

THE DEBATE OVER INDIRECT RULE  
IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP  
BETWEEN EUROPE AND AFRICA 1870-1960

by Bruce Woll

Dr. Furber  
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The past century has seen the rise and fall of Europe's empires in Africa, with the corresponding achievement of self-government by the former colonies. This century-long drama has been at times colorful, idealistic, and human; more often it has been monotonously drab, pragmatic, and cruel. During this period the explorer, head-hunter, missionary, witch-doctor, trader, and slave of early Africa have given way to the District Officer, the white settler, the black laborer, and "black European" of the new imperialism, and these in turn have given way to the British prime-minister resigned to independence and the African prime-minister reveling in it; to the anxious European land-owner and the enthusiastic African nationalist.

If one idea can characterize this era of African history it is the idea of change, or transition, or revolution. As one writer has put it:

Catastrophic forces have been let loose upon... [Africa] which can be compared to telescoping into one age the Renaissance, the Reformation, the French Revolution, the Industrial-Agricultural Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution, and then to exploding this amalgam over the fifth- and sixth-century Saxon chiefdoms in England.<sup>1</sup>

In other words in less than one century, Africa has been experiencing or beginning to experience all the revolutionary cultural, religious, political, economic, and ideological changes which have been shaping Europe for the past five centuries. The rate and the complexity of the revolution taking place in Africa is what makes it so striking and significant.

This era of revolution in Africa was touched off in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by the "scramble for Africa" by which Europe carved out her empires. Rhode's Cape to Cairo dream, France's drive for an empire stretching from the east to the west coast, King Leopold's Free State, Portugal's renewed push inland, and Germany's east and west coast territories shaped most of the new African map.

What this meant was that for the first time in history all of Africa, the interior as well as the coastline was brought into official relationship with the rest of the nations of the world. True, this relationship was that of colony or protectorate to empire and therefore not very flattering to Africa, but it was to be a relationship of utmost significance for her. Up to this time the interior of the dark continent had been cut off from all contact with the rest of the world. No commerce had carried white traders beyond the coast, missionaries had just begun to move away from it, and diplomatic contacts were so few and insignificant ~~were so few and insignificant~~ as to be practically non-existent. Now, by the scramble and the resultant new empires, Africa's isolation came to an end. The gates of the continent were opened and the primitive, animistic, tribal life of tropical Africa was invaded by <sup>the</sup> newly-industrialized, highly civilized, nationalistic, Christian nations of Europe.

An aggressive imperialism continued to dominate the scene up until World War I. Between the wars, however, the British-inspired principles of trusteeship slowly replaced those of

imperialism, in theory at least. In practice, the relationship between Europe and Africa remained largely the same. The end of the Second World War, however, saw the beginning of the end of this imperial relationship with the continent-wide rise of nationalism. Nationalism brought with it the concepts of independence and political equality, and completed the transformation of Euro-African/<sup>political</sup>relations by establishing independent sovereign states in Africa which are as much a part of the world-wide state system as the European states.

The story of Europe's relationship to Africa can thus be told in three words, "imperialism," "trusteeship," and "nationalism." During the period of imperialism Europe penetrated and established her empires in Africa. During the period of trusteeship European civilization began to have its drastic effects upon African society. During the period of nationalism (which has not yet ended) Europe has been forced to withdraw from most of Africa.

It is this continent-wide intercourse between Europe and Africa, between the modern and the traditional, between the civilized and the primitive with the resulting complex, rapid revolution in African society which forms the background for the debate over indirect rule. It is only against this rather wide and sweeping perspective that indirect rule can be understood. The purpose of this paper is given in the title. It is to portray the debate over indirect rule against the background of the changing relationship between Europe and Africa since 1875.

The term "indirect rule" as we are using it refers to the system of native administration which the first High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, Sir F.D. (later Lord) Lugard, sought to set up in Nigeria, and which he did set down, later, in writing, and which then was adopted in practically every British territory in Africa to some degree, becoming "the dominant trait of British policy in tropical Africa."<sup>2</sup>

"Native Administration" refers to the procedure by which a colonial government supervises the native population. It has to do with the maintenance of law and order, the assessment and collection of taxes, the adjudication of disputes, and the provision of local government services. The provision of educational, medical, and agricultural services is not usually included in the sphere of native administration. There are two main categories into which systems of native administration have been classified, direct and indirect rule. The characteristic of indirect rule in general is that it sought to make use of traditional authority by administering, wherever possible, through chiefs and tribal institutions. In Lugard's system there were other important principles, and we shall discuss these later when we examine more closely the meaning of indirect rule.

From the first indirect rule has been a controversial subject. It was described early in sarcastic fashion as "direct rule by indirect means." It has been anathematized as "that wicked system" and as "the iniquitous system euphemistically described as Indirect Rule," and criticized as a "vague and tardy system" or as "the old policy of divide and rule." On the other hand, some of its advocates became so enamored of



government. The British authorities did not want to give them authority over the rest of the population which was in a very real sense alien to them. The authorities also wanted to continue to preserve the authority of the chiefs and tribal elders, so there was very little room for Westernized Africans before the War.

Forces and ideas emerging during the Second World War, however, soon disrupted this situation. The educated minority, which before the War had not been very influential among the population, came out of the War riding the wave of nationalism which was sweeping across the continent. Nationalism emerged during this period in nearly all colonies as the rival of indirect rule. [This was] not only because indirect rule was the official policy of the rulers, but also because it advocated a method of achieving self-government which was the exact opposite of that envisaged by the nationalists.

According to proponents of indirect rule, self-government was a long way off, centuries perhaps. It would be achieved by a gradual process of federation, in which the many native states or tribes would be brought together in loose economic associations which would gradually develop into tighter politico-economic organizations. They believed that the traditional rulers and institutions should continue to be the political authorities, though these should be reformed and developed in order to meet the new demands which would be made upon them by the changing economy and society. Thus indirect rule ad-

gradual  
 vocated a/development upwards from the tribal, or local level  
 towards larger, more centralized political entities.

Nationalism on the other hand was a movement of the most  
 urgent, pressing nature, demanding immediate reform, immediate  
 change. In Ghana, the slogan of one party, backed by chiefs  
 and traditional rulers, was "Self-government in the near  
 future," but this was answered by Nkrumah's cry, "Self-  
 government Now." Whereas indirect rule backed rulers whose  
 authority was based on tradition, nationalism backed authority  
 based on merit. Whereas indirect rule intended to approach  
 self-government from the customary tribal institutions on the  
 local level and federate upwards, nationalism agitated for an  
 approach to self-government which would begin with the Legis-  
 lative Council, and extend its power as a central government  
 institutions downwards over the local native councils and  
 chiefs, reforming these afterwards.

While indirect rule declined during this period, the  
 debate over it did not decline with it but rather underwent  
 a drastic transformation of character and continued unabated  
 in its new form. During Lugard's day in Africa and through-  
 out the inter-war trusteeship period it was a debate over  
 methods of administration to be used by an imperial power over  
 subject peoples. After the War, it gradually turned into an  
 internal conflict between two classes of rulers and two  
 kinds of rule. The battle is being fought out on two levels  
 in many ways distinct from each other, the central and the

local government levels. In most territories in Africa, the central government has become or is becoming Westernized, though even in these territories traditional rulers maintain a great deal of authority on this level. On the local government level, the "tenacity of tradition" is more evident and chiefs and elders retain control in most areas, though reforms and innovations are numerous.

Indirect rule has been both a passive and an active element in this political and cultural revolution of the past century. In that it has been drastically shaped and altered by other forces of change it has been passive. But because it has been harnessed to one of the powerful forces affecting African life, the force of tribalism, of tradition, it has actively shaped the Africa of today. In both respects it merits attention. Studying the way it has been affected by the many other forces of change, economic, religious, educational, cultural, it contributes to an understanding of their part in Africa's development, and because it has helped shape Africa in its own right its history needs to be understood in relation to the wider history of Africa.

It would require volumes to record the entire history of the debate over indirect rule as it has taken place in the seven or eight colonies and protectorates where the system has been practised.<sup>3</sup> This paper <sup>will</sup> shall focus on the unfolding of the debate in Nigeria, the original home of indirect rule, though there will be occasional references to other territories.

## CHAPTER II

### IMPERIALISM AND THE CREATION OF INDIRECT RULE

There have been roughly two cycles of European imperialism counting from the time of Henry the Navigator. In the first cycle, first the Portuguese, then the Spanish, the French, and the British ventured forth and established colonies on the North and South American shores, and along the coasts of Africa and India. These were the empires of the great trading companies, the empires of mercantilism. They lasted into the last half of the eighteenth century. But then, by the French and Indian War, France lost her North American territories, by the American Revolution England lost her middle American colonies, and Spain lost her colonies in South America. The anti-imperial tide ebbed so far that in the eighteen-sixties there was a serious movement in England to give up the trading ports and possessions on the West African coast.

The second cycle began around 1875, and the wave of the "new imperialism" very rapidly caught up most of Europe in its imperial fervor. Eastern Asia, the islands of the Pacific, and the interior of Africa were the scenes of this new period of empire building. The First World War began the decline of this cycle with Germany's and Italy's losses, but the real demise did not begin until after the Second World War. It has reached its nadir in 1960 as far as Europe was concerned. For Africa, on the other hand, 1960 was the "annus mirabilis without precedent, the year of independence for many territories.

It was during this second cycle that indirect rule origin-

ated as an immediate product of Britain's part in the scramble for Africa. This chapter will deal with the origin of the Lugardian system of indirect rule, first showing how it originated and then discussing the questions which arose in connection with its origin.

Nigeria was the birthplace, and Lord Lugard the father of indirect rule. The extraordinarily active career of Frederick Dealtry Lugard has been recorded in two full volumes in a recently completed biography by Margery Perham.<sup>4</sup> In this biography, Lugard's life is divided into two distinct phases, the "years of adventure," and the "years of authority." The years of adventure were occupied with soldiering in various outposts of the empire from Burma to Nigeria. During the years of authority Lugard was occupied with several important tasks including the raising of the important West African Frontier Force, the subjugation of the Moslem kingdoms of Northern Nigeria, the government of Hong Kong, the unification of all of Nigeria, and work on the League of Nations Mandates Commission. It was during this second period of his life that Lugard created the system of indirect rule for which he is most famous.

Frederick Lugard was born in 1858 in India. His mother was a missionary of the Church Missionary Society; his father an army chaplain stationed at Madras. When Lugard was only five, his mother was forced by ill-health to return to England, taking him with her. At nineteen years of age, Frederick took the army examinations, passed, and the following year began his

career as a soldier.

After only eight weeks of training at Sandhurst, he, with the rest of the cadets, were ordered away from the College and given commissions. Lugard's was with the 9th Regiment. Before the year was out, however, he had found it necessary, due to scarcity of funds, to be transferred to the 2nd Battalion stationed in the North West Frontier Province of India.

During the next year his regiment saw action in Afghanistan (though sickness prevented Lugard himself from taking part in the actual fighting when it came); he passed three years of peace-time duty, spending part of this period taking a course in military transport. He was appointed transport officer for an Indian contingent sent to the defense of Suakin in the Sudan. After half a year there he was sent back to India and was put in charge of a large transport area. The following year he was appointed transport officer of a field force in Upper Burma, sent to quell the rebellious actions of one of the native kings. In 1887 he was given leave to return to India and then to England. He was now going through a period of a grave mental and emotional stress brought about by a love affair which had ended tragically for him. Due to the intensity of his nature this crisis affected him very deeply and made him determined to cut himself off from his past, his home, and his profession.

It was this decision which brought Lugard to Africa again where he would spend the better part of the next thirty-one

years. He managed to get himself accepted as the leader of an anti-slavery expedition on the shores of Lake Nyasa, where he spent most of his first year in Africa. The following year this task was taken over by the British government in action which culminated in the proclaiming of the Protectorate of Nyasaland in 1891.

Next, Lugard accepted a rather vague position with ~~the~~ second commercial company, the Imperial British East Africa Company (The anti-slavery expedition had been carried out under The African Lakes Company). The work of the IBEA Company occupied Lugard for the next four years, climaxing with the annexation of Uganda and the East African Protectorate (now Kenya) in 1894. Two and a half years of this time were spent in Africa during which Lugard became involved in the tangled conflict in Uganda involving French Catholics, British Protestants, Muslims from the Sudan, Sudanese troops formerly under Emin Pasha, the British, the French, and, for a while, the German governments. The latter two years of this period Lugard spent in England appealing to public opinion to support the annexation of Uganda. Part of Lugard's contribution to this campaign was the publication of a two-volume work on his experiences in East Africa entitled, The Rise of Our East African Empire.<sup>5</sup> We shall have occasion to quote from this work later on; suffice it to say for the present that it contains Lugard's first written contribution to the subject of native administration in Africa. Lugard's part in the Uganda affair drew from Chamberlain the following praise:

He undertook a work of the highest responsibility and the greatest importance, and I say that anyone who reads his accounts impartially will agree with me to this extent, that he was, at all events, a man of extraordinary power and capacity, tact, discretion and courage. Courage is a common virtue, but he has shown it in no common way, and he has exhibited a modesty which is beyond praise. I say that it is something for England, for the United Kingdom, to glory in that we can still boast such servants as these.<sup>6</sup>

All during his twenty-month stay in England Lugard had hoped to be able to return to East Africa, if not with the IBEA Company then with the government. In April of 1894 he had been asked to lead an expedition into the Upper Niger country of West Africa. He had postponed a decision on the matter, "hoping to the last that the longed for offer to go east would come,"<sup>7</sup> but it was not to be. Finally in July, he accepted the offer made to him four months earlier. His decision to break with the east coast occasioned these remarks in a letter to his brother at the time, remarks which reflect the wanderer's desire to settle down:

...my destiny is Africa and I should be wrong to chuck that...I confess I feel very sorry to find that I am to be excluded from going on with my work in East Africa now that the time draws near for me to begin all over again elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

He was now in the service of yet a third African company, the famous Royal Niger Company led by Sir George Goldie. The scene of his new operations was to be the territory west of the Niger River. Here the British, represented by Goldie's company, were in competition with the French for as much of the territory as could be gained by rapid treaty making and diplomacy. Lugard had been hired for the express purpose of making as many treaties

as possible with the native chiefs throughout the territory, while at the same time it was known that a French expedition was preparing for the same purpose. He spent nine months away from England, beating his French rivals to the key village of Nikki. Upon his return to England he was amply rewarded and praised for his part in upholding Britain's interests in West Africa, receiving the C.B. and dining with the Prime Minister. It was the third time, and not the last, that Lugard had played an important part in the scramble for Africa taking place in these years.

Before the year was out Lugard was in the service of yet another company projecting work in Africa, the newly-formed British West Charterland Company. Under it Lugard led an expedition into the Kalahari desert and was there until the middle of 1897 when he was recalled by Chamberlain's offer to become the Commissioner and Commander of a "West Africa force of 2,000 to 3,000 men to occupy important places on the Hinterland of Gold Coast and Niger territories."<sup>9</sup> This task led Lugard back to the Niger region and paved the way for his appointment in December, 1899 as High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria. Lugard himself officially brought into existence the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria on January 1st, 1900.

The second half of Lugard's life began with the task of subjugating and administering this new British Protectorate before him.

For the task set him, Lugard was so exactly fitted that his life up to this moment might have been a training

especially designed by Providence. He was experienced in every activity that the newly annexed country demanded; in transport and supply; in survey work; in prospecting for minerals; in dealing with Africans, whether potentates, raw tribesmen, or wage labourers. He knew Africa and Africans as did few men of his time. He was a soldier, and a jungle soldier, in a job that was still half military and he had himself created the Regiment he employed. He knew his region, having worked around the middle Niger for six years, helping to win its western frontiers. He had been in contact with Islam and he was an expert upon slavery in a region where it was a major problem. His physique allowed him to do two men's work in a climate and in conditions which halved the capacities of most men.<sup>10</sup>

Lugard was High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria from 1900-1906. The new protectorate included all the territory north of the Niger and Benué rivers from a point on the Niger just below/where they joined. It included, too, some territory south of this rough east-west line. It covered an area of nearly 300,000 square miles, the majority of which had never been occupied or even explored by white men. As for its population, which was of unknown size, Northern Nigeria contained both large numbers of primitive and unorganized tribesmen as well as "some of the most highly developed and civilized Muslim states of tropical Africa, centred upon walled cities and defended by armies of horsemen."<sup>11</sup>

Lugard's first task was to establish or re-establish European authority along the southern part of the protectorate. He also had to set up, almost from scratch, his administrative service--postal, medical, telegraph, and transport services, the courts, police force, and secretariat. One of his first acts was to delineate three provinces: the Middle Niger, to include the area west and north of the Niger; the Benué, covering the area north and south of that river; and Kano,

which covered the rest of the protectorate. Only about one-tenth of this entire area "showed any trace of organized British control."<sup>12</sup> By the end of this year-and-a-half period occupation had been extended to most of the Middle Niger and Benue Provinces, but "the most formidable Hausa states to the north-west, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto, had not been entered".<sup>13</sup>

The system of government which Lugard adopted from the start was to

rule 'indirectly' to the utmost possible extent through native institutions, instead of destroying or ignoring these and trying to administer the people directly..... From the first he decided that his chief administrative officers should be called Residents to indicate that they were advisers rather than executives, and that he would try to use, under British sovereignty and guidance, the emirate system and the ability of the Fulani ruling caste to the highest measure of which they were capable.<sup>14</sup>

By April of 1903 Lugard had completed the task of subjugating and occupying the northwestern states, and, indeed, most of the Protectorate. The story of the conquest of Kano, Katsina, Sokoto and Zaria, the most powerful Muslim emirates in the area, is an epic of whirlwind activity (Lugard marched 800 miles in 38 days deposing and setting up authorities in each of these cities), of courageous and disciplined fighting, and of a judicious use of force and diplomatic tact.

Lugard advanced upon Sokoto in the middle of March, 1903, behind an expeditionary force which engaged the enemy on March 14th and entered the city. Five days later Lugard entered. The Sultan had fled, but Lugard met with the senior chiefs who had surrendered, and reassured and reinstated them. A new Sultan was

*Lugard's  
conquest of  
the north-west*

chosen by the chiefs and installed by Lugard on March 22nd. This was the climactic moment in the occupation, for Sokoto was the religious capital of the whole northwestern region, and the Sultan was "the suzerain of most of the Muslim rulers of Northern Nigeria and, until European invaders drew their unhistorical boundaries, of lands beyond."<sup>15</sup> The way in which Lugard dealt with these rulers has become the classic example of the indirect rule system.

These three years saw the birth of the Lugardian system of indirect rule. The remaining three years that Lugard spent as High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria were spent in consolidating and perfecting this system. We shall complete the account of the historical background of this period with a brief outline of Lugard's career up to 1919, and then return to these six years from 1900-1906 to consider three questions which arose in connection with them.

*while on leave*  
*London*  
*England*

In 1902, before returning to Nigeria, Lugard had married Flora Shaw, colonial editor of The Times since 1893. But after only five months Flora was forced by illness to return alone to England. In 1906 Lugard decided not to return to Nigeria, hoping to find a position which would enable him to be with his wife. He accepted a position as Governor of Hong Kong, but his wife was only there a short time before she had to be sent home again. Thus it came about that when Lugard was asked to return to Nigeria in 1912 to unite the entire country under one administration, he agreed to do so.<sup>16</sup> From 1912 to 1919 he was engaged in this task.

*before*  
*return*

Of most importance to our subject was his attempt to extend the system of indirect rule to the southern provinces of Nigeria. In the western region he met with a confused and complex number of political authorities and suffered greatly from the lack of a full knowledge of the society. The eastern region was an entirely different matter. It faced him with a situation which Margery Perham, his official biographer, has conceded "he was unable to master."<sup>17</sup> The difficulties of occupying and administering this "amorphous mass of humanity" were not fully appreciated and met until after the Aba riots in this region in 1929. This story is reserved for chapter three.

This period, the period of the creation of the Lugardian system of indirect rule, comes to a close in 1919 with the retirement of Lugard from service in Nigeria. We must upset chronology here, however, to refer to the book which he published three years later. [This was] The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, published in 1922. In it he expounded his views on every aspect of administration. We have reserved a more thorough sketch of this book for the following chapter<sup>18</sup> because of its importance to that period, but it will be necessary to quote from it in considering the questions at hand in this chapter.

Having now traced the historical background of the period of the creation of indirect rule as a system, we may now turn to the debate over questions pertinent to the origin of Lugardian indirect rule. This debate is centred around the years 1900-1906 when, as we have seen, Lugard created in Northern Nigeria the system of indirect rule. It will be discussed under three questions, first, What is indirect rule? second, Why did Lugard adopt it? and third, Did

Lugard originate it ?

We come first to the question of the definition and nature of indirect rule, concerning which there has been considerable difference of opinion. It is fitting that the debate should open with a tribute to indirect rule paid by Margery Perham, the leading student and exponent of indirect rule and a personal friend of Lord Lugard for many years:

...the period with which we are dealing now was one of creation. By the time Lugard left Northern Nigeria, he had constructed both upon paper and in the practice of the men, British and African, who worked under him, what can claim to be the most comprehensive, coherent and renowned system of administration in our colonial history. This was his greatest and most famous work, the achievement of his prime.<sup>19</sup>

What was this renowned system of administration constructed by Lugard ? How did he himself conceive of it ?

On two occasions before 1900 Lugard had referred to this principle of administration. In 1893 he had written regarding Uganda that it should be ruled "through its own executive government." According to him:

An arbitrary and despotic rule, which takes no account of native customs, traditions, and prejudices, is not suited to the successful development of an infant civilization, nor, in my view, is it in accordance with the spirit of British colonial rule. The King has been proved incompetent and useless, but the Resident should rule through and by the chiefs.<sup>20</sup>

The key phrase here was "through and by the chiefs." Later, in a paper written just before assuming his duties as Commissioner he wrote:

In the earlier stages of British rule it is desirable to retain the native authority and to work through and by the native emirs. At the same time it is feasible by degrees to bring them gradually into approximation with our ideas of justice and humanity...<sup>21</sup>

Thus when the time came for him to set up an administration of his own, Lugard had some firm views on the subject already. It was these views that guided the way in which he extended the occupation of British rule throughout his territory, so that in this occupation he was establishing the basis for indirect rule.

We may summarize the theoretical side of Lugardian indirect rule under four essential principles. These formed the basis for his agreements with the emirs of Kano, Sokoto, and the other cities, whom he reinstated a few days after he had defeated them, and constituted the guidelines which he sought to follow during the next years of his term as High Commissioner.

The first of these principles was that by their defeat the native rulers had lost their right to rule, and this right had now come into the hands of the British. To Lugard this suzerainty involved "the ultimate title to all land, the right to appoint Emirs and all officers of state, the right of legislation and of taxation."<sup>22</sup> This absolute authority, however, was tempered by his second principle, that of retaining, wherever possible, the customs and traditions of the people. The traditional rulers, the traditional system of collecting taxes, the traditional system of Mohammedan law and justice were to be retained and made use of. To the emirs and chiefs of Kano, Lugard said, "Mohamedan law, so long as it was not contrary to the law of the Protectorate would not be interfered with, and the Emir's and Alkali's courts would be upheld and strengthened

under the supervision of the Resident."<sup>23</sup> He later referred to this as the "cardinal principle of British policy in dealing with native races."<sup>24</sup>

The third principle was that the native rulers should be educated and the councils and courts should be reformed and developed in order adapt them to the changing society under their rule. Lugard "arranged for the closest supervision that was possible by his small staff....every effort was to be made for the gradual and reasonable reform of the Courts in their procedure and sentences."<sup>25</sup>

The fourth principle determining the shape and structure of Lugard's administration was the integration of the British and native authorities into one system of administration. As Lugard wrote in The Dual Mandate:

*and it quote?*

The essential feature of the system (as I wrote at the time of its inauguration) is that the native chiefs are constituted 'as an integral part of the machinery of the administration. There are two sets of rulers--British and native--working either separately or in cooperation, byt a single Government in which the native chiefs have well-defined duties and an acknowledged status equally with British officials. Their duties should never conflict... They should be complementary to each other...<sup>26</sup>

*and it quote?*

We will not undertake to summarize the way in which Lugard put these principles into practice in detail.<sup>27</sup> We would merely point out that over his twelve year period in Nigeria, he came to work out in detail their application to the following areas of government policy, some of which we have already noted: local government and administration, taxation, the courts of law, the law itself, the land policy, the native economy,

education, and slavery.

This was the basic content of indirect rule as Lugard developed and applied it. We would now like to consider the controversy which arose over the definition and meaning of indirect rule in light of Lugard's principles and their application in Nigeria..

In the first place the question arose as to whether indirect rule was indeed indirect in its total effect.. Did it actually differ in substance from direct rule ? According to a missionary who had served many years in West Africa, it was actually nothing more than "direct rule by indirect means."<sup>28</sup> But was this true ? What was direct rule, and how did indirect rule differ from it ?

Direct rule referred to any system of native administration in which the native population was ruled "first-hand." Orders were given to the people directly from the colonial ruler. The only authority that was recognized officially was the authority of the colonial power. If natives were used in the administration, as they usually were, they were not chosen strictly on the basis of whether they possessed any traditional authority, as in indirect rule, but on the basis of other criteria, such as education or wealth or ability.

British India has often been cited as the classical example of direct rule. There the local administration was carried out through a Civil Service "recruited by and drawing its authority entirely from the Government.... [In] no case, save perhaps in that of the Village Headmen in certain of the Provinces, was any use

made of indigenous authorities on the ground that they possessed powers derived from tradition or custom."<sup>29</sup>

It is thus clear that as far as the native personnel was concerned, indirect and direct rule clearly differed. But was the actual effect different? Many felt that these chiefs whose authority now depended on the colonial Government and not on their people, either became autocratic and took advantage of their enhanced authority to oppress their people, or else simply became the "white man's lackeys" obeying orders from the white Administrative Officer who was thus, in effect, ruling directly. In the summary discussion of his survey of the native administrations in Africa, Lord Hailey contrasted the two systems, direct and indirect rule, but concluded:

To treat these two methods as presenting a contrast of system would lack reality. It is more profitable to consider how far the organization of Native Administration as a whole, whatever methods it may adopt, satisfies the needs of existing conditions in Africa...<sup>30</sup>

To Lugard, however, the two methods were clearly different. He felt that indirect rule was a means of fulfilling the "high ideal of leading the backward races, by their own efforts, in their own way, to raise themselves to a higher plane of social organization..."<sup>31</sup> To adopt direct rule instead was, to him, to forego this ideal and, while it might be less troublesome, temporarily more efficient, it shirked the more difficult task of educating the "backward races."

The apparent conflict between these two positions is explained by the fact that Hailey was referring to the actual

procedure of administration, while Lugard was discussing the underlying philosophy of rule. Thus, while Lord Hailey felt that the procedural differences, while real, were insignificant, he also felt that there were real differences in the philosophies underlying each system. Whereas Hailey separated the procedure from the philosophy, in Lugard's mind the two were vitally related; therefore, for Lugard, there were basic and vital distinctions between indirect and direct rule which Hailey regarded as being true only of the underlying philosophies.

Lugard felt that the classic system of direct rule in British India was responsible for the difficulties England was having there. According to him they had "rated administrative efficiency more highly than education in self-government."<sup>32</sup> It was Lugard's purpose, by applying indirect rule, to avoid this mistake. To him, indirect rule was "primarily educative" and applying it would fulfil the purpose of England's existence in Africa - to develop and train the native population.

We have now summarized Lugard's concept of indirect rule, and contrasted it with direct rule. In seeing the way Lugard contrasted them we have anticipated our second question, why Lugard adopted indirect rule rather than direct rule. Before we can evaluate this part of the answer we must consider a prior question. It has been suggested by some that Lugard adopted indirect rule purely for pragmatic reasons and later formulated it into a philosophy. Others hold that from the beginning of his rule in Northern Nigeria, and even before this time, Lugard

had come to regard indirect rule as more than just an expedient necessitated by a shortage of men and money.

Eric Walker holds the first view stated above, stating it as follows: "In typically British fashion Lugard only explained to the world, and perhaps to himself, what he had been doing long after he had done it, making a theory of necessity."<sup>33</sup>

Margery Perham holds the second view: "Lugard did not have to grope his way towards a system of government. He had already worked out his principles and, to some extent, his methods."<sup>34</sup> She explains her position more in detail later on in connection with her account of how Lugard actually dealt with the emirs at the time that he conquered them. This account is particularly pertinent because it includes direct testimony to Lugard's own candid comments to Miss Perham regarding the incident. She points out that though he had thought out "the main lines of his settlement long before and had enforced them in Bida an emirate previously conquered ...it was now necessary to be more detailed and definite."<sup>35</sup> There was still "a wide margin of choice" as to the exact status and powers of the emirs. Thus, the principles of indirect rule as understood by Lugard had been adopted by him previous to this time, but he had not yet worked out the way in which he was to actually apply them to this specific occasion, and it was this manner of application which was peculiar to Lugard's system. Lugard's testimony as recorded by Miss Perham was that,

....though he later quoted the example of the Indian States in his Memoranda, when suddenly confronted with the northern emirs after their rapid collapse, he could only scrape together the vaguest recollections about the position of

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these States, and was, indeed, amazed at his own ignorance. He had to devise what seemed to fit the immediate situation.<sup>36</sup>

Judging from Miss Perham's account, it is accurate to say that while Lugard's application was worked out as an expedient, it was an expedient way of putting into practise a theory already adopted.

We may now return to the original question, why Lugard adopted indirect rule in the first place, even as a principle. There are those who suggest that the answer to this, too, is expediency; that is, that Lugard was aware of the enormous cost which would be entailed in ruling the vast areas of Africa directly, and consequently turned to indirect rule. We refer, in answer to this, to Lugard's interesting discussion of the reasons for adopting indirect rule, in The Dual Mandate (pp. 211-217). *(note)*

He begins by affirming that:

To abandon the policy of ruling them through their own chiefs, and to substitute the direct rule of the British officer, is to forego the high ideal of leading the backward races, by their own efforts, in their own way, to raise themselves to a higher plane of social organization, and tends to perpetuate and stereotype existing conditions.<sup>37</sup>

He then gives a full discussion of the changing conditions of African life and cites this as a reason for indirect rule! Most other writers have cited this very same fact as a reason for abandoning indirect rule. Lugard's reasoning, however, was as follows: In the first place, the change was something that could not be stopped. At the heart of it was "the changed outlook of the African himself." There is, he said, quoting from another writer,

"something fantastically inconceivable about the policy of keeping the forces and ideas of the modern world out of Africa, and it is the negation of progress 'to fasten down upon the

African his own past... Over most of tropical Africa the old order of tribal society is dead, dying, or doomed.'<sup>38</sup>

However, to ignore the tribal authorities and allow them to be broken down would be to create of the populace "a rabble, with thousands of persons in a savage or semi-savage state, all acting on their own impulses, and making themselves a danger to society generally. There could only be one end to such a policy, and that would be eventual conflict with the rabble."<sup>39</sup>

Wrote Lugard,

"Here then, in my view, lies our present task in Africa. It becomes impossible to maintain the old order--the urgent need is for adaptation to the new--to build up a tribal authority with a recognized and legal standing, which may avert social chaos. It cannot be accomplished by superseding--by the direct rule of the white man--such ideas of discipline and organization as exist, nor yet by 'stereotyping customs and institutions among backward races which are not consistent with progress.'<sup>40</sup>

It could be accomplished by the use of indirect rule as an educative principle and tool, and herein lay his reasons for adopting indirect rule. If it is argued by some that since this was written after Lugard had retired from Nigeria, it is not pertinent to his original reasons for adopting indirect rule, we would suggest that while certainly by the time of the Dual Mandate, Lugard's ideas were more completely developed, the heart of these ideas was expressed by Lugard <sup>in 1893</sup> seven years before he became commissioner of Northern Nigeria in the statement cited earlier.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, we would like to discuss the question of whether Lugard originated the system. Judging by some definitions, he did. Lord Hailey has pointed out that it "has been usual to say that up to the time of the publication of Lord Lugard's Political Memoranda

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the system of Native Administration elsewhere in Africa than in Northern Nigeria had in general been that of Direct Rule, but that after that date the majority of the African territories gradually substituted a system of Indirect Rule."<sup>42</sup> With this view Hailey did not agree. He did not, however, believe, on the other hand, that Lugard's system was the same as that used in the days of the Roman Empire. We discussed earlier the opposite of indirect rule, namely, direct rule. We wish now to look at those systems which most closely resembled Lugard's system in order to determine how much of his was original, if any of it.

Margery Perham has traced the rise of the conditions in the British Empire which made some break with direct rule necessary. She first described briefly the British policy of direct rule or "identity", which was used as long as the areas annexed were restricted to small settlements on the coast. It was a notable expression of the nineteenth century Victorian confidence in British civilization, having as its purpose the total transformation of the people into the mould of British civilization. But, as territory was added rapidly in the second half of that century, the cost in men and money of administering directly vast tribal or monarchical states became prohibitive. In "India, in the Pacific, in South Africa, and even in territories much closer to Lugard's domain, [Britain] found herself increasingly obliged to recognize princes and tribal chiefs by treaty or by usage..."<sup>43</sup> They were thus indirectly ruled. Lugard had had some contact with such territories. He had "at least shot tigers in the Indian States,"

Later, he had "encountered the most advanced kingdom in the whole of East Africa and had been upon intimate terms with its elaborate hierarchical structure" in Uganda. He was aware that when it was declared a Protectorate six years before he became Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, this hierarchical structure had been maintained.

Then, too, others had suggested the principle in writing or had practised it before Lugard. Lord Milner had discussed it; also, as Margery Perham points out:

That great administrator in India, Sir Thomas Munro, had urged it nearly a century before. [We have already met in these pages] Lord Stanmore who practised this principle in Fiji. Mary Kingsley aired it in her very individual way. Lugard's neighboring Governor in the Niger Coast Protectorate stated that the paucity of European staff necessitated rule through the chiefs. Coming still nearer to Lugard, Goldie held ideas which appeared to run closely upon these lines...<sup>44</sup>

She concludes that "Lugard's policy of ruling 'indirectly' through the Nigerian emirs cannot therefore, as a general principle, be claimed as either inventive or original..."

If the principle was not new, then what was new? Why has Lugard been called the father of indirect rule? The key to this question is found in the fact that while there was one general principle, the principle of making use of traditional authority, which had been in use for centuries, there have been many different applications of this principle, many different kinds of 'indirect rule.' Thus, while the idea was not original with Lugard [~~with Lugard~~], his application of it in Northern Nigeria was.<sup>45</sup>

The "distinction of Lugard's system was that he not only

preserved native initiative but tried to direct it and, indeed, to incorporate it into his own system...Such a purpose had nowhere been so consciously attempted..."<sup>46</sup> This is Margery Perham's conclusion, and with it, Lord Hailey is in entire agreement. According to him, "the system of integrating the native institutions into the official system is the characteristic of indirect rule as it is now understood."<sup>47</sup>

There has been some discussion as to the extent that Lugard was dependent upon Sir George Goldie, both for his ideas of indirect rule and the actual administration. Before Lugard had taken over Northern Nigeria for the British Government, it had been nominally under Goldie's Company. Thus, Lugard had inherited the Royal Niger Company's administration, but this had been confined to a few insignificant sites along the Niger river. As for the idea of indirect rule, Goldie had discussed it in the foreword of a book published in 1898, two years before Lugard took over Northern Nigeria..<sup>48</sup>

In a recent biography of Sir George Goldie this issue was discussed.<sup>49</sup> The author, John E. Flint, believed that Lugard was greatly influenced by Goldie's ideas, and that Goldie's essay anticipated in striking fashion the future system of Lugard. While he did "not wish to suggest that Lugard merely copied Goldie's system," he did, however, conceive of his system as "in embryo the system of indirect rule which Lord Lugard was later to establish."<sup>50</sup> And he believed that "just as the Niger Company's administration was laying the foundations

for Lugard's system of indirect rule in the emirates; so did this essay of Goldie's lay the basis for the theoretical and moral arguments which Lugard was to elaborate and refine...<sup>51</sup> Flint's point was not, as he repeated, that Lugard "in any way copied Goldie's theories" but that both of them were

"driven by experience to the same, or similar, conclusions."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>while</sup> Flint, as Goldie's biographer emphasized Goldie's contribution, Perham, however, as Lugard's biographer, emphasized Lugard's side of this relationship, disagreeing as to the importance of Goldie's contribution. She believed that although Goldie must have often discussed his ideas with Lugard in the period of their co-operation, it does not seem "that Lugard owed much more to Goldie than the confirmation in terms of Nigeria of a principle which he had already defined before he knew either the man or the country."<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, she believed that "Lugard inherited very little by way of a working administration from Goldie's Company..."<sup>54</sup>

We are inclined to side with Miss Perham. We know that Lugard already knew of the principle of indirect rule, and had advocated its use before he met Goldie. Besides, it was not the principle itself which has been claimed to be original with Lugard but its particular application by him, and it is clear that Lugard owed very little of this to Goldie.

To summarize, the period from 1875 to 1919 was the period of the creation, the initiation, the birth of the Lugardian system of indirect rule. It was the pioneer period during which Britain acquired a new empire. This empire included a majority

of primitive or backward peoples and faced Britain with the problem of administering vast areas with millions of people whose way of life was completely strange to British industrial society and parliamentary democracy. Sir F. D. Lugard, faced with this task in Nigeria, applied the theory of indirect rule to the problem in a unique way and developed it into a comprehensive and effective system of administration. U

Under Lugard, indirect rule was to be a system of rule by the British, making use of traditional authority, seeking to develop the institutions of rule and educate the rulers, and even incorporating the native authorities into the British system of administration. He adopted it because he felt that it was the only way of fulfilling Britain's responsibility to the backward peoples under her rule, without destroying their society.

having to do with the dominant ideas and policies which formed the context for the success of indirect rule, and which caused it at the same time to come under widespread and continuous criticism. Secondly, the development and progress of indirect rule will be outlined, showing the extent of this progress and the major figures responsible for it. Finally, we shall deal with the issues of the debate.

The articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations regarding former colonial possessions of the defeated powers gave international recognition to the concept of trusteeship as the proper nature of Europe's colonial responsibility. <sup>which</sup> The discussion of imperialism in this period was dominated by the ideas expressed in Article Twenty-Two of the Covenant. <sup>which</sup> This Article had declared that the well-being and development of "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" formed a sacred trust of civilisation."<sup>55</sup> This statement dealt with the most obvious and important fact regarding Europe's relationship to the colonial world, namely, the disparity between the "modern world" on the one hand and "the peoples not yet able to stand by themselves" in the colonies on the other. l.c.

<sup>this</sup> The sacred trust <sup>of</sup> the modern world towards the uncivilised world involved several ideas. In his Fourteen Points, President Wilson had declared that in the adjustment of colonial claims "the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined."<sup>56</sup> The recognition of "the interests of the population"

## CHAPTER III

### TRUSTEESHIP AND THE EXTENSION OF INDIRECT RULE

The year 1919 ushered in a new era in the history of colonialism in Africa. Before the war imperialistic leaders, expansionist policies, and jingoistic slogans and feelings had dominated Europe's attitude toward Africa and the other tropical, under-developed areas of the world. From 1919 to 1945, apart from the Facist imperialism of Italy and Germany, the concepts of trusteeship gained recognition and acceptance, in theory at least, in Europe. This change in the atmosphere and direction of Europe's relationship to Africa affected the development of indirect rule policies. Whereas during the previous period, Lugardian indirect rule had been confined to one territory and had been the policy of its originator and those under him alone, during this period we find these policies spreading all over Africa and being advocated and put into practice by one administrator after another. Not only did they spread geographically, but the principles of indirect rule also spread into other fields of endeavour besides administration. Educators, missionaries, and anthropologists, to a greater or lesser extent <sup>influenced</sup> affected directly by Lugard himself, adopted some of his principles, or at least advocated them. With this spread in the practice of indirect rule ideas, the debate and discussion over its principles spread into many territories, and educators, missionary leaders, and anthropologists became participants.

We intend to discuss the debate in this period under the following three headings: first, the background of the debate,

was one basic idea of the trust. Great Britain in 1923 stated the main object of this trust in specific terms: "His Majesty's Government," said the Colonial Secretary, "Regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the native populations...the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement [emphasis mine] of the native races..." Putting it even more specifically, this statement went on: "It is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the African towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level."<sup>57</sup>

This statement represented a major change in British policy. It meant that "laissez-faire was no longer a possible attitude for a Western government in its dependencies. It could not in that way discharge its responsibilities to the native dependencies. A simple protection was not enough; a more positive policy must be declared." "British rule had for a long time past represented peace, order, justice and toleration; it had now to achieve more--to bring western science and western moral and cultural ideas to aid and improve the simpler societies."<sup>58</sup>

The higher intellectual level aimed at was to be pursued in this period by the growing participation of the British government in educational affairs in the colonies. The moral aspect of the trust was seen in the government's policy of co-operation with the missions. The economic aspect began to move forward in 1929 with the enactment of the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act. In none of these areas did the government do much more than merely make a major beginning before the end of the Second World War. The task they faced was immense. The thought of all involved was that it

would require fifty to a hundred years at the minimum before the native races would progress to a level equal to that of the rest of the civilised world.

There was a third major idea involved in the trust concept besides an interest in the native races and a policy of advancement for them. This was the idea that they should one day achieve self-government. But, as one author clearly shows, self-government did not mean independence in anyone's mind, and only communists advocated immediate equality in the status of colonial territories. None of the critics of imperialism, not even Hobson, believed in "the immediate liquidation of Empires."<sup>59</sup> The Labour government planned "first the establishment of genuine representation and secondly the gradual transfer of responsibility."<sup>60</sup> As in every other sphere, so in the political sphere; it was thought that the process of development would require at least a hundred years.

A few years after the Covenant of the League of Nations was signed, a second document of major importance to this period of colonial history, and one of particular significance to the debate over indirect rule, was published. This was The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa [already referred to in Chapter Two]. This masterpiece, by the veteran administrator, Lord Lugard, dominated the thinking of administrators in Africa and other colonies during the interwar period to the same degree that the ideas of the Covenant did in Europe. The two publications can be contrasted in other ways. One was practical, the other theoretical. The

Covenant was a general statement of principle written by heads of state as a philosophical ideal. The Dual Mandate was a detailed discussion of methods of administration, written by an experienced administrator who had spent more time in the colonies than in England.

These two documents set the stage for discussion in Europe and in the colonies in this period. Whereas the Covenant's trusteeship concept was the theoretical touchstone of all policy in this period, Lugard's proposals were the primary means of implementation of this policy for Britain. The Dual Mandate, hailed as a classic by many upon its appearance, was later known as the Bible of administrators. Its thesis was that "an imperialist power should recognize a dual mandate--on the one hand, the obligation to develop the dependent lands in the interests of world commerce, and, on the other, to preserve and promote the interests and welfare of their inhabitants."<sup>61</sup> Its purpose was to set forth the principles which should underlie Britain's future relations with the tropical regions of the world, a task which had not previously been undertaken. The two chapters on methods of ruling native races are of most importance to this discussion for they contain Lugard's mature discussion of indirect rule compared with other methods. This book and Lugard's Political Memoranda (See note/<sup>#27</sup> on page 21) made possible the widespread practise of Lugard's application of indirect rule. part in note

The influence of Lugard's success in Northern Nigeria was felt even before the First World War, in the German colonies. Dr. Solf, the German Minister for the Colonies, visited Nigeria and wrote to

Lugard that he intended to adopt them in the German Cameruns.<sup>62</sup> Also, the "German authorities in New Guinea (now an Australian mandate) and Samoa (now an <sup>a</sup> New Zealand mandate), and the Dutch in Java, also modelled their administration on the same principle."<sup>63</sup>

The most famous disciple of Lord Lugard, Sir Donald Cameron, became Governor of Tanganyika in 1925 after seventeen years of service in Nigeria, six of them directly under Lugard. Tanganyika had become a British mandate territory after the war, and Cameron's introduction of indirect rule into its administration made it a concrete example of the close relationship between the principles of trusteeship and indirect rule. From Tanganyika the system spread to Basutoland and Bechuanaland, where it was introduced by one of Sir Donald's Tanganyika officers.

Later indirect rule was adopted "in whole or part in the Southern Sudan, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone."<sup>64</sup> According to some, the systems in Kenya, the Union of South Africa, ~~and~~ Southern Rhodesia, and Uganda are indirect rule systems. Others, notably Lord Hailey, have disagreed with this.<sup>65</sup>

We may now turn to a study of the debate itself. Our consideration shall be confined to Nigeria where they were the most prominent. The same problems arose later in each of the other territories, and in many cases, they are still being debated.<sup>66</sup>

One could almost say that there has been only one issue in question throughout this period, and even in the following period. Underlying practically every disagreement over indirect rule there

has been a very basic clash between two forces, those initiating and multiplying change at a furious rate, and those resisting change as strenuously as possible. In the African continent, the forces of revolution and progress have clashed with the forces of centuries-old tradition and custom in a manner unequalled anywhere else in the world. The pace, the complexity, and the extent of the revolution, taken together, make it unique.

Indirect rule, being the "dominant trait of British policy in tropical Africa" was bound to be caught up in the violent struggle occasioned by the clash of cultures. But the official status of indirect rule was not the only reason for its involvement. The very nature of indirect rule destined it to be at the heart of the debate. Lugardian indirect rule was conceived in Lugard's mind by the clash, and was born out of the meeting of the modern civilized world of Lugard and the feudalistic, savage, slave-raiding world of the Muslim emirs of Northern Nigeria. And, as a policy which backed the authority of tradition and custom, even though, under Lugard, it did so in order to bring about change more constructively, indirect rule was open to misunderstanding and misinterpretation by those advocating immediate and total change.

The proper administration of the system, as Lugard conceived of it, sought to make use of traditional authorities, but sought to reform and train them to the tasks of a developing society, but it was too easy for other administrators, in seeking to avoid the errors of direct rule which completely ignored traditional authority, to go to the other extreme and seek to preserve the traditional

authorities and institutions intact, with all their bribery, inefficiency, and backwardness..

This debate over the way in which indirect rule was to be administered went back to the very time of its initiation.. It became one of the major areas of disagreement during that period.. When Lugard <sup>reinstated</sup> the emirs of Northern Nigeria he had to decide what powers should be absolutely forbidden, what powers should be limited, and what powers should be developed and even strengthened. The last three years of Lugard's rule were spent in answering this question in detail.

Among the Residents employed under Lugard to carry out his policy there was an early division into two camps over the question of whether or not even to retain the emirs, "One, led by Major Burdon, first Resident in Sokoto, and a student of the local culture, wished to go a long way in supporting Fulani rule, even so far as to rebuild the preeminence of the Sultan of Sokoto." A Mr. Hewby, the first Resident in Bornu "stood at the opposite side."<sup>67</sup> Lugard's initial position on this question was cautious. He wrote: "On the general question of the advantage of Fulani rule it is premature to dogmatize,"<sup>68</sup> but since action was demanded at the time he decided to "utilize the existing machinery and endeavour only to improve it."<sup>69</sup>

Again, when Lugard returned to Nigeria in 1912 after his term in Hong Kong, he came "into opposition with some of his most active Residents through his own belief that the sphere of British action, especially as operated from the centre, should be larger than they wished."<sup>70</sup> His major opponent was C.R. Temple, one of his first

Residents, <sup>who, in 1912,</sup> In 1912 he had become the senior Resident and was the Acting Governor of Northern Nigeria when Lugard returned. Between Lugard's two terms in Nigeria his policy of making use of the regular tax system imposed by the native rulers, and of giving them a share of it, had developed into a system of Native Treasuries. These had increased the power of the emirs, and had been strongly supported by several of the Residents, but <sup>in particular</sup> particularly by Temple. However, Temple had carried the system even farther than Lugard, and felt that the Native Treasuries should be kept distinct from the general revenues of the Protectorate, and therefore free from audit and inspection. Lugard, on the other hand, believed in "the maximum of European control that was consistent with the fostering of a keen interest in their own financial affairs by the Native Administrations."<sup>71</sup>

Temple's views on the Treasuries reflected his overall attitude towards colonial administration and indirect rule. While in Nigeria he had "turned eagerly to the study of native customs: he became an expert in the Hausa language and regarded the Africans through the eyes not only of an artist but also of an amateur psychologist, amused, affectionate but without illusion."<sup>72</sup> He, "working his way up in the administration, had seen it closely from the inside, and though he could observe and satirize its corruption and oppression, he yet believed almost fanatically that it should be kept inviolate from the disintegration of western influence."<sup>73</sup> His ideas on the future development of the native states were that the larger ones "might attain full internal self-government within one or two generations, presumably as a number of independent or federated states."<sup>74</sup>

In contrast to Temple, Lugard believed that the native states "should remain in a tutelary stage for some years though he was fully prepared for further progress when their education and experience should have justified."<sup>75</sup> Margery Perham sums up the point at issue, and shows its significance:

...from 1900 to the time of independence, the exact content of Indirect Rule has been the central question for the Northern Provinces, and, indeed, for Nigeria as a whole. And finance was its inner core. Was the ultimate purpose, in the interests both of unity and efficiency, to level down the large northern --and by imitation the large southern--native societies, until they reached the proportions of units of local government? Or were they to grow upwards with an increasing measure of autonomy until they, or at least the larger ones, became self-governing native states? This was the question which was to continue for many years to haunt thought and practice in this as in some other dependencies.<sup>76</sup>

During the decade after Lugard's retirement, Temple's view, which had come to be supported by the Colonial Office held sway. This meant that during these years the power and authority of the native rulers was enhanced and strengthened, and little effort was made to stamp out corrupt or autocratic practices. The system during these years was similar to the laissez-faire indirect rule which had been in effect in the Gold Coast. It was this period of indirect rule's history in Nigeria, particularly Northern Nigeria, which led to the violent and extreme opposition of some, as well as the more moderate criticisms of the majority of writers, who still favoured the system in its Lugardian form.

Sir Donald Cameron described this period as a departure from the principles and intentions of Lord Lugard. Administrators, according to Cameron, had drifted "into the habit of mind that a

'feudal monarchy' of this kind...is the be-all and end-all of Indirect Administration."<sup>77</sup> Their policy "that the Moslem Administrations should be sheltered as far as possible from contact with the world...was due no doubt to a feeling, however unformulated, that an unreformed 'feudal monarchy' could not be expected to stand up against the natural forces of a western civilisation that was gradually but quite perceptibly creeping further and further north in Nigeria."<sup>78</sup> Their policy, therefore, had been to draw a curtain between the Native Administrations of the North and the outer world, so far as it was possible to maintain the integrity of that curtain.

It was this form of indirect rule which George Padmore, a West Indian negro, had in mind in his attacks. In 1932 Padmore had been invited to visit Moscow by the Comintern. Later he became the leader of the left-wing and Pan-African element in London. Though he broke with the Communist Party in 1938, he remained the leader of this element, and his attacks represent the attitude of socialism. He wrote in 1936 that indirect rule "is the system of governing the Blacks through their own chiefs and political institutions under the control of the European officials with the minimum amount of interference." (emphasis mine) "The officials, through legislative enactments have given the chiefs such wide authority under Indirect Rule that they have become autocratic." He even compared it to facism, saying:

Indirect Rule is spreading as rapidly in Africa as facism in Europe. Both systems are tyrannical and non-democratic. What facism means to the white workers in the highly developed capitalist countries, Indirect Rule means to the Natives of Africa, for under this system of Government, the Blacks have absolutely no voice in the affairs of state. They have one

duty, and that is to obey authority.<sup>79</sup>

Padmore opposed the Native Treasuries for the same reasons that Lugard had, but Padmore did not believe that they could be reformed by supervision. According to him, bribery, theft, and dishonesty were evils "adherent [sic] in the whole system of Indirect Rule. For all 'power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.'"<sup>80</sup> He dismissed the policies which Lugard, Cameron, and Perham had advocated, (but which had not been followed in practice) as so many attempts to give theoretical justification to the system.

There were other critics of indirect rule policies in Northern Nigeria. [These were] mainly missionaries and educators. The basis of the missionaries' criticisms was that missions were either forbidden from some emirates, or were discouraged from entering them. Lugard had promised the Muslim rulers that their religion would not be interfered with. He had later interpreted this to mean that while emirs would not be forced to accept missions in their territories, they would be encouraged by the government to do so. During Lugard's absence, Temple, with Colonial Office backing, refused further extension of missionary work. Upon Lugard's return, he faced the combined force of the Colonial Office and his senior Residents and Lieutenant-Governor, who wanted to exclude missions from the Muslim areas because of their threat to the authority of the emirs, an authority which rested in large measure upon religious grounds. In 1918 after struggling against it for six years, Lugard reluctantly agreed to the principle that "the missions should be allowed to enter pagan areas only,"<sup>81</sup> thus excluding

them from practically all of the Muslim north. But, as was pointed out later:

*as a result of the... of British...*

Christianity is not the enemy. The enemy, if it can be called such, is European influence, and Mr. Temple could only preserve his little enclave intact if he kept out the trader, the railway, the motor car, and the post office.<sup>82</sup>

If missions could not enter the area, then education was affected, since it was normally in the hands of the missionaries. Primarily, it meant that the Government would have to take the full responsibility for education, but almost the same thing that had happened to Lugard in the realm of administration now took place in this matter. A man who had been part of Lugard's Administrative Service before 1906 took charge of education after Lugard had left.

The school which this man, Hanns Vischer, established at Kano won the support of the emirs and of Temple's school of thought. To Temple Vischer's policy "seemed the perfect complement to Indirect Rule." It operated on the basic principle of preserving the native life and institutions as they were; refusing *to teach* the teaching of English in the schools, refusing to train native clerks for the government, and refusing *to teach* modern technological instruction on the grounds that "northerners should be taught to improve their own arts and crafts."<sup>83</sup> Lugard's policies on his return, policies which lost out in Northern Nigeria, were the very opposite:

*...his plan to bring the north and south nearer together under one education system; his encouragement of the missions in the pagan north; his readiness to permit them, where the emirs were willing, to enter the Muslim states; his advocacy of the teaching of English...his plans to train northerners as government servants and as modern mechanics;...All these items*

of policy went to prove one thing, that he did not believe that the success of Indirect Rule in the north depended upon keeping that region inviolate from the influences of the modern world.<sup>84</sup>

In 1930 having completed his term of service in Tanganyika, Sir Donald Cameron was recalled to Nigeria as Governor. His term of service in Nigeria, from 1931 to 1935 saw the beginning of the end of Temple's school of thought as the Colonial Office slowly began to emerge out of its almost religious adherence to indirect rule as a means of preserving the status quo. Cameron was the moving spirit in a new drive to use indirect rule as Lugard had conceived of it, as a method of educating the native rulers and adapting native institutions to meet new needs. This reemphasis of Lugardian principles by Cameron was supported by several books on indirect rule, appearing in the thirties. Most of them were in favor of indirect rule, but nearly all of them deplored the extremes to which it had gone.

The new spirit in administration was a reflection of a far more significant change taking place across Africa. For about forty years Europe had been in tropical Africa. European culture had been meeting and clashing with African culture more and more intensively and on an increasingly wider scale, political, economic, educational, cultural, and religious. During this time there had been very little outward evidence of the tremendous effect this was having on African society, but about the beginning of the 'thirties this began to change. Evidence began to mount of the revolution taking place. The rejection, by the Colonial Office, of Temple's status quo policy, and its adoption of Cameron's policy of development was one major sign of the change. Two more

signs which we have not considered were, first, the growing amount of concern over just how the colonies were to develop towards self-government, and second, the problem of the Western-educated African. Both appeared as serious matters of concern in the early 'thirties and "have both since been growing together, and that may be a partial explanation of why it is difficult for one to appreciate the other."<sup>85</sup>

Development towards self-government under indirect rule, of course, was based upon the individual tribal units, of which there were several hundred in Nigeria. These units would be gradually consolidated until they came together as a federation. Margery Perham believed that "Tribal loyalties and pride are the seeds out of which will grow the future patriotism... You cannot have some entirely new patriotism manufactured rapidly for the purpose."<sup>86</sup> If tribal loyalties were scrapped completely the result would be an artificial unity.

Akpan, an African scholar, agreed that reforms which took place should be based on the past. They "should be regarded as but a phase in that evolutionary process which has been at work ever since the introduction of Native Administration, or 'Indirect Rule' system into Africa."<sup>87</sup>

Joyce Cary put it even more strongly in graphic terms:

Any given civilization, however primitive, in Africa as in Europe, has a life of its own... Any sudden and violent change in such a civilization, or its method of government, is like the dislocation of a human body. It breaks what was a living and homogenous social unit, possibly crude and simple in form, but self-respecting and energetic, into a mere scattering of human units, despondent and usually corrupt.<sup>88</sup>

To avoid any such "sudden and violent change" was the purpose

of the principle of Indirect Rule. Rather than attempting simply to break the African civilization and impose a completely new one in its place, the purpose of indirect rule was to bring about a "synthesis between European and African culture."<sup>89</sup>

Others felt, however, that other factors had already split the whole basis of social relationships. European economic penetration of Africa was one such factor. They felt that it had already "set up conditions to which the clan-bond, the tribal structure, the old unity of African life" was "no longer relevant..."<sup>90</sup> Christianity, which rendered ineffective for large numbers the animistic superstitions on which tribal authority in most cases was based, was a second disrupting factor. The Westernized élite of African society was a threat to the ideal development of the colonies towards self-government. These threats were recognized by Margery Perham and other advocates of indirect rule principles. Their proposed solutions did not involve curbing economic or religious forces, but rather concentrated on working out the problem of the educated minority and their relation to the existing political institutions.

They proposed making it possible for more educated natives to participate in the Native Administration. This had been one of Cameron's proposals. It was an oft-repeated refrain in the writings on colonial policy in this period, but it was not regarded as sufficient by the African élite. They "were not interested in entering the government machinery at the lowest rung of the ladder, namely, the local council level. On the contrary, they showed keen interest in entering the administrative system only in the regional and the central government level."<sup>91</sup>

A second proposal made by some was that educated Africans should be utilised in the senior civil service in greater numbers. Miss Perham, in a statement since made famous, disagreed with this. She felt that the Administrative Service

....should be regarded as the temporary scaffolding round the growing structure of native self-government. African energies should be incorporated into the structure, but to build them into the scaffolding would be to create a vested interest which would make its demolition at the appropriate time very difficult.<sup>92</sup>

The third area in which it was suggested the educated African could be more effectively used was the Legislative Council. This was what the educated minority themselves wanted most strongly. There was [a very] sharp [and very] basic disagreement, however, between the African educated minority and the British authorities as to the part they should have, and as to the part which the Legislative Council should play in the drive for self-government, in relation to the Native Authorities. We shall take up this disagreement in the next period when it became the issue of overriding importance in African politics.

## CHAPTER IV.

### INDEPENDENCE AND THE DECLINE OF INDIRECT RULE

We have now reached the third and final period in the history of the debate over indirect rule, the period of its decline, or, more accurately, the period of its transformation from a debate over British colonial policy into a debate over the internal political policy of several African states. This transformation in the nature of the debate reflected a radical change in the very nature of post-war colonialism, a change brought about by developments in Great Britain and Africa during the War.

Previous to the War, the initiative in the government of the colonies lay almost wholly in the hands of the Europeans. The Africans were their charges, the "sacred trust" committed to their care. The future of the colonies was theirs to shape practically as they willed. The radical change brought about by the developments during the War was that this initiative began to be shared by the Africans, to be taken over completely by them in the next fifteen years. For a while, however, there was a sharing of the initiative.

In Great Britain this change was reflected in the new conception of the relationship between mother country and colony. Instead of a trusteeship there was now to be a "partnership." In 1942, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Harold Macmillan declared in Commons:

...we should think of our future relationship with the Colonies as a permanent and not a transitory thing. The governing principle of the Colonial Empire should, therefore, be the principle of partnership between the various elements composing it. 92

In Africa the change was reflected by the tremendous surge of nationalism which brought Africa strongly to the attention of the rest of the world. At the core of the nationalist movement was the small group of Europeanized Africans which had begun to cause trouble for the system of indirect rule in the pre-war decade. It was this group which, on the African side, now began to share the initiative, and form the second half of the partnership with, the colonial authorities of Great Britain.

The issue which in this period underlay all others as regards British relations with her African colonies was the issue of self-government and independence. Both British authorities and African nationalists were agreed upon self-government as the ultimate goal for the colonies. They were in complete disagreement, however, on practically every other question, such as when it would be reached, how it should be brought about, who would be the future leaders, and what would be the future institutions of central and local government.

Indirect rule, having been the major factor in shaping British administrative policy in Africa for nearly thirty years, continued to influence strongly the British answers to these questions. It was therefore very deeply involved in the debate over the approach to self-government. In fact, because it was so prominent a feature of British colonial control, and because it had different answers to the problems of attaining self-government from those given by the rising group of nationalist

politicians it became one of their "chief whipping-boys" in their struggle for self-government.

It is our purpose in this chapter to consider the debate over indirect rule in terms of how the colonies were to achieve self-government, first, as it occurred on the national level, and secondly, as it occurred on the local government level. We shall consider the contrary answers which indirect rule on the one hand, and the nationalists on the other, gave to these two questions: Who would be in control of the government? and, How would the colonies be unified?

Who would be handed the reins of authority when the British left? The answer always given hitherto by the European rulers had been "the chief," the traditional ruler who had been there at the time that Europe entered upon the scene. They felt that the traditional ruler obviously was the true representative of the people. The answer given by the opposition, the educated African minority was different. It was given unequivocally by Obafemi Awolowo Obafemi, the leading representative of this position in the Western Province of Nigeria: "It must be realized now and for all time that this articulate minority are destined to rule the country. It is their heritage."<sup>95</sup> Both sides, as we have noted earlier, agreed that self-government was the ultimate goal, "but where the self is divided, which self will govern?" The chiefs or the educated minority?

From the time of Lugard there had been an educated minority. Until Cameron's time they had been practically ignored in the government of most of the territory and regarded as "Upstarts,"

"half-baked intellectuals" and "city slickers." From Lugard's time right up to the end of World War II there was insistence upon the fact that this group was unrepresentative of the rest of the colonial population and therefore they should never be given power over them. This was, naturally, the view of the chiefs as well. According to one chief, speaking in the Gold Coast Legislature before 1922, "the claim of a handful of educated lawyers and doctors to represent the people, instead of their chiefs, was a base attempt to denationalise the institutions of the country."<sup>96</sup>

This position continued to be maintained, and is still maintained by chiefs throughout tropical Africa, even in states where the country is now ruled by non-traditional rulers. Britain held to this position even after the War. Lord Hailey in 1951 wrote that there is "general agreement that no form of constitution can be satisfactory if it results in vesting political authority in a minority of the population..."<sup>97</sup> Margery Perham earlier had affirmed the same position:

In so far as the political ambitions of the educated are centred upon the Legislative Council, they should be met not by giving them an extension of power over the more backward masses.<sup>98</sup>

We have seen that the group of educated Africans disagreed with this, and had rejected it for as long as the colonial authorities had held it, but after the War their own authority over the population began to increase rapidly. Before long, they who had been merely an irritating nuisance, a thorn in the flesh of the colonial rulers, had become a formidable opposition, with an increasing number of followers. Their opinion of the chiefs

was that they were the "junior partners or agents of the alien ruler."<sup>99</sup> In both the Gold Coast and Nigeria they were accused of being the "stooges" of the white man. They were accused more and more widely of being autocratic, reactionary, feudalistic, and corrupt.

The real object of their criticism, however, was not so much the chiefs themselves as the system they represented, the system of indirect rule, and its answer to the problem of how the new self-governing territory would be brought about, and how it would be run. The essential features of indirect rule's answer to these questions were that it planned to build up from the base of the tribal units by means of wider and wider federations, that it would take decades, possibly even centuries to bring about, and that during this time the native institutions could be reformed and democratised until eventually some form of parliamentary government had evolved.

The nationalists <sup>were</sup> opposed to the chiefs, opposed to being confined to places in the local Native Authorities or to the prospect of responsibility only in urban areas, and opposed to what came to be called "tribal nationalism" by them. This was the "political theory which tends to strengthen the position of traditional authority and to retard the effort of nationalism as a unifying factor to achieve self-government for the whole country."<sup>100</sup>

Their views were centred upon the Legislative Council, not the Native Authorities. They wanted to approach self-government not from the bottom up, from the local up to the central government level, but from the top down. They wanted to start with the

Legislative Council.

Up until this time "the characteristic and effective institution for Nigeria as a whole was, ..not the central Legislative Council but the 'Native Administration,' the unit within which the old tribal authorities, of many kinds and sizes, were recognized. However,

It now became clear that the two diverse principles of government were proceeding not only along separate lines but at very different rates...now...the centrally minded minority...were driving in the direction of more and more representative central government and were turning very consciously against the system of indirect rule which seemed a direct barrier in their way.<sup>101</sup>

The opinion of indirect rule held by this group was epitomized by one who said:

...we endorse without fear of contradiction the opinion... that justly looks with dis favour on any recommendation that more powers be given to the Native Courts to oppress people living directly under the iniquitous system euphemistically described as Indirect Rule.<sup>102</sup>

During the War, while a more sympathetic view of indirect rule developed on the part of some nationalists, insistence upon self-government through extension of the powers of the Legislative Council developed more rapidly. In the Gold Coast this central government view, with its support of western-educated leaders, British parliamentary institutions of rule, elections, the use of the ballot-box, western-type political parties and all the rest of the trappings of western politics, came into sharper conflict with indirect rule than in Nigeria. In 1949 Nkrumah had broken with the United Gold Coast Convention over the issue of co-operation with the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs, a Council which represented indirect rule and chiefly authority and which was therefore hesitant

about pressing for immediate self-government. In 1956, the party he had formed, the Convention People's Party, ran against the United Gold Coast Convention in elections called by the Secretary of State to determine whether the country was prepared for self-government. The two forces, of nationalism versus tradition, of western institutions versus tribal institutions, of westernized leaders versus chiefs, of unity versus federalism, had come face to face in a nation-wide contest for the support of the people. The decisive victory for Nkrumah was remarkable evidence of the reality of the revolution taking place in African society, and of its progress by 1957. It did not, however, bring an end to the power of the chiefs. They have continued to be a powerful political as well as cultural force in Ghanaian political and national life.

It would require another chapter just to summarize adequately the complex but important constitutional developments in Nigeria since 1945, and their importance to indirect rule. In 1946 a new constitution was adopted combining the principles of the nationalists and those of indirect rule. The central legislature was given authority over the whole territory, as the nationalists wanted, but three regions were created, each with its own Legislative Council. The Northern and the Western Regions were ~~bicameral~~ bicameral legislatures, each with a House of Chiefs, as well as the House of Assembly. The House of Chiefs was thus a victory for indirect rule. The Eastern Region had only the House of Assembly. Later constitutions dealt with the difficult task of dividing authority between the central

and the regional legislatures, but the basic shape of Nigerian central political institutions had been drawn. From this point on, a spirit of compromise gradually became dominant on the part of the British officials, the chiefs, and the nationalists enabling them to bring the country together in a loose but effective federation in which nationals and chiefs could continue to work in the areas in which they were strong. But, while chiefs and traditional rulers participated in the central government of Nigeria, the institutions of government were Western institutions. On the national level "the constitutional changes that took place in... this period...inevitably involved in practice a rejection of this doctrine of Indirect Rule."<sup>103</sup>

[On the local level,] the same conflicting forces of old and new, progress and tradition were clashing. <sup>on the local level where</sup> There were two distinct problems <sup>involved</sup> in indirect rule <sup>on the local government level.</sup> The first had to do with the indirect rule approach to self-government, which as we have seen began with the development of native authorities into modern forms of local government. This problem was settled by the developments on the national government level, which we have already noted, and which involved a rejection of this method advocated by indirect rule. The second problem had to do with the transition from tribal rule to modern government. This problem still remains as an aim of indirect rule in many territories still developing today.

On this level the "tenacity of tradition" was even more evident in some areas, while in other areas, democratic reforms took place so

rapidly that they preceded those taking place on the national level. It is with regard to this second question that many have felt indirect rule has made its greatest contribution to Africa's development. A former Administrative Officer who had served in Nigeria said in 1947,

the case for Indirect Rule in general, not as an end in itself but as a means to extending local government, is overwhelming. If I had any doubts left on the matter they would be resolved by watching the French system at work, where traditional native authorities have been systematically broken down." 104

In the past two decades it has been used not to preserve tribal authorities per se; rather, its principles have been applied effectively in order to ease the transition to modern forms of local government.

In 1947 a conference was held in London for African Governors and Governors-designate from Gambia, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone, and the Rhodesias. The chairman was Arthur Creech Jones, the Secretary for the Colonies. It recognised as the "urgent need of the early post-war years" the "importance of the development and democratisation of local government in the various African territories."<sup>105</sup> In 1948, the incumbent Governor of Nigeria, had further revealed the official attitude towards the way in which the colonies should develop by his statement "I shall devote my special interest to the problems of local government."<sup>106</sup>

It was in the Eastern Region of Nigeria that the earliest and most striking developments in modern local government took place. Before 1914 this region had been known as one of the most primitive, one of the most backward areas in West Africa. Its inhabitants were noted for "cannibalism, twin-murder, the poison ordeal, human sacrifice, and the confinement of girls in 'fattening houses' before

marriage."<sup>107</sup> From about 1914 to 1929 an artificial form of indirect rule, the infamous system of "warrant chiefs" distinguished the region as the locality of one of the most corrupt and unsuccessful examples of indirect rule, (a system based upon ignorance due primarily to the size and extreme complexity of the population, and, initially, the paucity of officers and staff during the first World War when the system was set up, not to intentional disregard). The famous Aba women's riots in 1929 were the signal for change. The government carried out over two hundred anthropological investigations to determine the rightful rulers and the nature of their rule of the tribes of these nearly eight million people. The resulting system of administration is distinguished as one of the most complex systems of indirect rule <sup>by indirect rule</sup> administration. Some felt it was so complex that it could not work, but others felt that it was a remarkable and successful example of the beneficial influences of indirect rule-- that which would lead the government to seriously study native life exhaustively in order to provide it with better government.

In 1951, the people themselves having been "deeply and swiftly changed by economic and educational influences," a sudden and drastic break was made with the past and a system of local government was set up based upon the British model of county and district councils embracing the elective principle. This system has again distinguished the administration of the region, this time as one of the most advanced in Africa. The contribution which indirect rule has made and is making to the future of Africa has been recognised by a writer from this region, in a book on the new form of local government set

up in 1951, entitled Epitaph to Indirect Rule. His view of the contribution of indirect rule is that:

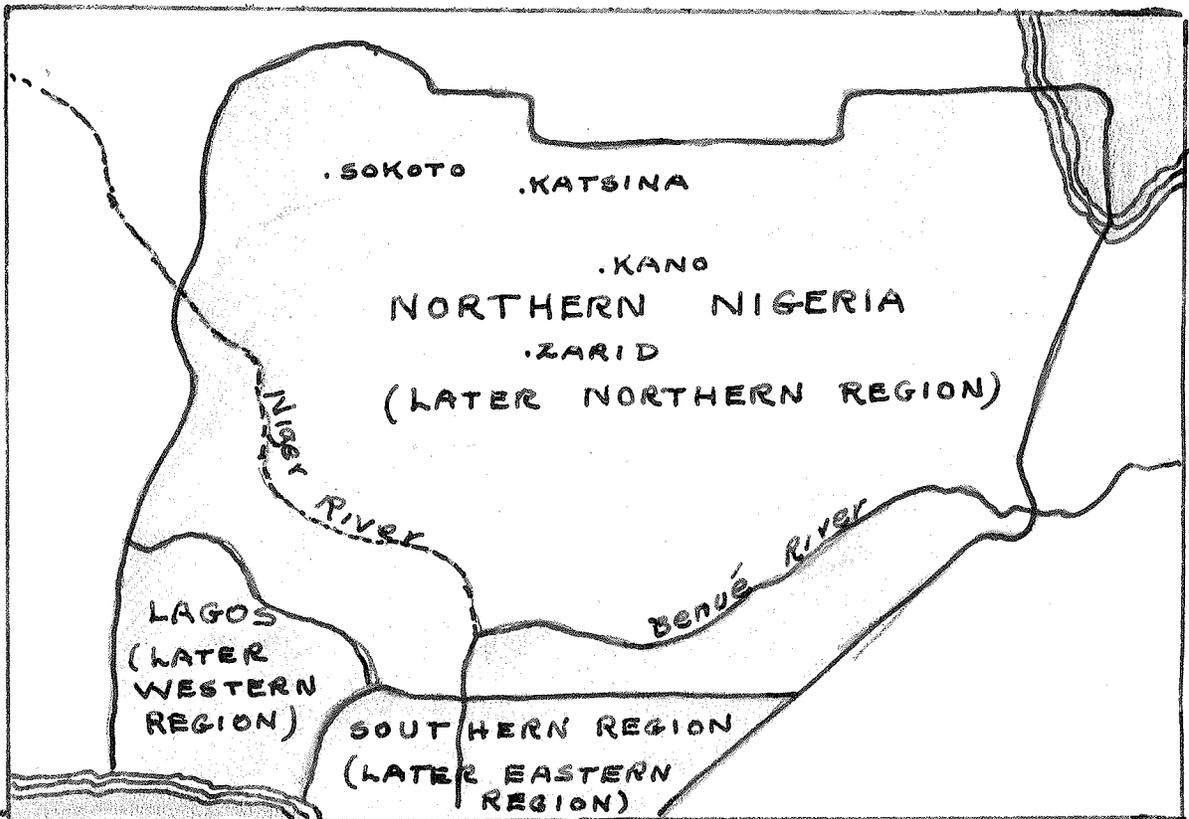
Itself unable to grow further or, maybe, too old to continue to weather the storm--in some parts of Africa at least-- it is giving birth, maturely it is hoped, to the modern and more progressive system of local government now coming into being. In no other way can a worthy epitaph for this old system be expressed than in the success of the coming systems.<sup>108</sup>

His epitaph to indirect rule in the Eastern Region of Nigeria:

Our Old Mother Indirect Rule  
 Liked, Disliked and Misunderstood;  
 Thou Didst Play Thy Part Well,  
 Laying Solid Foundations For Days Ahead;<sup>109</sup>  
 We Shall Not Forget Thee Whate'er We Do.

APPENDIX I

Map of the three regions of Nigeria brought under one rule in 1914 by Sir. F.D. Lugard, Governor-general from 1912-1919.



Taken from Margery Perham, Lugard, II, 36.

## NOTES

1. Walter R. Crocker, On Governing Colonies (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1947), p.12. Crocker served in the Administrative Service for several years in Nigeria. An earlier work of his, Nigeria, A Critique of Colonial Administration, contains a valuable day-by-day account of conditions of Indirect Rule in 1933-34, taken from his diary.
2. John E. Flint, Sir George Goldie (Oxford University Press, 1960), pp.253-254. "Tropical Africa" refers to Africa between the Sahara and the Union of South Africa.
3. This history has been recorded in detail by one of the leading scholars of tropical Africa and an authority on the subject of native administration, Lord Hailey. His accounts are found in one chapter of An African Survey, and more particularly in the six-volume study, Native Administration in the British African Territories.
4. Margery Perham, Lugard: The Years of Adventure (1956), and Lugard: The Years of Authority (London: Collins, 1960). This scholarly, interestingly-written two-volume biography of ~~Lord Lugard~~ is one of the latest works by Margery Perham, one of the most widely-recognized scholars of the British Empire in Africa, and the leading authority on indirect rule. Her writings on the subject include several important articles, her classic work, Native Administration in Nigeria, her discussions of it in Africans and British Rule, in the Preface to The Nigerian Legislative Council by Joan Wheare, and in five chapters in particular of the biography of Lugard.

We have depended heavily upon Miss Perham's writings for certain sections of this paper, particularly in our account of the life of Lugard and of the setting up of indirect rule in Nigeria.
5. Captain F.D.Lugard, The Rise of Our East African Empire  
(*let perham cite*)
6. Parliamentary Debates, 20 March 1893, IV.10.598. Cited by Perham in Lugard, I, 347.
7. Lugard, I, 476.
8. Ibid., pp.476-477.
9. Ibid., p.616.
10. Lugard, II, 139.
11. Ibid., p.27.
12. Ibid., p.39.
13. Ibid., p.53.

14. Ibid., pp. 40.
15. Ibid., p. 128.
16. See map I. The three parts of Nigeria, the colony and protectorate of Lagos, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria before 1914 had been under three separate units of government. They were united under Lugard in 1914.
17. Lugard, II, 457.
18. See pages 36 and 37.
19. Lugard, II, 138.
20. Lugard, The Rise of Our East African Empire, II, 649 and 651. Cited by Perham, Lugard, II, 142.
21. Ibid., p. 140. ↑ *Lugard or Perham?*
22. Lugard, II, 148. From Reports, 1902, p. 25. *Full title*
23. Ibid., p. 121. Cited from Reports, 1902, pp. 34-36. *1st citation*
24. Sir. F. D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1922), p. 211.
25. Lugard, II, 159.
26. Dual Mandate, p. 203.
27. Lugard himself, during his six years as High Commissioner, recorded in detail the principles and rule of policy as he intended to apply them to every aspect of administration. These were issued in 1906 as the Political Memoranda, a bound collection, twenty-three in number, covering 319 pages.
28. Dual Mandate, p. 223.
29. Lord Hailey, Native Administration in British African Territories (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951) Part 4, p. 9.
30. Ibid., p. 36
31. Dual Mandate, p. 215.
32. Ibid., p. 226.
33. Eric Walker, The British Empire (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 106.

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34. Lugard, II, 39.
35. Ibid., 147.
36. Ibid., 147.
37. Dual Mandate, p. 215.
38. Fulani bin Fulani, "The African Mandates", New Europe, 7th and 14th July, 1919. Cited by Lugard, Dual Mandate, p. 216.
39. Sir Percy Girouard, Cd. 5467 of 1911, pp. 39 & 47. Cited by Lugard, Dual Mandate, p. 216.
40. Debate on Colonial Office Vote, 26th April, 1920. Cited by Lugard, Dual Mandate, p. 217.
41. See p. 19.
42. Hailey, Native Administration, 1951, Part 4, p. 8.
43. Lugard, II, 142.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., pp. 143-144.
47. Hailey, op. cit., p. 420.
48. S. Vandeleur, Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger
49. Sir George Goldie.
50. Ibid., p. 253.
51. Ibid., p. 259.
52. Ibid., p. 259. Footnote 2.
53. Lugard, II, 143.
54. Ibid.
55. H.W.V. Temperley, A History of the Peace Conference of Paris, VI, 500-2. Cited in The Cambridge History of the British Empire (1959), III, 8.
56. Ibid., I, #13.
57. Memorandum on Indians in Kenya, Parl. Pap., 1923, xviii, Cmd. 1922. Cited in Cambridge History, III, 7.

58. Cambridge History, III, 7.
59. Rita Hinden, Empire and After (London: Essential Books Limited, 1949), p. 90.
60. Ibid.
61. Cambridge History, III, 7.
62. Dual Mandate, p. 223.
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63. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, The British Empire (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 144.
64. Walker, The British Empire, pp. 187, 188. 187-188 ?
65. Lord Hailey, in An African Survey gives an interesting discussion of this question in the chapter on Native Administration.
66. See an interesting publication edited by Raymond Apthorpe, From Tribal Rule to Modern Government (Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia: 1959). This records the proceedings of a conference of administrators sponsored by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research. It makes apparent that the principles of indirect rule still influence affairs in many parts of Africa.
67. Lugard, II, 150.
68. Memo. i, para. 2. Cited in Lugard, II, 151. }  
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69. Memoranda, 1906, No. 9, pp. 264-5. Cited in Lugard, II, 151.
70. Lugard, II, 150-1.
71. Ibid., p. 481.
72. Ibid., p. 389.
73. Ibid., pp. 474-5.
74. Ibid., p. 475.
75. Ibid., p. 482.
76. Ibid., pp. 485-6.
77. Supplement to Gazette Extraordinary, 6 March 1933, pp. 16-17. }  
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Cited by Perham, Native Administration, pp. 331-2.
78. Ibid.
79. George Padmore, How Britain Rules Africa (London: Wishart Books Ltd., 1936). pp. 315, 317, 318.

80. George Padmore, Africa: Britain's Third Empire (London: D. Dobson Limited, 1949), p. 116.
81. Lugard, II, 508.
82. Victor Murray, The School in the Bush (
83. Lugard, II, 507.
84. Ibid., pp. 509-510.
85. Ntiyong U. Akpan, Epitaph to Indirect Rule (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1956), p. 25.
86. Margery Perham, Africans and British Rule (Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 72.
87. Akpan, Epitaph, p. 18.
88. Joyce Cary, Britain and West Africa (Longmans, 1946), p. 54.
89. Perham, Native Administration, p. 354.
90. Leonard Barnes, Empire or Democracy? (London, 1939). Cited by Rita Hinden, The British Empire, p. 160-1.
91. Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Developments in Nigeria (Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 85.
92. Perham, Native Administration, p. 361.
94. House of Commons, Hansard, 24.6.42, Column 71. Cited in Hinden, Empire and After, p. .
95. Obafemi Awolowo, Path to Nigerian Freedom (Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 63.
96. Dual Mandate, p. 86.
97. Lord Hailey, Native Administration, Part 4, p. 5.
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99. C. Grove Haines (ed), Africa Today (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 293.
100. Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, p. XIV, XV.
101. Joan Wheare, The Nigerian Legislative Council (London: Faber & Faber, 1950). Introduction by Margery Perham, p. viii.

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102. Ibid., p. 158. *ibid.*
103. Ibid., p. 38.
104. Crocker, On Governing Colonies, p. 74.
105. Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, p. 83.
106. Ibid., p. 85.
107. Lugard, II, 459.
108. Epitaph to Indirect Rule, p. 31.
109. Ibid., p. 45.

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
Political Science Department  
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Hour Examination

Write on TWO of the following:

1. In what respects have the Christian religion and Christian Missions contributed to the development of nationalism in Africa?

2. Describe the main features of French, Belgian and Portuguese colonial policy in tropical Africa up to 1960.

3. Compare race relations in Southern Rhodesia with those in the two northern territories (Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland). Account for basic similarities and differences.

1. symbols in parties
2. education
3. break-up of tribalism, etc.