
The Colonial Archives and Alternative Voices

Introduction

The development of society is an ongoing process, creating records and materials that either describe that development or the influences that have stalled it. As time passes, additional records accumulate to describe that time. Record keeping positions archives as not only important but also necessary.¹ Archived history can exist in individual fragments before it is gathered in an architectural structure.

An archive is often described as the set of materials created or received by a person or organization – in a personal or official capacity – highlighting important information about events, actions, orders, and decisions.² The materials and their provenance are carefully controlled to be preserved in their original state.³ Archives are distinguished from other sources of history by “collective control, principle of provenance and original order.”⁴ Provenance refers to the originality and the authentication of the materials’ origins, and it emphasizes the fact that archival maintenance requires different materials to be preserved differently.⁵ An archival record needs to be stored in connection with the events it describes, which explains the principle of collective control. Materials with similar historiography need to be preserved jointly in the same record. These records must also be preserved in their original order.

The definition of an archive transcends the realm of materials or records to include the building that stores the materials. This includes the preservation mechanisms that are used inside the structure. The buildings and institutions

¹ Elisabeth Kaplan, “We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity,” *American Archivist* 63 (2000): 126–151.

² Francis X. Blouin Jr. and William G. Rosenberg, eds., *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

³ Richard Pearce-Moses, *A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology* (Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 2005).

⁴ Kate Theimer, “Archives in Context and as Context,” *Journal of Digital Humanities* 1, no. 2 (2012): 1–2.

⁵ Pearce-Moses, *A Glossary*.

that hold information are as important as the records and materials they retain.⁶ The archivists who maintain such records are equally important.⁷ They decide which materials are relevant, and that influences the kinds of stories that archive records. Despite the guiding principles of provenance, collective control, and original order, archival facts can be aligned to support a subjective viewpoint.⁸

Different scholars have examined the extent of archival appraisal and how their voices explain reality.⁹ The colonial archives, in particular, have been challenged based on the anachronistic manner in which early colonial scholars appraised them. Their work did not describe the true state and intent of Africa and Nigeria.¹⁰ It has been described as intellectual imprisonment and the colonization of the African thinking process, shaping African views of their colonial history. After Nigerian intellectual efforts developed an increasing consciousness of their history, these records were scrutinized. Nigerian-oriented accounts of events and appraisals of archival records were examined and explained in their fixed “native” natures.¹¹ To set the record straight, examining differences in these stories and the perspectives of African writers is expedient.

The Creation of the Nigerian National Archives

The preservation of historical records is essential.¹² Past events and exchanges must be retained to serve as reference points. Archives enable the proper documentation and preservation of national values, cultures, and history for reference in the present and the future. The usefulness of archives is not confined to an appreciation of the past; they can also provide insights into current and developing situations.¹³ This requires a proper recording of

⁶ Achille Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive and Its Limits,” in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Michèle Pickover, et al. (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 19–27.

⁷ Evgenia Vassilakaki and Valentini Moniarou–Papaconstantinou, “Beyond Preservation: Investigating the Roles of Archivist,” *Library Review* 66, no. 3 (2017): 110–126.

⁸ Pearce-Moses, *A Glossary*.

⁹ Luciana Duranti, “The Concept of Appraisal and Archival Theory,” *The American Archivist* 57, no. 2 (1994): 328–344.

¹⁰ Stephanie Newell, “Life Writing in the Colonial Archives: The Case of Nnamdi Azikiwe (1904–1996) of Nigeria,” *Life Writing* 13, no. 3 (2016): 307–321.

¹¹ Mahmood Mamdani, *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

¹² George M. Cunha, Frazer G. Poole, and Clyde C. Walton, “The Conservation and Preservation of Historical Records,” *The American Archivist* 40, no. 3 (1977): 321–324.

¹³ Gabriel B. O. Alegbeleye, “Archives Administration and Records Management in Nigeria: Up the Decades from Amalgamation,” *Information Management* 22, no. 3 (1998): 26.

current developments alongside the records of the past.¹⁴ Nigerian authorities, beginning with the colonial government, have made efforts to retain old records and preserve materials from the present.

The late introduction of writing skills complicated recordkeeping in precolonial Nigeria. Instead, most memories and records were maintained through other methods. The most widely recognized archival records from precolonial Nigeria are the old Arabic records and collections that can be traced back to around the eleventh century AD.¹⁵ These came from early interactions between the Arab world and residents in the territory now known as Nigeria, which was facilitated through the trans-Saharan trade.¹⁶ Unfortunately, most of these records were maintained privately and have not been preserved in modern archives.¹⁷ S. S. Waniko¹⁸ was an early archivist who successfully retrieved some of these Arabic manuscripts, ensuring they were adequately preserved.¹⁹

Aside from older records, which have been difficult to collect, Nigeria's archival activities to document ongoing events increased with the advent of the British colonial administration. After the 1914 amalgamation, Nigeria was officially recognized as an entity, and records of its existence and activities were collated in earnest.²⁰ The 1914 amalgamation marked the start of archival recordkeeping and its administration as an entity and a state.²¹ The Colonial Office initially performed the functions of archival administration, and it was interested in keeping accurate records. From the amalgamation onward, the Colonial Office was interested in protecting current and historical records. In 1914, the colonial dispatch requested an organized structure for the preservation of early and contemporary documents, asserting that these records should

¹⁴ Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory," *Archival Science* 2, no. 1 (2002): 1–19.

¹⁵ F. O. Babalola, "The Future of Arabic Manuscripts in Nigeria," *The Nigerian Archives* 1, no. 4 (1993): 9–26.

¹⁶ Ali A. Mazrui, Patrick M. Dikirr, Robert Ostergard Jr., Michael Toler and Paul Macharia, eds., *Africa's Islamic Experiences: History, Culture, and Politics* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Ltd., 2009).

¹⁷ A. O. Umar, "The Origin, Development and Utilization of Arabic Manuscripts in the National Archives, Kaduna." Paper presented at the workshop on *Exploring Nigeria's Arabic/Ajami Manuscript Resources for the Development of New Knowledge*, held at Arewa House, Kaduna, Nigeria, May 7–8, 2009.

¹⁸ S. S. Waniko, *Arrangement and Classification of Nigerian Archives* (Lagos: Nigerian Archives Services, 1958).

¹⁹ Folarin Shyllon, "The Poverty of Documentary Heritage Management in Nigeria," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 9, no. 1 (2000): 23–48.

²⁰ A. H. Lafinhan, "1st January and the Birth of a Nation," *Nigerian Tribune*, January 1, 2008.

²¹ Alegbeleye, "Archives Administration and Records."

be kept in colonial custody.²² The Secretary of State asked Sir Frederick Lugard to send records of the arrangement to the Colonial Office.

In 1936, the Colonial Office sent two different circular dispatches.²³ The first dispatch concerned the office's interest in keeping and preserving records, reminding colonial officers of the matter's importance. The second dispatch concerned the preservation of contemporary records, which included treasury records and account books. Through the Colonial Secretary, it made suggestions regarding when it was considered unnecessary to retain these records, along with guidance on which records to destroy and which to keep.²⁴ The final dispatch of 1948 was of great importance, and it included a memorandum from Sir Hilary Jenkinson, the well-known archivist, issuing directions for appropriate recording.²⁵

Nigeria's colonial officials responded with assurances that records were being kept adequately and appropriately. Lord Lugard stated that the records were "in a very fair state of preservation and that the current arrangements were adequate for their safe-keeping,"²⁶ finding no notable challenges to obstruct recordkeeping in colonial Nigeria, especially in the early stages. In 1937, one Mr. J. A. M. Maybin circulated an internal memorandum to all officials, requesting that they send reports to the Chief Secretary Officer stating how their records were being kept and preserved. Unfortunately, the heads of various units and departments responded with statements explaining that they lacked the staff and facilities to assist with recordkeeping and the preservation of documents.²⁷

Kenneth Dike also conducted a public record survey of all governmental bodies from 1951 to 1953. He strongly advocated the creation of a public record office in Nigeria, which was established on April 1, 1954, and was later appointed as the first Supervisor of Public Records.²⁸ In 1949, Dike was awarded the Colonial Social Science Research Fellowship, which authorized him to conduct comprehensive research on Nigeria's history. During that research, he discovered that many records had been inadvertently destroyed by neglect. Official records and documents had decayed or suffered damage from water and insects. Dike began working pro bono to retrieve the remaining

²² C. A. Ukwu, "The Archives in Nigeria: Its Mission and Vision," *The Nigerian Archives* 2, no. 1 (1995): 1–44.

²³ Alegbeleye, "Archives Administration and Records."

²⁴ Alegbeleye, "Archives Administration and Records," 26.

²⁵ Abiola Abioye, "Fifty Years of Archives Administration in Nigeria: Lessons for the Future," *Records Management Journal* 17, no. 1 (2007): 52–62.

²⁶ Abioye, "Fifty Years of Archives Administration," 53.

²⁷ Kenneth O. Dike, *Report on the Preservation and Administration of Historical Records and the Establishment of a Public Record Office in Nigeria* (Lagos: Government Printer, 1954).

²⁸ Dike, *Report on the Preservation*.

records and care for them, which led to his appointment as head of a survey to identify and gather all available historical records and documentation. This work led Dike to issue the recommendation for the establishment of the Nigerian Record Office.²⁹

The Nigerian Record Office was established at the University College Ibadan, in 1954, in a small two-room apartment under the supervision of the Federal Ministry of Works.³⁰ The office was legally recognized after its name was changed to the National Archives of Nigeria on November 14, 1957, with the promulgation of Public Archives Ordinance No. 43. The National Archives of Nigeria moved to its permanent site at the University College Ibadan in 1958, occupying its first official building.³¹ The building was the first archive in tropical Africa, and its ongoing development continued.

The National Archives was instrumental in establishing a local interest in historical scholarship and encouraging a nationalistic consciousness among scholars. As the relevance of the archives became more visible, they expanded to serve the nation better. The Kaduna and Enugu branches of the National Archives were established in 1962 and 1963, respectively. These archives have maintained federal, regional, and state records and documents to preserve Nigeria's historical heritage. Each region's colonial administration records, official publications, newspapers, and other documents are stored in their relevant archives. The archives in Ibadan still retain records of the oldest newspaper in Nigeria, *Ìwé Ìròhìn*, which began operating in 1859.

Nigeria's archives still function, and their facilities have expanded to include repair and binding rooms, repository rooms, processing rooms, and search rooms. Branches were established in Sokoto and Benin in 1982; Ilorin and Akure in 1985; Calabar in 1986; Port Harcourt and Owerri in 1989; and Abeokuta, Jos, and Maiduguri in 2005. Offices in Ibadan, Enugu, and Kaduna now hold authority over other archives within their regions.³²

Kenneth Dike was head of the National Archives, as supervisor of records, from 1954 to 1963. He had also headed the effort before the archives were officially established. The 1957 Public Archives Ordinance changed Dike's role to that of Director on a part-time basis, although this decision was criticized.³³ Lloyd C. Gwam, appointed to succeed Dike in 1964, was respected for his scholarship and understanding of the archive. His book, *Archive Memoranda*, is regarded to date as orientation material and a guideline for newly appointed

²⁹ Dike, *Report on the Preservation*.

³⁰ Simon Heap, "The Nigerian National Archives, Ibadan: An Introduction for Users and a Summary of Holdings," *History in Africa* 18 (1991): 159–172.

³¹ Abioye, "Fifty Years of Archives Administration."

³² Abioye, "Fifty Years of Archives Administration."

³³ S. O. Sowoolu, "The Problem of Archival Development in Nigeria." Paper presented at the Seminar for Directors of Archival Institutions from Developing Countries, Moscow, August 28–September 5, 1972.

archivists,³⁴ but his tenure was cut short by his early death. S. O. Sowoolu took over responsibility for the archives after Gwam's death, and many new ideas were adapted to develop the archive during his eighteen-year tenure. One of Sowoolu's many reputable achievements was how he protected records from the East during the 1967–70 Nigerian civil war.³⁵

The Use of the Archives to Write on Colonial Nigeria

Thomas Richard describes imperial or colonial archives as not only a building, or the books it keeps, “but the collectively imagined junction of all that was known or knowable, a fantastic representation of an epistemological master pattern, a virtual focal point for the heterogeneous local knowledge of metropolis and empire.”³⁶ In most cases, colonial archives were evidence of controlled information supporting a dictated line of thought. At the inception of the British colonization of Nigeria, colonial officials controlled most of the information about their activities in Nigeria and some information from the precolonial era.³⁷ Their control over these materials determined which resources were available to scholars studying early Nigeria. Many scholars have observed that colonialism extended to the fortification of power through the use and control of knowledge. Early studies of African history could only be conducted with the materials made available by colonial officers.

Dike's work to create the National Archives of Nigeria was instrumental in developing a native African interest in African history. It laid a firm foundation to aid the trajectory of a paradigm shift that brought African history from colonial narration to African inquiry. The limitations of the colonial archives and their influence on African colonial history had an overbearing tendency to narrate the African experience from colonial and British perspectives. Dike fought against these artificially imposed constraints. As other activists and nationalists rose against colonialism, Dike inspired others to tell African stories from African perspectives; this approach was seen in his criticism of Margery Perham's written work on Nigeria's independence.³⁸ Perham was an important political figure who influenced the Colonial Office.³⁹ Perham's argument opposed independence for West Africans based on claims

³⁴ Patricia C. Franks, ed., *The International Directory of National Archives* (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield, 2018), 277.

³⁵ Ukwu, “The Archives in Nigeria.”

³⁶ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 11.

³⁷ Tim Livsey, “Open Secrets: The British ‘Migrated Archives,’ Colonial History, and Postcolonial History,” *History Workshop Journal* 93, no. 1 (2022): 95–116.

³⁸ Thomas P. Ofcansky, “Margery Perham: A Bibliography of Published Work,” *History in Africa* 15 (1988): 339–350.

³⁹ The Colonial Office was in charge of colonial records in Nigeria.

of technological underdevelopment, “incapability,” “primitiveness,” and other imagined shortcomings.⁴⁰ Dike opposed this denigration and stated that every society has a background and a culture in which its values and orientations are built.

Dike’s criticism of Perham noted that Africa came from a long stretch of unexplored history, and that making assumptions about African history and statehood based on “slender evidence” was illogical at best.⁴¹ This was a clarion call for Africans – and Nigerians in particular – to conduct research and emphasize self-knowledge through available materials. Dike asserted that anything else would encourage European slander against African history, distorting it “to justify the continent’s colonization.”⁴² Dike’s urging, and his knowledge of the Nigerian archival material, shifted the course of African history.

Dike’s studies, research, and knowledge gathered from examining the archives allowed him to take different positions, issue new affirmations, and mount alternative criticisms of earlier claims and narratives about the British colony in Nigeria. One of his several rebuttals opposing the anachronistic viewpoint of British scholars disagreed with the justification of the British invasion of Lagos. Britain deposed King Kosoko as the Oba of Lagos and installed Oba Akitoye in 1851, claiming that Kosoko was undemocratic and alleging that he promoted the slave trade that Britain opposed.⁴³ Dike countered these claims, suggesting that Lagos was invaded like any other territory, as Kosoko’s removal may have been caused by his past efforts at preventing European traders from accessing Lagos’s trade with other Yoruba communities.⁴⁴ Oba Akitoye’s replacement was regarded as flexible and willing to accommodate British interests. These allegations were supported by the fact that the British deposed Bonny’s king, Dappa Pepple, who was confrontational and defended his territory against colonial imperialists.⁴⁵

After the Lander brothers launched their historical exploration of the Niger in 1830,⁴⁶ the British government partnered with missionaries and commercial

⁴⁰ Margery Perham, “The British Problem in Africa,” *Foreign Affairs* 29, no. 4 (1951): 637–650.

⁴¹ Kenneth O. Dike, “African History and Self-Government,” *West Africa*, February 28, 1953, 177–178; March 14, 225–226 and March 21, 251.

⁴² Kenneth O. Dike, “African History Twenty-Five Years Ago and Today,” *Journal of The Historical Society of Nigeria* 10, no. 3 (1980): 13–22.

⁴³ Robert S. Smith, *The Lagos Consulate 1851–1861* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

⁴⁴ Kenneth O. Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830–1835: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 244.

⁴⁵ Julius O. Ihonvbere and Timothy M. Shaw, *Illusions of Power: Nigeria in Transition* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1998), 11.

⁴⁶ Robin Hallett, ed., *The Niger Journal of Richard and John Lander* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965).

entities. Their ventures allegedly focused on developing the Niger Valley, especially after contracting it to Macgregor Laird in 1857, hoping to replace Europeans with educated Africans. Dike offered an alternative explanation: The interest in expanding the Niger Delta was to extend colonial trade and commerce, not to advance scientific or missionary endeavors.⁴⁷

Nigeria was amalgamated in 1914,⁴⁸ and a central legislative council was formed for its administration through the 1946 Richards Constitution.⁴⁹ The decision to amalgamate different British-controlled areas with their protectorate had been seen as a positive development and the beginning of the nation.⁵⁰ However, Dike provided a different perspective on the amalgamation, framing it as driven by the British need for more resources. Dike asserted that the decision was premeditated, intending to use resources from the Southern Protectorate to exploit the Northern Protectorate, which was less capable of supporting colonial administration on its own. This decision was calculated to reduce Britain's financial commitments.

Dike also pointed out that extractive infrastructure, like roads and railways, was also more easily constructed under a centralized administration. Dike opposed the notion put forward by Lord Frederick Lugard, who asserted that the amalgamation and indirect rule were focused on economic development and the advancement of civilization.⁵¹ Instead, Dike considered the colonial endeavor and the amalgamation of Nigeria to be exploitative and undertaken to benefit the British administration.⁵² This intent was apparent in the British manner of approach, the administration's use of force, and the discriminatory attitudes toward Nigerians.⁵³

Dike and other early historians, such as Professors Jacob F. Ade Ajayi and Saburi O. Biobaku, contributed materials for the foundation of African historiography.⁵⁴ This enabled other historians to draw from the archives' pool of knowledge to write about Nigerian colonial history. It laid the

⁴⁷ Kenneth O. Dike, *Origins of the Niger Mission 1841–1891* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1962).

⁴⁸ Fola Fagbule and Feyi Fawehinmi, *Formation: The Making of Nigeria from Jihad to Amalgamation* (Abuja: Cassava Republic Press, 2021).

⁴⁹ Benjamin O. Nwabueze, *A Constitutional History of Nigeria* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1982), 42–46.

⁵⁰ Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1970).

⁵¹ Lugard, *Dual Mandate*.

⁵² Moses Ochonu, *Colonial Meltdown: Northern Nigeria in the Great Depression* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009).

⁵³ Toyin Falola, *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).

⁵⁴ Olufunke Adeboye, "J. F Ade Ajayi, 1929–2014," *Africa* 85, no. 4 (2015): 741–744.

foundation for the institution known as the Ibadan School of History.⁵⁵ The school was developed at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria's first university and the first to form a dedicated history department. The Department of History at the University of Ibadan was instrumental in developing the local school of history because of its high quality of teaching. The very first set of Nigerian historians emerged from these efforts, and they shared the school's philosophies.⁵⁶ The Ibadan School of History was credited as the first coordinated school, having a profound influence on the telling of Nigeria's history until the 1970s.⁵⁷

The Ibadan School of History's primary assignment was to retell the history of Nigerian colonialism, oppose the way that it had been recorded and told by colonial records, and create a national consciousness for postcolonial Nigeria.⁵⁸ The National Archives at the University of Ibadan provided access to colonial records, enabling the global visibility of the work of people like Dike and encouraging the development of the school. The school emphasized the consideration of historical sources and the use of a multidisciplinary approach to collect data. Aside from decolonizing the narration of African history, it also reconciled historical facts to promote national unity.⁵⁹

Within the Ibadan School of History, Dike made several significant contributions to the reconstruction of African and Nigerian history. His book, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta*,⁶⁰ was outstanding for its retelling of African history using knowledge gained from orally recorded sources. In relying on oral accounts, Dike drew attention to the conceptualization of African perspectives for African history, appraising the roles of major African historical actors and examining different events from new viewpoints.⁶¹

Martin Klein provided a comprehensive review of works written by scholars identified with the Ibadan School, examining their orientation.⁶² The first collection of views from African historians was Ajayi and Crowder's volume on the history of West Africa,⁶³ wherein two-thirds of the writers identified

⁵⁵ Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Ibadan School of Historiography and its Critics," in *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, ed. Toyin Falola (Harlow: Longman, 1993), 195–202.

⁵⁶ Adiele E. Afigbo, "The Flame of History Blazing at Ibadan," *Journal of The Historical Society of Nigeria* 7, no. 4 (1975): 715–720.

⁵⁷ John D. Omer-Cooper, "The Contribution of the University of Ibadan to the Spread of the Study and Teaching of African History within Africa," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 10, no. 3 (1980): 23–31.

⁵⁸ Omer-Cooper, "The Contribution of the University of Ibadan."

⁵⁹ Adeboye, "J. F. Ade Ajayi."

⁶⁰ Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta*.

⁶¹ Martin A. Klein, "Review of The Decolonization of West African History," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6, no. 1 (1975): 111–125.

⁶² Klein, "Review of The Decolonization."

⁶³ Jacob F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

with the Ibadan School of History.⁶⁴ Ebiegberi J. Alagoa, one of the writers included in the volume, discussed the precolonial Niger Delta from 1600 to 1800, giving a new explanation for the slave trade during that period. Alagoa found fault with Horton's arguments about the veracity, uselessness, and incredulousness of oral tradition. He established that other data, apart from colonial records, could explain the past, especially the slave trade activities in the Niger Delta from 1600 to 1700.⁶⁵

Abdullahi Smith,⁶⁶ making inquiries outside of the colonial boundaries of the Ibadan School, reconstructed and changed the view of history in old Central Sudan. He explained how the country's Kanuri and Hausa groups emerged from Central Sudan, supporting his assertions with linguistics, geography, archeology, and other documents. Smith traced the origin of the Kanuri kingship system to relationships between the old nomads and the stable agriculturalists, identifying the links that joined the Hausa monarchs to society's economic systems. His work took an African view of institutions and identified diversity at work in the process of Islamization for society and general systems.⁶⁷ Philip Curtin was another historian aligned with the Ibadan School, and his historical exploration of Africa's slave trade belongs in the echelon of top scholars on the subject.⁶⁸ Curtin's radical opinion asserted that the slave trade in African society was more social than economic, opposing views emphasizing the economic intent of the transatlantic slavers.⁶⁹

The Ibadan School of the 1950s and 1960s has received criticism because the scope of its work was largely confined to colonialism and the events that preceded it.⁷⁰ This restriction has not allowed for much expansion of the school and the subject matter that it discusses.⁷¹ Some scholars have also criticized the Ibadan School's apparent preference for written records, like those in the archives, and their traditional nature of understanding subjects.⁷² The school has excluded or unconsciously omitted oral history.⁷³ However, the

⁶⁴ Klein, "Review of The Decolonization."

⁶⁵ Jan Vansina, Hope M. Wright, Selma Leydesdorff, and Elizabeth Tonkin, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

⁶⁶ Ajayi and Crowder, *History of West Africa*.

⁶⁷ Mahdi Adamu, "The Hausa and their Neighbours in the Central Sudan," in *General History of Africa, 4: Africa from the Twelfth to Sixteenth Century*, ed. Djibril T. Niane (Paris: UNESCO, 1984), 266–300.

⁶⁸ Eric Williams is a distinguished author who wrote *Capitalism and Slavery* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2021).

⁶⁹ Ajayi and Crowder, *History of West Africa*.

⁷⁰ Lovejoy, "The Ibadan School of Historiography."

⁷¹ Peter P. Ekeh, "Colonialism and Social Structure." An Inaugural Lecture (Ibadan: University of Ibadan, 1983).

⁷² Olutayo C. Adesina, "The Future of the Past." An Inaugural Lecture (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 2012).

⁷³ Klein, "Review of The Decolonization."