

The Cameroon-Nigeria Border (contd.)

2. Cross River to the Sea.

The cross River Akwayaffe (sea) section was the most difficult and protracted of all Cameroon's international boundaries to negotiate.

The history of the German annexation of the Cameroon coast in July 1884 has been told in a large number of books, but some events, which influenced the determination of the boundary between the German and British « spheres of interest » on the Gulf of Guinea need to be recalled in order to understand how the boundary agreements were arrived at or changed subsequently.

German commercial interests threatened

Writing anonymously in the Cameroon Government Gazette¹ on the 25th anniversary of this event, a writer showed that the annexation of Cameroon by Germany was done to safeguard the vital interests of German commerce :

« In Kamerun and south of Biafra Bay and the Gulf of Guinea, the German firms C. Woermann and Jantzen and Thor-mählen were active, the first from 1859 the second from 1874. Against the two German firms in Kamerun were five English firms. Rapid growth of German commerce is shown by the table of shipping traffic in Cameroon from the year 1879 to 1883.

Incoming Ships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>English</i>
1879	23	5	18
1880	17	6	11

1881	25	7	
1882	31	13	18
1883	35	15	18
			19
<i>Outgoing Ships</i>			
1879	22	5	
1880	19	7	17
1881	24	7	12
1882	28	13	17
1883	31	13	15
			18

Alarm caused to German traders by the Anglo-French Agreement signed in Paris on 28 June 1882 whereby their spheres of interest in « in West Africa north of Sierra Leone » were defined. The German City States feared they might be excluded from the West African trade ». In April 1883 the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce moved Bismark to protect their interests. In particular, they demanded (1) the founding of a Colony in Biafra Bay (2) to establish a floating station in Fernando Po, and (3) to protect German trading interests in West Africa with warships.

British actions elsewhere in Africa further alarmed the Germans. Early in 1884, England established a veiled protectorate over Egypt, and Bismark, the German Chancellor, protested that by discriminatory application of the Suez Canal Sanitary Regulations, England was obstructing the trade of other Powers. Nearer home, the Anglo-Portuguese Congo Agreement of 26 February 1884 more or less sought to give these two Powers a monopoly of the Congo trade. This treaty met with bitter antagonism of the French and Germans. Bismark² declared that « the Monroe Doctrine, that monstrosity in International Law, is being applied in favour of England to the Coast of Africa ».

C. Woermann³, the brain behind the subsequent German annexation of Cameroon, declared in a speech that « The

English annexation of Cameroon would leave trade in the hands of the English ; France, Portugal and Spain are now making life sour for German firms in their territories ».

It was in these circumstances that the German Government carefully laid its plans for its subsequent action on the Cameroon coast in July 1884.

German annexation angers the British

Following the Treaty of 12 July 1884 between the « Kings » of Akwa and Bell Town in Douala and the Germans, Gustav Nachtigal, Imperial German Commissioner, solemnly raised the German flag over Douala on 14th July 1884 and proclaimed the German Protectorate of Kamerun extending from Rio del Rey to Gabon.⁴ When the British Consul Hewett heard what was going on in Cameroon, he rushed to Victoria (FO⁵) and on 19th July 1884 proclaimed Victoria, Ambas Bay, a British Settlement⁶. The same day he hurried to Douala where he protested to King Bell and Nachtigal against the German annexation of Cameroon.

Meanwhile Schmidt, Schulze (German Consul in Gabon) and Edouard Woermann had travelled to Bimbia where on July 11th 1884 a treaty had been signed by H. Jürs, Woermann Agent and King William (Bile). This treaty was subsequently ratified by Nachtigal who raised the Imperial German flag over the place. Hence when the English warship the « Opal » arrived at Bimbia on 19th July, it was already *too late* for England there. In fact the Germans had been active in Bimbia for some time and in 1961 this writer saw some ruined foundations of the former German « factory » in Bimbia. The German traders were even alleged to have « bought » the nearby « Nichol » Island in Bimbia Bay.

In any case, the German action on the Cameroon coast, in anticipation of British annexation of Cameroon scheduled for the summer of 1884, greatly angered the British, more so as the German Chargé d'Affaires in London, Count Vitzthun, comple-

tely hoodwinked the British Foreign Office as to the real intentions of Nachtigal's mission to West Africa⁷. British protests, remonstrances and regrets, which were very vigorous and brisk, were expressed by Consular authorities, British traders on the coast, the Baptist Missionary Society, the African Association (in England), and the Bristol, Liverpool and London Chambers of Commerce. *The Times*⁸, in an editorial, criticised « sharp practice on the part of Germany to which the history of civilized countries offer few parallels ». It alleged that Germany had broken an understanding with England and had annexed territories in north-east New Guinea. It concluded: « and we cannot but regret that Prince Bismark should have thought it worthwhile to strain the relations between the two countries for a gain so trifling as the acquisition of the flat, swampy and unhealthy Cameroons—especially as we retain, in the coast of Amba Bay and the neighbouring mountain, almost the only part of that region that can be inhabited by Europeans »!

For his part, Sir Villiers Lister, Under-Secretary at the British Foreign Office, wrote in August 1884:

« It was very treacherous of the Germans to ask for introductions and assistance when going on this anti-English raid ». Earl Granville, the British Foreign Secretary, in a letter to the British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Edward Malet⁹ went even further:

« It is evident that had Her Majesty's Government supposed that Dr. Nachtigal was authorised to annex territories in which they took a special interest, and over which they had decided to proclaim the Queen's Protectorate, they would have exchanged explanations with the German Government, which must have prevented the present state of things ».

All this acrimonious correspondence goes to show that the eventual demarcation between the German and British « spheres of interest » was certainly not going to be easy.

Nachtigal Rebuffs White

Already, Vice-Consul White¹⁰ (from Calabar) had attempted to negotiate a boundary agreement with Nachtigal but had

been rebuffed by the latter who preferred that the matter be resolved by the Home Governments. As far as the Germans were concerned, whatever the English thought, the whole of the territory west of Amba Bay, was open territory. In fact, the German sights were set much higher. *The Times*¹¹ wrote:

"Professor Schweinfurth, the well-known African traveller, in speaking to his friends about the acquisitions on the West African Coast is said to have expressed his regret that England has anticipated Germany in annexing the mouths of the Niger. He is of opinion that the territory round the mouths of the largest river in West Africa is the most important and promising on the whole coast, and that Germany ought not to have let it escape her—Only the right bank of the river, however, seems as yet to have passed into the hands of England and the left bank between the river and the Cameroon Mountain might, perhaps, still by swift action be got for Germany".

This was launched

The Scramble for Treaties

North and west of the British Settlement of Amba Bay, in the region of Fako (Cameroon) Mountain, and westwards towards Calabar (Nigeria). It is a fascinating story of heavy bribes with rum, brandy, demi-John whisky, schnapps, tobacco, cloth and night meetings. Both sides played it with no holds barred. The British Vice-Consul, Harold A. White, aided by two Poles, Stefan Szolc Rogozinski¹² (of Bota, great explorer of the Fako Mountain, after whom a plaque has been named in the Victoria Botanical Gardens) — appointed "Assistant Civil Commissioner" by Vice-Consul White and Leopold Janikowsky, and Pa Joseph Wilson of Victoria, signed many preliminary temporary treaties of dubious value with several villages in the region of Amba Bay and Fako Mountain. On the German side, Dr. Buchner, Dr. Nachtigal and Hugo Zöller, the correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, aided by the agents of the German Hanseatic firms of Woermann and Jantzen & Thormahlen, and two Swedish journalists, Knutson and Valdau¹³, signed treaties with the chiefs of some

Anglo-Cameroon Treaties witnessed among others by Harold White, Rogozinski, Janikowski, Joseph Wilson, Sam Steane, J. Haddison, G. Johnson and Rev. P. Beckley, all of Victoria.

Village	Date
Likumbe	January 10, 1885
Bwea (Buea)	January 11
Soppo-Bonganga	January 12 & 13 1885
Membea (Bokwango)	January 23
Morico	January 25
Mwea (Muea)	January 25
Momange (at Lisoka)	January 25
Isongo	February 7 1885.

..Source : P.R.O. London : F.O.93/6/12

Rogozinski's Treaties with villages in the Cameroon (Fako) Mountain District, signed for the most part in Victoria Court Hall.

Village	Date
Soppo Makongo	January 12, 1885
Mapanja	January 20
Buassa	January 22
Lisoko Momangi	January 25
Monko	January 25
Mivea	February 8, 1885
Mangu	February 10
Batoki Busumba	February 10
Batoki Bewenge	February 10
Kia	

Bakweri villages and in the region of the Rio dey Rey. Before he sailed for home in April 1885, Nachtigal had signed treaties in Bakweriland, the southern slopes of Mount Fako and placed the Mungo villages up to Mpundu under the German flag¹⁴. For their part, the British claim¹⁵ to have signed treaties with chiefs between Bota and Rio del Rey from 24th August to 1st September 1884. In fact, an examination of the archives shows that between the west Coast of Mt. Fako and Calabar, no British treaty of any kind ever existed, certainly not in the area of the Rio del Rey. The English treaty of protection was signed with the Calabar Chiefs in August or September 1884¹⁶, after the German Protectorate of Cameroon had been proclaimed. The main body of British Treaties with the Bakweri Chiefs was signed early in 1885, sometimes in the course of mass signatures arranged in the Victoria Court of Equity by Rogozinski, as the following table¹⁷ shows :

Preliminary Treaties signed with the Coastal Villages by Capt. Wearson of the Forward.

Village :	Date :
Batoki	August 28, 1884
Bakingi (li)	August 29
Rogozinski's treaty with Bota	August 28
Ndgondge	August 29
Isobe	August 29
Betika Ngang	August 31
Betika Madali	August 31
Mobange	September 1st, 1884
Iandgi Kolleh	Sep:ember 1st
Bibundi	September 1st
Bamuso	September 6, 1884
Eyenda	September 7

Source : P.R.O. London : F.O. 93/6/10

Bondjongo	February 10
Dibanda	February 10
Bindi	February 10
Bessro	February 10
Badfoke	February 10
Bongolu	February 10
Bossumbo	February 10
Buena Bundjoba	February 10
Buena bo Nangia	February 10
Midje	February 10
Makole	February 11
Bindi	February 11
Moloa	February 11
Ilundu	February 11
Buana	February 13
Bokedi	February 14
Mevea	February 15

Source : P.R.O. London : F.O. 93/6/14.

To make matters worse, several villages signed treaties with both the British and the Germans¹⁸.

The Victoria settlement

As for Victoria (Fo) itself, the British claim to it was based on its acquisition by the English Baptist Missionaries: « In 1858, the Baptist Mission having been expelled from the Island of Fernando Po (then Spanish Territory) they emigrated to Victoria (Ambas Bay) and there established their Mission Station.

« Having about 800 followers, land was purchased from the King (King William of Bimbia) for these people, and about £ 2000 was paid for this territory, known as Ambas Bay. The boundary being from Man of War Bay East, to Kokki on the west ».¹⁹

What was the real extent of the British purchase? German investigations and subsequent court cases between the Victoria ruling family and the Basel Mission showed that the land sold to the missionaries was very limited to the actual front beach in Victoria. For whatever Bimbia's pretensions to sovereignty over the whole of Ambas Bay and the west coast of Fako Division up to Rio del Rey, the Wovea settlements of Bota Island, Bota mainland village and other West Coast villages have always been independent communities from time immemorial.²⁰ The western limit of the land sold by King Bile (William) of Bimbia did not therefore extend beyond the Limbe River estuary in Victoria, even to what became the site of Governor Soden's (now Prefect's) residence in Victoria.

From the hotch-potch pattern of treaties signed west and north-west of Victoria, it was not possible to draw a clear line of demarcation between English and German spheres of influence. Despite the latter denial and repudiation by Her Majesty's Government, the employment of Rogozinski to sign treaties on behalf of Great Britain, was an attempt to hem in and limit the extension of the German Protectorate of Cameroon. As it is, the activities of the colonial agents of both Powers were exacerbating relations and inflaming home opinion. In particular, Rogozinski²¹, animated by centuries old Polish resentment of Prussian and Brandenburg annexation of what, with Stalin's decision after World War II, have reverted to Poland's Western Provinces (Poznan, Szczecin, etc.), went into the treaty collecting business with fanatical zeal, thwarting German ambitions and greatly infuriating the local German colonial authorities.

Unfriendly Act — says Bismark

In the course of a conversation with Sir E. Malet (the British Ambassador in Berlin), Prince Bismark (the German Chancellor) stated that if it were true that the British were gradually surrounding the Cameroons by further annexations, *he should regard it as a very unfriendly act*. His Excellency observed that the Colonial possessions of Great Britain were so enormous

that no German settlement could ever do them harm... Earl Granville (British Foreign Secretary) replied denying rumours of annexations around the Cameroons and reiterated that the « policy of his Government was to accept loyally the position of the Germans on the Cameroons (Wouri) River »...

In a note to Sir E. Malet dated 20th January 1885, Earl Granville stated that Her Majesty's Government « have no intention and no desire to hamper or interfere with the legitimate growth and extension of the German acquisitions in the Cameroons and that should it be found that the boundaries of the settlements require any local adjustment, they will be ready to approach the question in the most friendly spirit ».²²

In a further clarification of the above, in a Note of 21 February 1885 to Count Münster (German Ambassador), Earl Granville added: the readiness of Her Majesty's Government to settle any question of frontier in the Cameroons by means of a local commission which is alluded in the last paragraph of Prince Bismark's note, *was only intended to apply to the boundaries between Bimbia and Amba Bay Settlement, and could not be extended to the west*, where there can be no question as to the frontiers ».²²

Bismark exploits Bonaberi incident demands territory west of Amba Bay

It has already been stated that the British were very angry with the Germans for annexing Cameroon. British warships continued to visit Cameroon territorial waters, refusing to salute the German flag. Hewett, after July 14 1884, convoked and presided over the Court of Equity of Douala as if Nachtigal had never raised the German flag over the place. Resident British traders continued to incite some quarters in Douala, notably Bonaberi, to resist German rule. Things came to a head in December 1884 when certain hot heads in Bonaberi and Bonaprisso rebelled against German rule and killed a German trader. This called for Admiral Knorr's bombardment of Bonaberi on

20, 21 and 22 December 1884. Resident traders hid the ring-leaders who were being looked for by German troops. Sections of the German press seized on these incidents to whip up anti-British feelings in Germany. In a speech in the Reichstag on 10 January 1885, Bismark protested sharply against the British policy in West Africa. Granville disavowed Rogozinski and recalled Vice-Consul White, both well-known for their treaty signing activities.

On 5 February 1885 Bismark publicly charged British traders and missionaries with complicity in the December rebellion in Douala. He called for the recall of Vice-Consul Buchanan in Douala and Hewett, and that England should consider giving the territory west of the Amba Bay to the Rio del Rey to Germany. The British Government replied denying complicity; it demanded compensation for British property damaged during the German suppression of the revolt. Bismark declared that this British note was « unfriendly ». His manœuvre weakened the international position of England and induced her to come to terms with Germany in Cameroon.²³

Zululand and Mahim Beach — German flies in British ointment

At about this same time, the British Government got news that a certain German agent was moving about in Zululand signing treaties with the chiefs. Considerable uneasiness was felt in England lest a German colony be established on the Natal Coast just as Karl Peters had succeeded in planting the German flag on the Tanganyika coast. But when Whitehall protested to Berlin, the Wilhelmstrasse disclaimed any knowledge of any such German agent in Zululand.

Nearer home, the Mahim Beach Question was also exercising the minds of Her Majesty's Government. For on 25th January 1885, Herr G.L. Gaiser, a Hamburg trader in Lagos, purchased from the Chief of the Mahim, in Benin country, a tract of land known as the Mahim Beach. A few months later, Dr. Nachtigal, the Imperial German Consul General and Commis-

sioner for the West Coast of Africa, ratified the treaty and took Mahim Beach under German protection. The British Government, alarmed at the proximity of the German settlement to Lagos, protested that the Mahim Beach lay within the Lagos Territories.²⁴

Negotiations open in London

Boundary negotiations between England and Germany began in London in February 1885, even before the end of the Berlin Conference where Bismark, backed by France, staked the German claims to Cameroon. Count Bismark, the German Chancellor's son, was sent to London to handle the delicate negotiations at high level. After initial deadlock and display of bad temper the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville, informed Count Bismark in March 1885 that he was « ready to make liberal concessions in Cameroon so as to prove the goodwill of England » and to leave to Germany « a free hand there and to treat you fairly.²⁵ Count Bismark asked H.M. Government to surrender the claims based on Rogozinski's spurious six months « temporary » treaties. H.M. Government on 29th March 1885 then suggested a boundary line to be made along the right bank of the Rio del Rey to its source and to extend from there to the Cross River Rapids ».²⁶

The choice of the two terminal points was significant. The Rio del Rey²⁷ was an important trading water-way well-known from the time of the Portuguese traders. The Cross River « Rapids » is a rocky stretch of water extending from some 0.5 km north of the Mfum Bridge on the Ikom-Mamfe road to the bend of the Mfum (Cross River) just beyond Ajasso village, and called *Ocham Mfum* by the Ejagham of Ekok (Nsakpé). It is believed by these villagers to be the meeting place of spirits of dead important chiefs not only of the Ijagham living along the Mfum Aiya (Cross River), but even as far south as Calabar at the mouth of the Cross River. In 1842, the British Consul Beecroft had explored this river on board the « Ethiopie » up to the « Rapids » which was noted to be an impediment to navigation

by steamers in the dry season. This terminal point was therefore of great commercial importance, as the lower part of the Cross River was, according to the boundary proposals, to run in British territory (Nigeria).

H.M. Government furthermore proposed that Germany should not establish any protectorate west of the proposed boundary line ; and although she herself undertook not to establish any protectorate east of the boundary line, she would not give up the English settlement of Victoria. Dr. Friedrich Richard Krauel, afterwards Director of the Colonial Section of the German Foreign Office, however, made it clear that Germany regarded the English Settlement of Victoria as a « sentinel standing over the German Protectorate ».²⁸ He therefore made a bargain that the English surrender Victoria in exchange for German surrender of claims at St. Lucia in South Africa. Germany also offered not to press her treaty rights in Mahim Beach provided Herr Gaiser was compensated for the loss of the land he had purchased and agreement was reached over Victoria and Ambas Bay.²⁸

These proposals were formally embodied in the Agreement²⁹ which was reached between both Powers by an exchange of letters dated 29th April 1885 and 7 May 1885. The boundary line was described as:

« On the coast the right River bank of the Rio del Rey entering the sea between 8°42' and 8°46' longitude East of Greenwich : in the interior, a line following the right bank of the Rio del Rey from the said mouth to its source, thence striking direct to the left river bank of the Old Calabar or Cross River and terminating after crossing that river, at the point about 9°8, of longitude east of Greenwich marked "Rapids" on the English Admiralty Chart ».

Other points of Agreement were: Germany would not establish a Colony in Natal and England would surrender Victoria to Germany, provided agreement was reached between the German Government and the English Baptist Missionaries.

The German Government did not ratify Nachtigal's treaty with the Mahim Chief, but Herr Gaiser's claim was recognised and the British Government paid him compensation.³⁰

After long and often acrimonious negotiations in Switzerland and Hamburg, the British Baptist Settlement at Victoria was bought out in 1887 by the German Basel Mission for £ 1750, the money being provided by C. Woermann. In the same year, the British claim to Amba Bay was withdrawn and the house of Sir Claude MacDonald, the British Consul General in Calabar, on Mondoleh Island, was sold to Jesco von Puttkammer, the famous German Governor of Cameroon.

Germans discover Rio del Rey not a river

In the Agreement of 1885 the « Rio del Rey » which marked the boundary on the sea-ward side was referred to as a river. Although this region, known to the Efiks of Calabar as « Efut » (the Balondo area of Ndian Division) was already well known to Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries³¹ in Calabar, and the famous British explorer and Consul Sir Harry H. Johnson³² who had explored the Rio del Rey area in 1886, it was the Germans who first correctly mapped this area, and discovered that the Rio del Rey was no river at all, but a sea-way.

The German warship *Habicht* surveyed and mapped the area between Old Calabar (Cross) River and the Cameroon Mountain in January 1889. According to the Report published at the end of this survey by Capt. Graf Bernstorff:³³

« The English maps showed the Akwayaffe ending in the Old Calabar River, whereas in fact the Akwayaffe enters direct into the sea.

Rio del Rey called by the natives Maschantu cannot be taken as a river, but as a sea-way. The Akwayaffe is the only big river in this area which opens into the sea - connected by channels to the Rio del Rey to the east.

Except for a few places which are fishing villages the whole area is mangrove land and unsuitable for habitation. The land

to the north and east of the boundary is high and also uninhabited. Staple crops grown are oil palm, cotton and banana (plantain) which constitute the staple diet.

The Ndian River of the map prepared by the English Consul Johnson is « unknown to the natives of Rio del Rey who instead call it the Oja. »

Commander Pullen³⁴ for H.M. Government confirmed the German findings. As a result of this discovery, the British tried to obtain the acceptance of the Ndian River, while on the German side efforts were made to secure the acceptance of the Akwayaffe, as the substitute for the non-existent Rio del Rey.³⁵ A compromise was therefore reached to retain the *status quo*, but substituting the word « creek » for river. Article 4 of the Anglo-German Agreement, Berlin, of 1st July 1890, accordingly stated that :

« In West Africa :

2. It having been proved to the satisfaction of the two Powers that no river exists on the Gulf of Guinea corresponding with that marked on the maps as the Rio Del Rey, to which reference was made in the Agreement of 1885, a provisional line of demarcation is adopted between the German sphere in the Cameroons and the adjoining British sphere which, starting from the head of the Rio del Rey Creek, goes direct to the point, about 9° 8' of East longitude marked "Rapids" in British Admiralty chart ».³⁶

Friction in Rio del Rey: Bakassi peninsula neutralised

By the above agreement the upper end of the Rio del Rey was still vaguely defined. Moreover, this broad expanse of waterway with its numerous creeks linking it with the swampy and uninhabited Bakasy Peninsula, afforded ample opportunities for smuggling from and to Calabar, through the Rio del Rey station where a trading post had been established by the Swedish firm of Valdau, much to the annoyance of the British Colonial Authorities in Nigeria. Accordingly, Sir Claude MacDonald³⁵, H.M. Consul-General and Commissioner of the Oil

Rivers Protectorate, went over to Berlin for delicate boundary negotiations with Dr. Kayser, Chief of the Colonial Department of the Imperial German Foreign Office, and Herr von Schuckmann, lately acting Governor of Kamerun, on March 21, 22 and 23 and 6 April 1893. In the negotiations, the British contented that the 1890 Treaty gave her the right bank or shore of the Rio del Rey waterway.

Baron von Marschall³⁷ had noted that the « Rio del Rey is a watercourse of considerable volume and great length ». It was also 1 1/2 miles wide at its broadest, *the natives being the Isangilli*, "few miserable fisherfolk", mainly agriculturists,³⁵ Germany, therefore insisted that from 1885, the waterway, whether river or creek, belonged to her and that the 1890 Agreement had changed nothing in this regard and that she would not recede from this contention. To which the British secretly agreed :

"There is no doubt that under the Agreement of 1885-86 both banks of the river were given to Germany, and that from that time to 1890 she held this waterway³⁸. H.M. Government had instructed Sir Claude MacDonal to seek modification of the terminal points at the upper end of the Rio del Rey and the Cross River "Rapids", though it was realised that the Germans would not be in the mood to give much concessions.³⁵

The resulting Agreement³⁹ signed on 14th April 1893 defined the Rio del Rey boundary with greater clarity and a pointer of things to come — neutralised the Bakassy peninsula (now Idabato District of Cameroon) :

1. *That the point, named in Section 2 Article IV of the Anglo-German Agreement of 1 July 1890 as the head or upper end of the Rio del Rey Creek shall be the point at the north-west end of the Island lying to the west of Oron where the two waterways, named Uriifian and Ikankan on the German Admiralty Chart of 1889/90 meet.*
2. *From this upper end of the Rio del Rey to the sea, that is to say to the promontory marked West Huk on the abo-*

ve mentioned chart, the right bank of the Rio del Rey waterway shall be the boundary between the Oil Rivers Protectorate and the Colony of the Cameroons.

3. *The German Colonial Administration engages not to allow any trade settlements to exist or be erected on the right bank of the Rio del Rey Creek or waterway. In like manner the Administration of the Oil Rivers Protectorate engages not to allow any trade settlements to exist or be erected on the western bank of the Bakassay Peninsula from the first Creek below Archibong village to the sea and eastwards from this bank to the Rio del Rey waterway.*

This agreement left untouched the definition of the terminal point on the Cross River desired by H.M. Government ; this was taken up later by the two Governors.

Preliminary Boundary Survey 1895.

By Article 6 of the Agreement of 1 July 1890, it was stated that « all lines of demarcation shall be subject to rectification by agreement between the two Powers in accordance with local requirements ». To get an idea of the boundary region, First Lt. von Besser⁴⁰, for the German side, made a preliminary travel in these districts in May and June 1895. A mixed English-German Border Commission led by Capt. C.F. close and First Lt von Besser astronomically determined the position of the Cross River "Rapids" in November 1895 and surveyed the whole border area between the "Rapids" and the Rio del Rey between 4th October and 19 November 1895⁴¹. Among other things, von Besser states that the famous "Rapids" ending beyond Ajasso village measure 1200 metres long and that "All the land near Akpakorum belongs to the Ododop or Erorup natives from the beach to Ekonaku inclusive."

In a little known Report buried in the archives and never published, the commission proposed a boundary taking account of the natural features on the ground.

« JOINT REPORT BY THE SURVEY COMMISSIONERS
ON THE PROPOSED ANGLO-GERMAN BOUNDARY
BETWEEN THE NIGER COAST PROTECTORATE AND
THE COLONY OF KAMERUN ».

1. We found no difficulty in identifying the ends of the boundary line.
2. We agree as to the relative positions of the various villages and geographical features in the neighbourhood of the boundary, as shown in the attached photograph of our reconnaissance, which is subject to small alterations.
3. It is to be noted that the existing trade of every village through which we passed, is with Old Calabar, either down the Cross River, through Oban, or through Ekonaku :—Also that all the villages to the North of Okuri Peak shown on the attached photograph, are of the *Eko*i race which extends from the Calabar River:—Also that the so-called Rapids on the Cross River are no bar to navigation in the rainy season, even for fairly large steamships:—From these three facts it will appear that there is no natural boundary possible between the terminal points agreed upon.
4. *We propose that the boundary should run as follows*

From the South end of the Rapids where the Cross River is most narrow, along the left bank of the Cross River, the mouth of the Nsakupè stream where it enters the Cross River:

Thence to a point 3 kilometres (1.86 English miles) west of Ekang:

Thence to a point 3 kilometres West of Awum:

Thence to a point 3 kilometres West of Ndebiji:

Thence to a point on the Okuri-Abong road about 4 kilometres North of Abong, where the Iku stream crosses the road:

Thence to the summit of a precipitous peak 6 kilometres North-West of Ekong:

Thence to a point 2 kilometres North of Ekong and thence to the summit of Mount Hewett, to include Ekong on the English side:

Thence along a South-West spur of Mount Hewett;

Thence parallel to the Ekong-Ekonaku road at a distance of 3 kilometres from it, as far as a point 3 kilometres South-East of Abasi-Etim:

Thence to a point 2 kilometres East of Ekanem Essien's; And thence to the North West corner of the island West of Oron at the junction of the Ikankan and Urifian creeks.

(Signed) C. F. Close Capt. R.E.
von Besser Pr. Lieutenant.

Source : PRO London, F.O. 403 — Niger Territories (Confidential). This Report was probably signed on 19th November 1895 at Calabar at the end of the Mission.

These proposals were not accepted by the Home Government; their acceptance would have shifted the boundary west of its current position to the entire loss of Great Britain. But the survey was useful as it provided a detailed map, for the first time, of the region between the Cross River and the Rio del Rey.

Sir Ralph Moor, who was High Commissioner of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate from 1896 to 1902, did not like the boundary proposed by the Commissioners and wrote to H.M. Government recommending that the boundary be shifted eastwards, without any territorial compensation to the German Government, to the Ndian River, and thence vertically to the Cross River. In this way, according to him, the unity of the Ijagham (*Eko*i) people, who extend from Mamfe to Calabar, would be maintained. Moreover, he invoked a non-existing ethnic unity between the Balundu on the west bank of the Ndian River and the Efiks of Calabar. H.M. Government, sensing that the mood in Berlin was not for concessions, did not act on Sir Moor's recommendations.

Moor-Puttkamer agreements

Anglo-German commercial and political rivalry in the upper districts of the Cross River made a clearly defined boundary, even beyond the « Rapids », an urgent and imperative necessity. Already, Puttkamer and Berlin had protested vigorously against a certain British District Officer who came up the Cross River, all the way from Bonny, to collect taxes on the Cameroon side at Nsakpe (Ekok).

In 1894, Lt. Queis sailed up the Cross River and established a garrison station first at Nsakpe (Ekok), then at Nsanakang (1897) and an administrative centre at Agbokem Ossiding (German Ossiding). The *Deutsche Kolonial Blatt* for 1897, p. 418, also states that on 12 March 1897, a big German military expedition under Hauptmann von Kamptz and Lt. Nolte left Rio del Rey Station for a visit to the northern frontier. In the course of this flag showing visit, preparatory to the arrival of the Gesellschaft Nord-West Kamerun (GNWK), several recalcitrant Cameroon border villages, notably Mbabong, were disciplined and some huts burnt down. British spies photographed the burnt huts and the British press played up these atrocities.

Effectively, the Gesellschaft Nord-West Kamerun was launched in Berlin on 13 September 1899 with a capital of 4 million Deutsche Marks. One of the monopoly concession companies in Cameroon, it was given a charter authorising it to exploit the natural resources of a territory 100,000 sq. Km. stretching from the Sanaga River to the north-west of Cameroon, on the border with Southern Nigeria (Ref. H. Stoecker : Kamerun pp. 170 and 171). By 1900, the GNWK had established factories at Nsakpe (Ekok), Nsanaragati, Nsanakang and *Bashu* (now in Nigeria) and was exploiting the vast natural rubber resources of the Anyang area north of the Cross River. For their part, the British in 1900 also mounted a big expedition which sailed up the Cross River showing the flag.

The intense smuggling from the English side also strained relations between the colonial governments, as the following Report⁴² shows:

« 1. *Rio del Rey Station*: The smuggling from the English side to our territory is in full bloom further north towards Bali. On the other hand the erection of customs posts at Okobo and Nkuan has succeeded in paralysing smuggling on the Akwayaffe road via Esuk Orrorop. Smuggling now goes on principally down the Cross River to beyond Ndebidji... »

On instructions of the home Governments, Governors Moor and Puttkamer met in Victoria and reached the following never previously published Agreement :⁴³

« *Provisional Agreement regarding the Boundary Delimitation between the Protectorate of Kamerun and the Southern Nigeria Protectorate*. We agree to the following arrangements with regard to the boundary as between the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Colony of Kameruns as a *temporary measure* pending the completion of such survey as will enable us to suggest a final and definite re-adjustment of the boundary lines for confirmation by our respective Governments.

1. The terminal point on the Cross River determined by the arrangement between Great Britain and Germany of 29th April 1885 to be the point marked « Rapids » on the English admiralty chart and which point is also so marked on the maps as revised by the boundary commission of 1895 shall be changed to a point on the left bank of the Cross River exactly opposite the confluence of the Nsakpe Creek (Artekan) and Cross River in such manner as to leave the waterway of the said river up to, through and beyond the « Rapids » in British territory until the boundary line as between such point and Yola shall cross the river.
2. In consideration of above concession on behalf of the German Government the British Government undertakes that the waterway of the Cross River shall be open at all times for the transport of all merchandise and produce to and from German territory subject to the transit duties and duties as laid down in Proclamation No. 28 of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria "the amended Customs tariff Pro-

clamation 1900" provided that objection is made on behalf of the German Government to the export duty of two per centum ad valorem on produce laid down in section 22 of said proclamation.

3. The surveys of the Governments of the territory around the boundary line as between the Cross River and Yola being divergent it is arranged that pending a joint survey which is to be undertaken as soon as possible no European merchants shall be allowed by either Government to establish and carry on trade in that area which cannot under existing surveys be determined to be within the territories of either Government. Provided that the German North West Kamerun Company having commenced the erection of a depot at Nsangandep (Nssanakang) shall be entitled to carry on and complete the erection of same but not to open any trading establishment there or import merchandise until such time as the position is definitely determined and provided also that in the event of Nsangandep being found to be within British territory the British Government will take over from the said Company at a valuation any buildings that may have been erected.

Victoria, 12th of December 1900

von Puttkamer
Kaiserlicher Gouverneur
von Kamerun

R. Moor
Consul General and High
Commissioner of the Southern
Nigeria Protectorate

The concession won by the British by Article 3 of the above Agreement threatened to exclude the German North West Trading Company from this border territory. Accordingly, this Company put up a memorandum to the Imperial German Government pointing out that Nsanakang lay well within the Cameroon frontiers as defined by previous boundary agreements, and insisted that this situation be not changed by subsequent agreements like that reached between Puttkamer and Moor in Victoria. On instructions from their Governments,

the two Governors met again, this time in Buea in April 1901, and reached a new Agreement⁴⁴ which among other things restored the *status quo* in so far as Nsanakang was concerned, and lay down a definitive boundary based on natural features. The Buea Agreement formed the basis of all subsequent boundary agreements — 1906, 1909, 1913 — with minor amendments, regarding this sector, and it by it, thanks to Governor Puttkamer, that the Bakaya Peninsula is today in Cameroon territory, with all the implications that go with it regarding our petroleum resources :

AGREEMENT AS TO PROPOSED BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE PROTECTORATE OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA AND THE COLONY OF KAMERUN

Article 1. For the purposes of the proposals as to the boundary dealt with by this Agreement, the following maps are referred to:

- Map of the South Eastern portion of the Niger Coast Protectorate compiled by Capt. C.F. Close R.E. 1895. I.D.W.O. 1158;
- Das Deutsch-Englische Grenzgebiet zwischen Rio del Rey und Cross River (Manyu) Premierlieutenant von Besser 1895.

Article 2. In lieu of the existing boundary line as between the Rio del Rey and the rapids of the Cross River determined by agreements of:

29th April — 10th June 1885

27th July — 2nd August 1886

1st July 1890

14th April 1893

15th November 1893

the boundary as given in following Articles is agreed to and proposed for consideration of the British and German Governments.

Article 3 In lieu of the boundary line commencing in the Rio del Rey at the point given in the maps « West Pt. » and « West Huk » respectively, it should commence at the South West Point of Bakasi Peninsula marked « Bakasi Head » and follow the West Coast line of the Peninsula until Bakasi Point at the mouth of the Akpa Iyefe (Akwafe) River is reached, thence it shall follow the centre of that river as far as the Urifian Creek on the left bank of the said river, in such manner as to throw the Bakasi Peninsula and the area between the Peninsula and the Creek, formerly in British territory, into the German Colony of Kamerun, provided that the effect of the engagements in Articles 3 of the Agreement of 14th April 1893 (mentioned in Article 3 herein), shall be observed, and no trade settlements be allowed to exist or be erected.

Article 4. From the point in the centre of the Akpa Iyefe (Akwayafe) river opposite the Urifian Creek the boundary shall follow the course of that river to the confluence of the Ebe and Akpakorum rivers, thence the centre of the Akpakorum River to its source about the neighbourhood of the peak marked on maps « Ekong » and thence to the summit of « Ekong » peak.

Article 5. From the summit of « Ekong » Peak the boundary shall be delimited by Survey Parties of the two Governments following the shortest practicable route in the direction of the « Okuri Peak », as shown on the maps, with a view to striking the waters of the Awa River at its source. From the source of the Awa River the boundary shall follow the centre of that river to a suitable point to be determined by the survey parties as near as practicable to the most Easterly source of the Artekan River. From the point on the Awa River to the source of the Artekan River the boundary shall be delimited by the Survey Parties following the shortest practicable route to the most Easterly source of the latter river, thence the boundary shall follow the centre of the Artekan River to its junction with the Cross River.

Article 6. From the junction of the Artekan and Cross Rivers the boundary shall follow the centre of the Cross River

up through the Falls or Rapids to the point at which a line from the Falls or Rapids in the direction of Yola cuts the Cross River, such line for the purposes of this portion of the boundary being taken to bear 47°51'0" (true bearing), the mean of the azimuths (Cross River Rapids to Yola) as determined by British and German Authorities.

By the foregoing the area lying between the line bearing as above and the Cross River will be transferred from British to German territory, and it is agreed that when the boundary is further delimited, an equivalent area is to be transferred from German to British territory by carrying the boundary along the centre of the Cross River or any of its affluents on the right bank until a line in the direction of Yola, drawn from the point previously determined and taken on such a bearing as to cut off such equivalent area, shall cut the Cross River or its affluent.

Article 7. It is further agreed that the Government of Southern Nigeria shall have the right to work and carry stone from a quarry already opened on the left bank of the Akpa Iyefe (Akwafe) River in the neighbourhood of Esu Errorup, free of any rent or other charge for a period of ten years from the date of this agreement.

Article 8. The Agreement of the 12th December 1900 is cancelled by the foregoing agreement.

Buea, 16th April 1901.

(Signed)

R. Moor
High Commissioner for
Southern Nigeria

von Puttkamer
Kaiserlicher Gouverneur
von Kamerun

Boundary Commission 1905/6.

In a Note dated 4 October 1901 the British Ambassador in Berlin informed the German Government of H.M. Government's acceptance of this Agreement. In return the German Government insisted on two things:

1. the principle of free navigation on the Cross River which the Agreement of 12th December 1900 had embodied but which the latest agreement had abrogated; and
2. the boundary should follow the Awa River throughout its entire length until it meets the Cross River: there should be no branching east to the source of the insignificant Ar-
tekan River.

His Majesty's Government while accepting the second proposal, held that the first point be the subject of separate negotiations. Accordingly, a mixed Anglo-German Boundary Commission led by Hauptmann Herrmann and A.J. Woodroffe surveyed and demarcated the boundary from *Bashu to the sea* during a period of six months in 1905/6. The Protocol⁴⁵ which they signed defines the definitive land boundary between the United Republic of Cameroon and the Federal Republic of Nigeria, except for one minor detail: subsequent boundary agreements in 1909 and 1913 left to Germany the small enclave to the north of Nsanakang which the Woodroffe Herrmann Protocol had assigned to England.

Southern Nigeria - Kamerun Boundary Commission Protocol

The undersigned Commissioners authorized by their respective Governments propose, after they have travelled over and surveyed the boundary district in question, the following boundary between Southern Nigeria and Kamerun.

1. The boundary line begins at the mouth of the Akwayaffe (Akpa Iyefe) River at the middle point of the line joining King Point and Bakasi Point. The boundary then follows the thalweg of the Akwa-Yafe River (known also in the upper reaches as the Akpakorum River), to the junction of the Ebe and Akpakorum Rivers in such a way that the Mangrove Islands near Ikang are divided as shown on the adjoining map, and the two small mangrove islands north of Archibongs and Ifiang respectively fall on the English side.

The boundary then follows the Akpakorum River to a pillar one kilometre downstream from the point where the Ekonako-Ekong road crosses the Akpakorum. From this pillar the boundary goes in a straight line to a pillar on the road Ekongdup-Abong, one kilometre west of Ekongdup.

Note: The pillars marking the boundary are of cement, pyramidal in shape, with a base of about one metre square and a little over one metre in height.

From here the boundary runs in a straight line to the highest point of the mountain.

Mongum | Lat. 5°15'54" N.
 | Long. 8°48'44" E.

thence in a straight line to the highest point of the mountain

Ojum Ojum | Lat. 5°17'04" N.
Long. 8°48'40" E.

thence in a straight line to a pillar on the road Nkuru-Abong,
thence in a straight line to the highest point of a mountain
(name unknown)

| Lat. 5°19'33" N.
Long. 8°49'37" E.

thence in a straight line to a large cairn of stones on the source
of the Awa River which has been agreed upon by us

| Lat. 5°23'05" N.
Long. 8°50'11" E.

From here the boundary follows the Awa River past its
confluence with the Agegam (or Artekan) River, (the river
after the junction being known as the Awa), to where it flows
into the Cross River, and then follows the Cross River up-
stream through the Rapids to the mouth of a small stream,
flowing from the north, between Nsanakang and Badje, its
confluence with the Cross River being marked by a pillar.

The boundary then follows this stream up to a pillar at its
source, and from there proceeds in a straight line at right angles
to the line Centre of Cross Rapids-Yola, to a pillar about one
mile (1400 m.) which lies on this line. The boundary then fol-
lows this line to the N. E., and is marked by the following
pillars:

- N°. 1 On the Road Badje-Danare
- N°. 2 On the Road South Danare-Bodam
- N°. 3 On the Road North Danare-Bodam
- N°. 4 On the Road Abo-Bodam
- N°. 5 On the Okon River (left bank)
- N°. 6 On the Road Bashu-Bodam
- N°. 7 On the Road Abo-Ekoessem.

The division of the villages in the neighbourhood of the
boundary line is as follows:

English	German
Bashu	Big Bodam
North Danare	Little Bodam
South Danare	Dari

The position of the centre of the Rapids agreed upon is:

Lat. 5°48'35.5" N.
Long. 8°50'39.3" E.

As agreed to between the two Governments the position
of Yola has been taken as:

Lat. 9°12'30" N.
Long. 12°29'29" E.

The value of the azimuth centre of Cross Rapids-Yola as
computed is:

English Value 46°44'35" | measured from north
German Value 46°44'18.1"

A mean value of 46°44'27" being accepted as corrected.

2. In all cases where a river or stream forms the boundary
the thalweg shall be the boundary line.

3. The pillars and other objects put up by the Commis-
sioners to mark the Boundary are to form the political bound-
ary, even if later through more accurate determination of the
positions, their geographical positions are altered.

The last boundary pillar n° 7, between Okon and Oyi Rivers
shall be the starting point of any future demarcation of the
boundary from there to Yola.

4. Should the mangrove islands in the estuary of the Akwa-
yafe River change their positions and the deepest channel take
another course, then a new division of the islands and a chart of
the new deepest channel should be made.

5. When the Boundary Agreement has been finally approved by His Majesty's and the Imperial Governments, there is to be allowed to those Natives who have changed their Nationality through the alteration of the Boundary, a period of six months in which to move themselves and their belongings across from one side to the other, should they desire to do so.

The natives near the boundary line have been notified of the probable change of the Boundary, and have been informed that they will receive information in due course when the new boundary shall take effect.

6. This paragraph concerns the free navigation on the Cross River and is to be settled by His Majesty's and the Imperial Governments.

(Signed) Herrmann
Hauptmann d.d.
Deutscher
Komissar.

A. J. Woodroffe
Captain, R.E.
British
Commissioner.

Author's Note: This Protocol was signed in Archibong Village on 20th April, 1906.

Bamenda, North-West Province,
10th September, 1974.

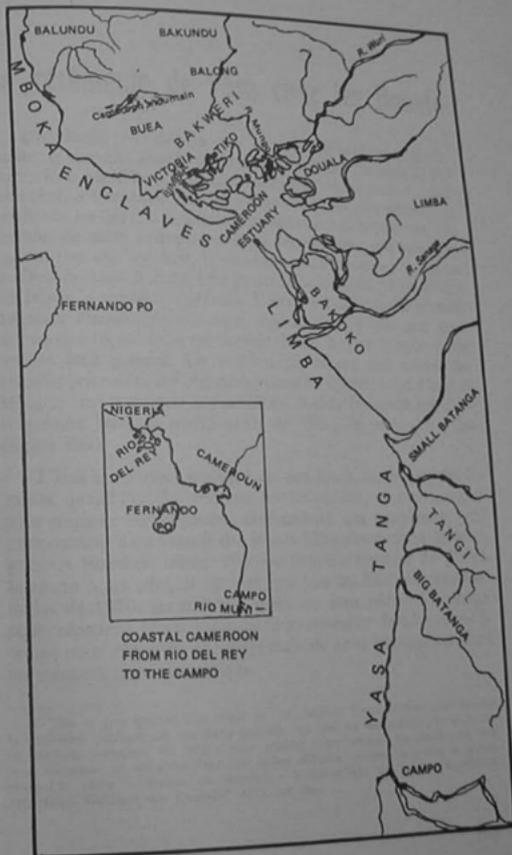
C. WELADJI

Next issue: 3 Yola to the Cross River.

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