted that, “Politically, until the full colonization of what is today called Nigeria, hinterland and coastal communities were able to independently rule themselves without the interference of any other group in the Niger Delta. As has been stated earlier, there were various mediums of contacts between hinterlands and coastal such as trading, war, peace marriages”. This shows that political changes were notice during this period as a result of their contacts.

The relations between these ethnic groups gave the chiefs of the different ethnic group chance to expand their strength and control of a large number of subjects. This was as a result of their engagement in trade, wars, marriages, and friendship. When the chief conquered a person either during war or any other means and taken to his (the chief’s) community that person became automatically traditionally the chief’s subject and member of his war canoe house.

The cordial and rancorous relationships that existed between Nembe and her Kalabari neighbours in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period resulted in very many important positive repercussions. The stable trade, which substituted the odious slave trade, acted as push-pull factor for the migration of the Nembe/Kalabari traders. They obtained permissions from each other landlords and built temporary structures for shelter as it was sheer impossible for them to buy and go back the same day. By the middle of the twentieth century, permanent structures had replaced the temporary ones. By this act, the Nembe/Kalabari traders and their families started settling in these settlements. They, therefore, became melting points of economic idea and cross-cultural contacts. Again, with the expansion of the economic role of the Nembe fish and palm produce traders into Kalabari, there emerged the Nembe/Kalabari wealthy class. The huge profit

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

derived from the trade was invested in both communities. Some used theirs in marrying Kalabari/Nembe women and the purchase of landed property. Aye (2015) noted that, the introduction of the *sekiapu* cultural dance club to the Nembe and Kalabari society has been an indelible mark of intergroup contacts between Nembe and their Eastern Delta sub-Ijo groups. *Sekiapu* cultural dance club has been a prominent traditional club in Nembe society. This club was originated in Kalabari. The existence of the *sekiapu* club in the Nembe socio-cultural environment was a testimony of long relations that existed between Nembe and the Kalabari kingdom (Aye, 2015).

Michael (2015) asserted that, an important aspect of Nembe/Kalabari was the availability of plantain in the Nembe and Kalabari society for traditional religious rituals. This practice is still invoked in the both communities. It pertinent not that, the coming of the Christian missionaries which had led to a change in the belief system, the Nembe and Kalabari people still believes in her traditional gods and their efficacy. Religious rituals and sacrifices were required by the traditional religion faithful to perform in order to appease the gods and/or to stay in close harmony with the gods. The most frequently required items for rituals in the traditional Nembe and Kalabari socio-cultural environment according to Berene (2015) were, among other things, local gin, unripe plantain, and domestic ruminant animals such as goat, and local cow. All these items are alien to the Nembe and Kalabari geographical environment. However, the course of intergroup relations between Nembe and her neighbours made it possible for the provision of these very import items for rituals and other traditional religious conducts. Local gin which was mostly gotten from the sub-Ijo groups of the Central Niger Delta region has been very important for religious and other uses. The immediate hinterland communities such as Okoroba, Idema, and other Ogbia areas provided the plantain requirement; while goats and cows were in the distant past came from areas beyond the Niger Delta which this work tags 'the distant neighbours'.

### **Conclusion**

The study has examined the many sided intergroup relations and ethnic conflict between Nembe and Kalabari in Nigeria's Niger Delta region and the visiting European super-cargoes in the nineteenth century. The study, therefore, established that in the pre-colonial period Nembe and Kalabari played dominant roles that the neighbours looked up to for their leadership.

The study has also established that Nembe and Kalabari lost those privileges to their neighbours when the colonial enterprise was firmly established in the twentieth century. The reversal of functions or roles played between the neighbours climaxed into a vivid phenomenon called ethnicity as elsewhere in Nigerian history. The study further stressed the need for a history of intergroup relations, especially their past ties and linkages. This historical knowledge will provide the basis for the neighbours to be able to relate peacefully.

### **References**

Abasiattai, M. (1991a). The Ibibio: An outline history-1960. In M. Abasiattai (Ed.) *The Ibibio: An introduction to the land, the people and their culture (53-82)*. Calabar: Alphonsus Akpan.

- Abasiattai, M. (1991b). Ibibio tradition and cosmology. In M. Abasiattai (Ed.) *The Ibibio: An introduction to the land, the people and their culture.*(83-124).Calabar: Alphonsus Akpan.
- Abasiattai, M. (1991c). Christian missions among the Ibibio: Their origins, growth and impact. In M. Abasiattai (Ed.) *The Ibibio: An introduction to the land, the people and their culture.* Calabar (313-366) Alphonsus Akpan.
- Adetoye, D. & Omilusi, M. O. (2015). Ethno-religious conflicts and democracy in Nigeria. *Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(1), 51-58.
- Afigbo, A. E. (1987). *The Igbo and their neighbours inter-group relations in South-Eastern Nigeria to 1953.* Ibadan: University Press.
- Afigbo, A.E. (1980b). The Eastern provinces under colonial rule.In O. Ikime (Ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian history (73-87).* Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc.
- Agaba, J.E. (2006). The challenge of ethnicity: A historical analysis of inter-group relations in the Middle-Belt of Niger. In O. Akinwumi, O.O. Okpeh, & G.D. Je'adayibe (Eds) *Intergroup relations in Nigeria during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (506-526).* Markudi: Aboki Publishers.
- Alagoa, E. J. (2005). *A history of the Niger Delta.* Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Alagoa, E.J., (1971). " The Development of institutions in the States of the Eastern Niger Delta," in *J.A.H.* XII, 2, pp. 269-278.
- Alagoa, E.J., (2005). *A History of the Niger Delta,* Port-Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Alagoa, E.J., (2009). *The Small Brave City-State: A History of Nembe-Brass in the Niger Delta,* Port-Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Alagoa, EJ (1964). *The small Brave City State: A history of Nembe (Brass) in the Niger Delta.* Madison University of Wisconsin Press, Ibadan University Press.
- Alagoa,E. J., (1970). "Long Distance Trade and States in the Niger Delta," in *Journal of African History*, XI, 3, pp. 319-329.
- Anene, J.C (1966). *Southern Nigeria in Transition.* Cambridge: University Press.
- Ayandele, E.A. (1980). External relations with Europeans: Explorers, missionaries and traders. In O. Ikime (Ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian history (367-392)* Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria ) Plc.
- Ayiga, B., (2003). "Old Brass Local Government Area in the Oil Politics of Nigeria, 1956-1996," (MA Thesis, History Department, University of Port-Harcourt, Choba).

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

- Briggs, N. & Ndimele, O. (2013a). The economic growth of the city of Port Harcourt. In E.J. Alagoa & J. Nwanodi (Eds.) *Port Harcourt at 100: Past, present and future*. Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Bristol- Alagbariya, E.T. & Okowa, W.J. (2013a). The Atlantic slave trade era. In N. Briggs, W. Okowa & O. Ndimele (Eds.) *The economic development of Rivers State in commoration of Port Harcourt century celebration 2013* (87-96). Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Bristol-Alagbariya, E.T. & Okowa, W.J. (2013b). The pre-slave trade era. In N. Briggs, W. Okowa & O. Ndimele (Eds.) *The economic development of Rivers State in commemoration of Port Harcourt centenary celebration 2013* (65-82). Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Chuku, C.D. (2010). Inter-group relations in Nigeria with special references to the Rivers State. In A. Orugbani (Ed.) *History, public service and leadership in Nigeria essays in honour of Venerable K.O. Amadi* (225-248). Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Crowther, M. (1978). *The Story of Nigeria*. London: Faber and Faber
- Dambo, L.B. (2006). *Nembe the divided Kingdom: Apolitical History*. Port Harcourt: Paragraphics Public.
- Dike, K.O. (1956). *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885p. An introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Dioka, L.C. (1997). Inter-group relations among Nigerian communities. In A. Osuntokun & A. Olukoju (Eds.) *Nigerian peoples and cultures* (55-78). Ibadan: Davidson Press.
- Ejituwu, N. C. Jaja, J. M. & Enemugawem, J.H. (2009). The Eastern Delta Limit. In E.J. Alagoa, T. N. Tamuno, & J.P. Clark (Eds.) *The Izon of the Niger Delta* (523-547). Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Gobo, P.A. (2008). Inter-group relations in the Niger Delta: A case study of Okrika and her neighbours. In A.A. Derefaka & A.M. Okorobia (Eds.) *The future of the Niger Delta: The search for a relevant narrative* (293-316). Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Horton, R. (1969). "From Fishing Village to City-State; A Social History of New Calabar", in M. Douglas and Kaberry (eds), *Man in Africa*, London.
- Ifemesia, C.C. (1978). *South-Eastern Nigeria in the nineteenth century: An introductory analysis*. New York: Nok Publishers Int'l.
- Ikime, O. (1977a). *The fall of Nigeria: The British conquest*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc.

- Ikime, O. (1977a). *The fall of Nigeria: The British conquest*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc.
- Isichei, E. (1983). *A history of Nigeria*. London: Longman. Group Limited.
- Mfiangh, A. & Ndimele, O. (2013). The people. In N. Briggs, W. Okowa & O. Ndime (Eds.) *The economic development of Rivers State in commemoration of Port Harcourt centenary celebration 2013*. Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Michael, T. B. (2014). Amalgamation, inter-group relations and the Nigerian State: A case study of Nigeria-Niger Delta relations. *Icheke*12 (1). Pp. 238-249.
- Muojama, O. G. (2012). Globalization and inter-group relations in Nigeria. In C.B.N. Ogbogbo, R.O. Olaniyi, & O.G. Muojama (Eds.) *The dynamics of inter-group relations in Nigerian essays in history of Obaro Ikime @ 70* (143-165). Ibadan: Department of History University of Ibadan.
- Muojama, O. G. (2012). Globalization and inter-group relations in Nigeria. In C.B.N. Ogbogbo, R.O. Olaniyi, & O.G. Muojama (Eds.) *The dynamics of inter-group relations in Nigerian essays in history of Obaro Ikime @ 70* (143-165). Ibadan: Department of History University of Ibadan.
- Nnoli, O. (2008). *Ethnic politics in Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Northrup, D. (1978). *Trade without rulers: Pre-colonial economic development in South-Eastern Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nwabueze, N. (2003). Towards a wilder understanding of inter-group relations. In R.T. Akinyele (Ed.) *Race, ethnicity and nation building: Studies in inter-group relations* (1-14). Lagos: Rex Charles Publications in Association with Connell Publication
- Nwabueze, N. (2003). Towards a wilder understanding of inter-group relations. In R.T. Akinyele (Ed.) *Race, ethnicity and nation building: Studies in inter-group relations* (1-14). Lagos: Rex Charles Publications in Association with Connell Publication.
- Ockiya, D.O. (2008). *History of Nembe*. Port Harcourt: Micro-Win PCBS Resources.
- Ogbogbo, C. B. N., Olaniyi, R. O. & Muojama. O. G. (Eds.) (2012). *The dynamics of Inter-group relations in Nigeria since 1960. Essays in honnour of Obara Ikime @ 70*. Ibadan: Department of History, University of Ibadan.
- Okoribia, A. M. (1995). *A history of Nembe/Kalabari Boundary Dispute*. Unpublished. Port Harcourt.
- Okpoh, O. O. (2006a). Conceptual and theoretical issues arising from studies in inter-group relations in Nigeria in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In O. Akinwumi, O. O. Okpoh & G. D. Je'adayibe (Eds.) *Inter-group relations in Nigeria during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries* (5-37). Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.

**MICHAEL, THOMAS B., PhD. AND IVORY, SABINA TONTE**  
**NEMBE AND KALABARI RELATIONS; 1800 – 2015**

---

- Orugbani, A. (2003). Inter-group relations in Nigeria: Lessons for the future. In O. Akpan (Ed.) *art and science of politics: Essay in honour of Alhaji Ghali Umar Na' Abba* (154-164). Port Harcourt: Footsteps Publications.
- Orugbani, A. (2009). Resources. In E. J. Alagoa, T. N. Tamuno, & J. P Clark (Eds) *The Izon of the Niger Delta* (279-292). Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Osagbae, E. & Suberu, T. (2005). A history of identities, violence, and stability in Nigeria.
- Otite, O. and Albert, I.O. (1999). *Community Conflicts in Nigeria*. Ibadan, Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Queen Elizabeth House, CRISE Working paper, University of Oxford.
- Sherif, M. & Sherif, C. W. (1969). *Social Psychology*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma, United States of America.
- Sokari-George, G.D. (2006). New Calabar and her neighbours: A study of the Niger Delta C. 1850-1950. In O. A. Kinwumi O.O. Okpeh, & G.D. Je'adayibe (Eds.) *Inter-group relations in Nigeria during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries* (262-275). Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.
- Stride, G.T. & Efeka, C (1971). Peoples and Empires of West Africa: West Africa in History 1000-1800. Lagos: Thomas Nelson Ltd.
- Tanen, O. D. (2005). *Bodo: A perspective of Ogoni history*. Port Harcourt: Ano Publications Company.
- Ubi, O.A. & Igoli, T. (2009). The Izon and their neighbours of the Cross River Valley. In E.J. Alagoa, T. N. Tamuno, & J.P. Clark (Eds.) *The Izon of the Niger Delta* (619-629). Port Harcourt: Onyoma Research Publications.
- Udo, R.K. (1980). "Environments and Peoples of Nigeria" in I. Obaro (ed) *Ground work of Nigerian History*. Ibadan, Ibadan University Press.
- Wariboko, W. (2007). New Calaba Middlemen, Her Majesty's consuls, and British Traders in the Niger Delta during the Era of New Imperialism.