

Individuality, Status and Social Change: Oshodi Tapa and the Lagos Consulate

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Abstract

This paper argues that every society, no matter the historical time period in which it exists, undergoes changes that require every of its members to understand the constantly changing dynamics of inclusion and the status-building and enhancing mechanisms available. Analysing Oshodi Tapa's individuality, the paper presents the factors that shaped his role in the evolving colonial Lagos society of his time. It concludes that an underdog's capability to affect society derives from the opportunities presented by the society involved and those accessed and utilised by the individual.

Introduction

In very recent literature, studies on poverty have underscored the fact that some individuals are born poor and underprivileged and live so, as a result of phenomena that determine and sustain their status. Particularly, the various interpretations of the *emergence* and *being* of the underprivileged in society are doubted by some and considered inappropriate or even elitist with very little or insignificant impact on the lives of those such interpretations claim mastery over.¹ Additionally, studies on macro-economic phenomena are expertly advanced with detailed descriptions of models that project quantitative insights into the larger realities that affect peculiarities of socio-economic life patterns. The core feature of this method of analysis is the interpretation of peculiarity through generic means. Peculiarity here is considered as that which is experiential to the individual – that which typifies him or her on the one hand or the group or society he or she belongs on the other. However, the similarities in experiences of individuals may inspire generalisations.

Peculiarities remain substantive in the lifestyles of the underprivileged all over the world. Generic means could be mathematical models that fit the livelihood of the underprivileged into a pattern or neo-human concepts and realities that ‘seemingly’ determine the survival capacities and livelihood operations of study targets.² However, peculiarity and generic phenomena intersect at points from which members of the underprivileged take charge of the opportunities available to sail through the social classes not only to overcome poverty and the allied humiliations associated with it, but also to significantly influence the societies they live within. It is within this context that the individuality of Oshodi Tapa, at first underprivileged and insignificant member of an ethnic minority became a notable soldier in Lagos during Consul Rule.

Tapa, Social Mobility and the Changing Times

Oshodi’s childhood is shrouded in the social milieu that promoted the prosperity of the slave trade between Yorubaland and the Nupe area, particularly at a time when the attention of slave traders were diverted to the Island of Lagos in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This condition evolved when the Oyo Empire started declining, when the hostilities of the Nupe obstructed the supply of slaves from Hausaland and when Lagos started emerging as a significant market for slaves.³

His rise to fame and status was an indicator of the fluidity of the social opportunities available in pre-colonial times. A typical African began his life through birth into a particular social class and grew to learn the language, skills and vocation of his people or the profession of his father or mother.⁴ Then he became integrated into the processes that ensured his admission or initiation into certain age grades. He was born free and could access the opportunities there were to be a farmer, a wrestler, a soldier, a king if he were from the lineage of royalty, a craftsman, a trader or a merchant prince, head of a household, a wise man, a counsellor or a leader of an age grade. He could inherit livestock, and was free to get married to as many wives as he desired. For the unfortunate individual who as a result of circumstances became a slave or born into slavery, he could rise to become a king or a titled chief. Wealth was in form of land, chieftaincy titles, livestock, skill and vocation, age, wisdom, spirituality, kingship and membership of

royalty, social class, children, marital status, rare acts of courage and bravery, or early settlement.

The case of Tapa was typical of this reality that was later to be so drastically modified in the aftermath of Tapa's lifetime. Indeed it is now a historical fact that Oshodi Tapa was one of the very last members of the generations that impacted society unaided by western regulated means in an African society. This trend was to change with the relegation of the indigenous social values for the emergence and prevalence of the social trends that were discernible in Victorian England.⁵ This trend of change was also visible within indigenous royalty, with Yoruba kings abandoning certain reclusive traits which had been preserved for many years before the advent of the Europeans.⁶ This development and other 'transformatory' phenomena were to characterise all facets of life among the elite and the poor alike all through the colonial period, but which did not materialise until after the African resistance had been quelled.⁷ According to Atanda, "Jointly, and severally, the economic and social developments that took place during the colonial period made a considerable impact on Yoruba society."⁸

Oshodi himself was a typical representation of the fact of social mobility among residents of Lagos in the first half of the nineteenth century. During this period, the traditional means of social mobility included amongst others, vocation, military service, non-monetary wealth, Islam, traditional authority and land ownership. Oshodi Tapa was able to integrate within the pre-colonial period whereby the significance of traditional factors of social mobility was waning while modernity in Victorian Lagos was evolving.

In the second half of the twentieth century, new means of social mobility had begun to expose new possibilities for anyone to rise through the social ladder. The new means available included white collar jobs, Islam, western education, business, Christianity, monetary wealth, and westernised politics.⁹ These variables were sustained through to the colonial period.¹⁰ These means of social integration intersected within the period they operated and the ability of the individual to excel in one guaranteed the attraction and manipulation of the other.¹¹ Thus, the individual could utilise three or even more of these

means. Famous Lagosians who utilised these means in the second half of the nineteenth century included Mohammed Shitta-Bey,¹² and Richard Olamilege Blaize.¹³ Those who chose western religion and western education to move up the social ladder were countless and included Ajayi Crowther, Otonba Payne, Horatio Jackson, and the like. These men adequately read the times and immediately responded to its demands. They experienced the increasingly significant social change and were able to integrate in the new milieu as determined by the Victorian character of the evolving modernity and the eventual colonialism and its implementing agencies.¹⁴

Social mobility theorists have argued that it is possible to calculate the manner in which members of a family navigate the social classes over a period of time. To do so for Tapa's family is to engage how his ancestors and children navigate the social dynamics through vocation/occupation, education, and the like. It would be problematic in the sense that mobility theorists assume a socio-economically and politically stable society over time, not societies whose means of social inclusion are changed in three historical time frames – pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.. Even the family unit which would have been useful in such calculation has been modified in the same manner that society has been, since each and every member of the family belong to the society. The manner in which the individual in the family is affected by the external influences of society modifies the social mobility potential of such family. In pre-colonial Yorubaland, the possibility of a slave regaining his freedom and utilising the new found freedom was available. The *Eru* and the *Iwofa* which were samples of slavery and servitude were temporal social 'institutions' in the real sense. The sense of 'permanence' which was sometimes attributed to it was in essence determined by the independent decisions of the individual or the family that contracted its child into servitude. The fact that Oshodi Tapa's individuality rose above the challenges of his immediate environment - given his status as a slave-turned-war general – was a remarkable historical phenomenon.

The Politics of Privilege

Being a member of the royal household in Lagos of the first half of the nineteenth century demanded astuteness.¹⁵ By 1885, Governor Young

noted that the royal house was a “hotbed for intrigue.”¹⁶ This of course determined the survival or otherwise of members of royalty in the game of power.¹⁷ For someone like Oshodi Tapa, who rose from the lowest rung of the social ladder to become a feared and respected member of the Lagos elite, this was particularly interesting.¹⁸ Commanding the army of Kosoko - the daring Oba of Lagos in the first half of the nineteenth century, he typified resilience in the character of many traditional chiefs in Lagos of the period.

Given different accounts, the sobriquet – Oshodi Tapa – became more pronounced. In the first instance, ‘Oshodi’ suggests the possibility of his link with the Odi – the group of officials who administered the palace in Ijebu.¹⁹ However, this cannot be substantiated fully. In the same way, ‘Tapa’ only suggests his ethnic origin as someone who hailed from the Nupe area. The two nomenclatures were more generic than specific and shrouded the originality of his name which some accounts note as Lanjuyi²⁰ or Landuji in others.²¹ Folami’s account notes that Landuji lost his parents at the age of six during a civil war in Nupeland²² and eventually migrated from Bida, capital of the Nupe kingdom (present day Niger state) to Lagos during the reign of Kosoko’s father Oba Eshinlokun (1821 – 1829) whom he served and attracted his trust. This relationship initiated the lifelong friendship Landuji had with Kosoko, the son of Eshinlokun. Having been made a titled chief by Kosoko’s father, his role in the politics of Lagos became noticeable. His social status linked him with associates of the royal palace among who was Dana Anthonio a Portuguese. Anthonio linked him with a Portuguese merchant who aided his sojourn to the United States. He returned and worked as a commissioned agent for Messrs. G.L. Gaiser. His business acumen was rewarded and he eventually became wealthy.

Oshodi Tapa became an Ashogbon - leader of the Abagbon or war chiefs who formed the fourth class of chiefs in the hierarchy of chieftaincies in Lagos in the first half of the nineteenth century. Traditionally, his role was influential. According to P.D. Cole, an Ashogbon had captains and lieutenants under him who commanded units in the Oba’s army. Particularly,

The Ashogbon, the head Abagbon, informs the Eletu Odibo when the Oba dies. He locks up the Iga and sees that the property of the kingdom is safe.... The Ashogbon must be present when the Eletu Odibo consults the Ifa oracle about a possible successor to a demised king. The Ashogbon also announces the choice of an incumbent Oba to the people.²³

By his position, Oshodi was privy to the politics of succession which prevailed at the Oba's palace in Lagos from the 1830s; remaining a trusted aide to Kosoko and an uncompromising believer in Kosoko's leadership ambitions.²⁴ His professionalism as a soldier was instrumental to the advancement of Kosoko's political engagements. His mastery of defence tactics was noted by Consul Beecroft after the conquest of Lagos in 1851:

Had an engineer from Woolwich been on the spot, it could not have been better planned, strong stockade and ditches without, within trenches... with their sleeping mats, fire, water and provisions, an at every point an enfilading piece of ordinance... the Beach was fenced within 15 yards having 5 or 6 feet for canoes at a narrow entrance near Chief Tapa's house.²⁵

This defence system was also replicated and manned at Epe, discouraging attempts by the Lagos forces to attack Kosoko's settlement. This was remarkable, giving the environmental conditions that governed the erection of such defences on the lagoon, unlike the land structures in the hinterlands. He led two succession wars (*Ogun Ewe Koko* – leaves of the cocoyam war and *Ogun Olomiro* – salt water war) with diplomacy and discretion.²⁶ However, the third war, known in traditional circles in the then Lagos as the *Ija Afasegbojo* was fought with ignorance on the part of Kosoko and Tapa of the capacity of the Europeans to muster real-time military response. The task for Oshodi Tapa was to ensure that Kosoko regain the throne. Additionally, he ensured that support for Kosoko was retained within some sections of the indigenes of Lagos in spite of Kosoko's self-exile. This was a very difficult task in the sense that Akitoye and Dosunmu had the support of the chiefs and the European adventurers. The section of Lagos Tapa

was able to retain for Kosoko included some members of the Muslim community and some members of the warrior class. Though this was not comparable with the support for Akitoye and Dosunmu by the western political elite, Tapa's capacity to sustain war strategy always put the section of the Lagos population who supported Akitoye and Dosunmu on their toes.

However, war strategies were inadequate to handle the newly emerging politico-economic realities on the small island of Lagos.²⁷ Though the conditions for the intervention of Europeans in traditional politics were fully fermented before their arrival, what was unknown to Tapa was the gradual diminution of the role of British government in favour of free trade and the determination of the British consuls to reciprocate this in Lagos. Olukoju described this trend which had been accepted within British governing circles ten years before the bombardment of Lagos:

knowledge of the dynamics of international trade had confirmed that trade and hegemony were reciprocating elements, that political influence was used to secure and extend free trade.... In pursuance of this, foreign tariffs, monopolies and other (fiscal or physical) 'obstructions' to free trade were recommended for removal by diplomatic means which were to be reinforced, when necessary, with blockade, bombardment or expedition.²⁸

When the benefits of international trade increased, the need for an administrative system became evident and had to be reshuffled often to meet up with local peculiarities and challenges.²⁹ Also, the challenge of funding was also becoming an allied reality.³⁰

The Challenges of Tapa's Advisory Role

Reasons why Kosoko thought he could regain the throne of Lagos through war strategy after his ejection in 1851 is not clear. It is clear that his generals underplayed the power of Akitoye's army. This is understandable given the fact that Kosoko had more aggressive soldiers in his camp. His estimation of the colonial adventurers was also faulty but must have been due perhaps to his underestimation of their quest in time perspective. He also assumed that the colonialists would desire an articulate and more forceful personality who could champion their

quest for trade in the Lagos area. It is possible that Kosoko assumed he was more qualified in terms of personality profile to relate with Europeans only if he could regain the throne on time to prove that. However what was certain was the firmness with which Kosoko would handle the affairs of Lagos in relation to the foreigners. In this, Kosoko was ignorant of the determination with which the Europeans were ready to pursue their goal and their a priori stance to work only with a monarch who would accede to their requests. Had Kosoko regained the throne without hitch, he would have ended up an Ovoramwen or a Jaja. This reality was not clear to Kosoko and his men at the time. In any case, he was the first to experience such new political dispensation compared to Jaja and Ovoramwen who later suffered this fate which was only hazy in the minds of Kosoko and his men at the time. It is evident that war strategy was the strongest weapon of Kosoko.

Tapa did not envisage a cleverer alternative in the early period of the dispute. He judged wrongly that regaining the throne was all there was to control Lagos. He did not factor in the permanence of the intrusion by the foreigners. Tapa's skill as a war officer could not go beyond the battlefield. Even then, he underestimated the new dynamics of the enmity and it was the competence of reading the new dynamics of political economy that Oshodi lacked and which resulted in Kosoko's inability to regain the throne and take control of the affairs of Lagos after 1851. The war could only have been won on this basis, and not in the old traditional campaign. This was a major signal of the new social change that was only at its dawn. It was a drawn curtain over the old ways. The helplessness that was to evolve even for Akitoye could not be helped even if Akitoye and Kosoko had been the best of allies. Hence, a general of Tapa's abilities was confronted with a social milieu that called for diplomatic skills. It is still questionable if he would have been successful in the early period of disputation if he had had it. A stooge was preferable in the assessment of the new European elite.

The Beginning of New Understanding, Redirection and Concessions

After the defeat of Kosoko by the British Navy in their attempt to capture Lagos on 11 August 1853, it became inevitable for Tapa and other Kosoko's advisers to redefine their influence on Lagos politics. Oshodi began to demonstrate an understanding of the whims of the

European overlords and played their cards to shore up some logic to solidify Kosoko's position and influence.³¹ It was evident to Tapa that the basis of dispute had been altered by the foreigners from the need to reclaim the throne to that of trade. To the Europeans, it was a foregone conclusion that Akitoye (and later Dosunmu) would remain the Oba of Lagos. In the negotiations Tapa and Kosoko had with the Europeans, what was irreversible was Dosunmu's status as king. It was the reluctant acceptance of this reality that put Kosoko and his men in a position to negotiate with the European consul and his men, so much so that even Dosunmu became jittery of Kosoko's new found relationship with the Lagos Consulate.³² It is deducible from records that Tapa did not oppose the position that Kosoko should jettison his interest in the throne for the sake of peace and the advantages that the new regime would generate in terms of control of Lagos external trade with Epe, Ijebu, Abeokuta and Ikorodu. The new reality which Tapa and his group failed to grasp earlier was what their new understanding had to administer and even monopolise to their advantage after 1853. It should be noted that the decision by Kosoko's men to abstain from any attempt to regain possession of Lagos, more than any other conditions gave Campbell and other members of the Consulate great relief and reinforced their subsequent decisions to stick to the provisions of the treaty they signed with Kosoko in Epe. During the negotiations, Tapa demonstrated strong negotiation skills in his meetings with Campbell, Lieutenant Norman Bedingfeld, Dr. E. G. Irving and other merchants and representatives from Lagos. To Tapa, it was an opportunity to make the best use of the available alternative.

Oshodi's participation in Lagos politics and his knowledge of the city's social milieu was instructive of the social change that was taking shape even before the conquest of Lagos in 1851. Additionally, the new non indigenous actors were settling at places they considered strategic for their livelihood in the new environment. Among these were the Yoruba migrants from Brazil who settled at Popo Aguda and whose settlement was aided by their acceptance by the local community. Such acceptance was speculated to have been partly initiated by the ruling classes, an initiative in which Oshodi Tapa played a role.³³ Oshodi Tapa himself personified the organic nature of the integration process in Lagos at the time. According to Siyan Oyeweso, "The integration of Oshodi Tapa,

his family and supporters into the Lagos traditional structure is a good example of organic citizenship in Lagos history.”³⁴.

Conclusion

Tapa was indeed one of the most famous army generals in the history of South-Western Nigeria. That fame, well deserved, is arguably less significant to the advantage of the social intersection he understood so remarkably that he balanced his peculiarity with the generics of the then fast-evolving new Lagos society – a historical precedence which inspired later day livelihood and career strategies for those unborn when he died. Oshodi Tapa not only passed for a military strategist and diplomatist but also the major factor that promoted and sustained Kosoko’s cause. This has been noted by later writers as one of the early forms of Nigerian Nationalism.³⁵ He died in 1868, four years before the death of Kosoko in 1872.³⁶ A monument was built in front of his compound in Epetedo section of the old Lagos Island in his memory. His compound in this area is known as Iga Oshodi, which was part of the large portion of land granted Oshodi Tapa by Governor J. H. Glover in the Epetedo area.³⁷ His descendants have since lived there and allotted the Oshodi Tapa Chieftancy which survives to this day.³⁸

Notes

1. Such interpretations include the various theories of poverty e.g. Social Darwinism or the Culture, Structural, Vicious Cycle, Individual Attributes, or Natural Circumstances theories. However, some have doubted the integrity of such theories in the interpretation of the immediate realities that confront the less privileged. Consider the argument of Ted Bradshaw (2006) “Theories of Poverty and Anti-Poverty Programs in Community Development”, Rural Poverty Research Centre Working Paper, No. 06-05, Rural Poverty Research Centre, University of Missouri and Oregon State University, Available at <http://www.rprconline.org/> In the introduction to his paper, Bradshaw stated: “The thesis of this paper is that community anti-poverty programs are designed, selected, and implemented in response to different theories about the cause of poverty that “justify the community development interventions. The definition of poverty and theories that explain it

are deeply rooted in strongly held research traditions and political values, reinforced by encompassing social, political and economic institutions that have a stake in the issue. Thus, a purely objective explanation of poverty is displaced by a proliferation of socially defined issues and concerns from both liberal and conservative perspectives.”

2. Consider this generic feature in the interpretations of Jehan Arulpragasam and Patrick Conway (2003) “Partial Equilibrium Multimarket Analysis”, in Francois Bourguignon and Luiz A. Pereira da Silva eds., *The Impact of Economic Policies on Poverty and Income Distribution: Evaluation Techniques and Tools*, Washington and New York: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 261 – 276 and the following: Shantanyanan Devarajan and Delfin S. Go, (2003) “The 123PRSP Model”, Jeffrey Round (2003), “Social Accounting Matrices and SAM-Based Multiplier Analysis”, and Hans Lofgren, Sherman Robinson and Moataz El-Said, “Poverty and Inequality Analysis in a General Equilibrium Framework: The Representative Household Approach” in Francois Bourguignon and Luiz A. Pereira da Silva eds., *The Impact of Economic Policies on Poverty and Income Distribution... 277 – 299, 301- 324 and 325 – 337* respectively.
3. Consider Robin Law (1983) “Trade and Politics behind the Slave Coast: The Lagoon Traffic and the Rise of Lagos, 1500-1800,” *The Journal of African History* Vol. 24, (3):321-248, U.K: Cambridge University Press; Akin Mabogunje and J. D. Omer Cooper (1971), *Owu in Yoruba History*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 47 – 49.
4. Tunde Decker, (2010) “Social Welfare Strategies in Colonial Lagos” in *The African Nebula*, Journal of the College of Humanities and Culture, Osun State University. Available at <http://www.nobleworl.biz/africannebula/africannebula.html>
5. See Michael Echeuro (1977), *Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life*, London: Macmillan.
6. See the argument of O. B. Olaoba, (2002) “Yoruba Kings in Concert: The Tradition of Seclusion and Its Violation” in G.O. Oguntomisin and S. Ademola Ajayi eds., *Readings in Nigerian History and Culture*, Ibadan: HOPE Publications, 86 – 93.
7. A. Adu Boahen (1987), *African Perspectives to Colonialism*, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 44 – 57.

8. J. A. Atanda (1980), *An Introduction to Yoruba History*, Ibadan: University Press, 61.
9. This was so given the consistent political crises that engulfed traditional authority and the challenge it faced with the increasing incursion of British authority. Consider the palace intrigues in A. B. Aderibigbe (1975), "Early History of Lagos to About 1850" in A. B. Aderibigbe, *Lagos, The Development of an African City*, Nigeria: Longman, 1975, 16 –18.
10. CO, 96/164(Conf.), Young to Derby, 14, March, 1885, cited in Patrick Cole (1975), *Modern and Traditional Elite in the Politics of Lagos*, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, p. 30.
11. This continued well into the second decade of the twentieth century when the crisis within the Ijora chieftaincy was noted in the Lagos Weekly Record as filled with the traditional character of Lagos royal intrigues:

Through to its traditions, Lagos is about to prove itself once more as the hotbed of political intrigues which sooner or later may throw the community into a state of further convulsion..... See "The Ijora Chieftaincy" in *The Lagos Weekly Record*, (1921), Lagos: November 12, 5 – 6.
12. Along with Kosoko, Tapa faced difficult moments concerning the deposition of Kosoko and the intrigues surrounding Kosoko's challenged authority in Lagos. See R. S. Smith (1978), *The Lagos Consulate, 1851 – 1861*, London: Macmillan Press, 40.
13. See Tunde Oduwobi (2004), *Ijebu under Colonial Rule, 1892– 1960: An Administrative and Political Analysis*, Lagos: First Academic Publishers, 18.
14. Siyan Oyeweso (1996), *Journey from Epe: Biography of Chief S. L. Edu*. Lagos: West African Book Publishers, 5.
15. Takiu Folami (1982), *A History of Lagos, Nigeria: The Shaping of an African City*, New York: Exposition Press, 126.
16. Ibid.
17. Siyan Oyeweso (2001), *Across Three Centuries: The Life and Times of Mohammed Shitta Bey 1824 – 1895*, Lagos: Free Enterprise Publishers, 5-6.

18. The point here is that individuals who lived in Lagos in the colonial period utilised opportunities provided by one or two or more means to integrate and to create a status for themselves. One of the most popular methods was western education, politics, religion and business. Many like the individuals mentioned utilised such means. Consider the social environment that nurtured the early childhood experiences of such individuals in the first and second decades of the twentieth century in Nnamdi Azikiwe (1970), *My Odyssey An Autobiography*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 20 – 23.
19. Saburi Biobaku (1992), *When We Were Young*, Ibadan: University Press, 2- 7.
20. Many individuals demonstrated attempts to have access to any one or two of these. The most popular of these variables in colonial Lagos was western education. The expressed aspirations of teenagers and mothers who made efforts to send their children to school in spite of intense financial challenges indicated that education was considered significant in moving up the social ladder.
21. Some individuals were however disappointed in the fact that some of the means could be frustrating as they continued to face financial challenges and could not see evidence of comfort in social status resulting from their choice of these means.
22. Even youngsters demonstrated knowledge of this evolving reality – aware that their ability to access one would result in access to the other.
23. P. D. Cole, (1975) “Lagos Society in the Nineteenth Century”, in A. B. Aderibigbe, *Lagos, The Development of an African City*, Nigeria: Longman, 35 – 36.
24. Collaboration between the Yoruba and the Nupe (Tapa) in war campaigns is legendary. The Nupe are recurrent decimals in the memories of the reigns of famous Yoruba kings like Oranmiyan, Sangi and Ajuan (Ajaka) and hence not new in the intrigues of successions and wars in palaces of the Yoruba. See Ade Obayemi, “States and Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence Area” in Obaro Ikime (1980) ed., *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann for Historical Society of Nigeria, 157.
25. F084/886, Beecroft to Granville, 3rd Jan, 1852. See Also J F A Ajayi and Robert Smith (1971), *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*, Ibadan: University Press, 148 – 149.

26. Oshodi allowed Akitoye to escape through the Lagoon after Akitoye's defeat by Kosoko in 1845. See R. S. Smith (1978), *The Lagos Consulate...* 16.
27. *Ibid.* 16.
28. Ayodeji Olukoju, "The Politics of Free Trade between Lagos and the Hinterlands 1861 – 1907" in Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri and Jide Osuntokun, (1987), (eds.), *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, Lagos: Lantern Books, 83 – 84.
29. Margaret Peil (1991), *Lagos: The City is Its People*, London: Bellhaven Press, 8.
30. See A. A. Lawal, "Trade and Finance of the Lagos Colony 1861 – 1906", in Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri and Jide Osuntokun (1987) (eds.), *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, Lagos: Lantern Books, 64 – 82.
31. R. S. Smith (1978), *The Lagos Consulate...*46.
32. See the trend of negotiations and its effects on Dosunmu in *Ibid*, 62 - 65.
33. *Ibid.*, 39.
34. Siyan Oyeweso (2006) 'The Undertakers, The Python's Eye and the Footsteps of the Ant: The Historian's Burden', Lagos State University: 22nd Inaugural Lecture, 30.
35. James Coleman (1986), *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, Bening: Broburg and Whistrom, 189.
36. Hakeem Danmole, (2007) *Lagos: Its Metamorphosis From A Settlement to A Mega City*, Lagos: Lagos State University, Fourteenth Convocation Lecture.
37. *Ibid.*, 6 – 7.
38. Takiu Folami, *A History of Lagos...*127.